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THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE GERMANS:

BARBARIC PERIOD.

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TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOP,
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THE RIGHT REVEREND AND THE REVEREND THE DEAN AND CHAPTER,
GOVERNORS :
AND TO
THE WARDEN, MASTERS, AND SCHOLARS,
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,
THIS HISTORY
IS,
WITH THEIR PERMISSION, RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY
THEIR OBLIGED AND HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

SYNOPTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

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THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE GERMANS.

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH we often derive important instruction from the fictions beneath which the primitive annals of mankind are veiled, yet as the inquiries they give rise to are not the subject of narrative, the historian cannot be called upon to do more than notice the results obtained by the labours of those patient and ingenious men of letters who have devoted their time and talents to that species of research.

With reference to the subject of the following history, it may be observed that the endeavours to trace the great Teutonic branch of the present population of Europe beyond the period of its first conflicts with the Romans, have been productive of results fewer in number, and of more uncertain value than most other investigations of this nature. Even the indefatigable curiosity and industry of German scholars have hitherto failed to do more than confirm an opinion long since entertained by historical antiquaries, that the ancestors of the Germans, in common with those of the Cimmerian, Celtic, and Sclavic families, migrated originally from the vast levels which encompass the Caspian Sea, extending from the recesses of the Caucasian and Median Alps, through Transoxiana, to the steppes of the Ural and the Volga.¹

All these nations were known to the Greek historians and geographers by the common name of *Scythians*. Not that the name was ever adopted by these races themselves;² nor is it even in our power to state, with

¹ See the work of Dr. Halling, now in the course of publication, entitled, "History of the Scythians and Germans," vol. i. Berlin, 1835. This Book is full of information upon the primitive history of the Caucasian races; but, like the justly celebrated works of Niebuhr and Müller,

it is rather an historical disquisition than a history.

² See the derivation in *Halling*, vol. i. p. 73. Conf. *Grimm*. Deutsche Grammi., vol. i. p. 568. Also *Herod.* lib. iv. c. 6., cum not. *Creuzer* in *Herod.* vol. ii. p. 284.

any degree of accuracy, to what particular branches of the great nomadic family inhabiting the regions just described, it was applied by the ancients themselves. In general, however, it may be said, that the name of Seythians was used to designate that numerous assemblage of tall, robust, fair-haired, and blue-eyed nations which, till within no long period prior to the birth of Christ, still continued to occupy the vast plains of the Oxus and Iaxartes, and to spread themselves over the summit-level of central Asia, from the Caspian to the great wall of China, and from the Himalaya to the Altai.³

After maturely weighing the testimony of the writers of classical antiquity, and comparing them with the annals of the greater Asiatic nations, there seems now to remain very little doubt that the Germans are lineally descended from one of the most numerous and powerful of those tribes. In point of personal appearance, customs, and language, they exhibit striking analogies with the undoubted descendants of the same stock. The nomadic habit is always the last to yield to the progress of civilization; and that habit adhered to the ancient Germans for many ages after their first introduction to our notice; and when, in the course of their history, we find whole nations migrating, with their numberless herds of cattle, their wives and children, and moveable property, from the remotest regions, with no more difficulty than is now encountered in equipping an expedition or in sending out a colony, we are forcibly carried back to that ancient nomadic condition which both history and tradition concur in ascribing to the fair-skinned nations of central Asia.

We venture no further into the labyrinth of antiquarian inquiry. In this Book we take up the clue where it first presents itself in a discernable shape; and propose to trace the progress of this great and remarkable people from a state of semi-nomadic barbarism, through the changes and revolutions of nine centuries, to the condition of a settled, agricultural, and proprietary race.

It must be observed, that throughout the whole of this extended period, barbarism,—in the earlier and ruder ages, bordering upon the savage state,—is the prominent feature in the social condition of the Germans. But this barbarism is clearly distinguishable from that unimprovable fixedness which characterizes many other branches of the human race. The susceptibility for civilization manifests itself first of all in a keen and eager appetite for new gratifications of the senses,—in a stirring curiosity to behold and to possess the enjoyments which civilization affords, though

³ See particularly *Klaproth*, in the *Tabl. de l'Asie*, p. 161—186; from the Chinese annals.

without any immediate wish to imitate the conduct, or to adopt the habits of civilized life. The *first* thought is always how to obtain and to enjoy ; at a longer interval follows the desire to retain and to improve. If the semi-nomadic German may not be said to have been originally sensible of the advantages of a stable occupancy, it is clear that he very soon became so ; nor will it, we think, appear an improbable supposition, that the earliest of these migratory tribes,—the Teutones and Cimbri themselves,—would have anticipated by five centuries of time, the fortunes which awaited their pertinacious successors, if their career had not been arrested by the colossal power and great military experience of the Romans.

Nevertheless, the sequel of events proved the permanence of this national tendency. After a struggle of unexampled duration and obstinacy, the youthful vigour of Teutonic barbarism achieved a signal triumph over the nerveless civilization of the ancient world. The outward form, and for the most part, likewise, the inward structure of European society underwent a total revolution. The new and the old materials of the edifice became blended together in one grotesque, yet characteristic group—massive and rude—irregular and roomy—convenient, because the creation of rooted habits spontaneously and instinctively accommodating themselves to the circumstances of their outward condition—an edifice, in fine, which was destined to become the earliest domicile of infant civilization, and the nursery of those institutions upon which the existing state of society in the civilized world is mainly founded.

After all that can be, and all that has been urged, with so much justice and propriety, to engage our sympathies on behalf of the classical nations of antiquity—their extraordinary susceptibility for refinement—the purity of their taste—their intellectual acuteness and general capacity for improvement in every shape—the fact that the Teutonic race has evinced itself the master-family of mankind, cannot now be disputed. The three or four centuries of Grecian prosperity, the thousand years of Roman ascendancy, are eclipsed by the permanent triumph of that strong and healthy root which was nourished in the swamps and forests of ancient Germany. Fourteen centuries already attest the stability of its dominion ;⁴ and the states of Teutonic origin still constitute but one great fellowship of nations, united by a common religion, by a multitude of common habits, by one acknowledged system of international law, and by a variety of reciprocal sympathies and interests,

⁴ Reckoning from the year of the great migration, A.D. 407.

which, notwithstanding frequent strife and manifold internal change, must steadily though gradually advance the interests of peace and good-will; and which—if unchecked by infidelity in religion, and licentiousness in politics—promises in the end to cement together the population of Europe into one great confederacy for the promotion of morality, good government, commerce, civilization, and learning, among the whole human race.

But at the very birth, no less than throughout the growth of this remarkable state of society, we find the hand of religion actively at work. And, indeed, even if it were always possible, it is very rarely advisable to attempt the separation of the religious from the political annals of mankind. The subject of the following narrative repudiates the distinction more positively than any period of history that could have been selected. Religion not only mingled with the mass of impulses from which the movement originated; she frequently took upon herself to determine the reciprocal relations of the different powers of the state; she stamped her own peculiar impress upon the motives and conduct of the agents at almost every stage of the progress; she gave a decided direction, and imparted a degree of vigour to the principle of motion rarely paralleled in the history of the human race.

The commanding influence which Christianity exerted over the course of events from the first to the last of this great process, is primarily imputable to its own powerful dogmatic character; and next, to the political bias which it very soon acquired. Accordingly, an attentive examination of the views and dispositions of its ministers is indispensable to the perfect comprehension of the great series of events we have undertaken to record.

The rise of Feudalism, and the establishment of the spiritual power of Rome, are, in truth, the beacons by which our course must be directed. These are the elements of the history of Europe, no less than of that of Germany, throughout the period usually designated as the “Dark ages.” It will be our task to exhibit them, sometimes in combination—oftener in conflict—with each other; and we shall have to show, throughout the entire series of events, how they contributed to generate those sympathies by which the various members of the great modern commonwealth of nations have been drawn into that remarkable union which so advantageously distinguishes the more recent history of Europe from that of any other period in the annals of mankind.

CHAP. I.

EARLY HISTORY OF GERMANY DOWN TO THE INVASIONS OF DRUSUS.

SEC. I. B. C. 103—100.

Geographical limits of Germany—Origin of the Germans—Cimbri and Teutones—Defeat of Carbo, Silanus, Cassius and Cæpio—Battle of Aquæ Sextiæ and Victory of Marius. Defeat of Catulus by the Cimbri—Destruction of the Cimbri by Marius and Catulus at Vercellæ—Dispersion of the Cimbric Tribes.

THE geographical limits of the vast region known to the ancients by the name of Germany are very imperfectly indicated to us. In general they regarded the Rhine and the Alps as certain boundaries to the westward and the southward.¹ The fabulous river Eridanus they believed to be the northern; the undefined region of Sarmatia the eastern limit. They were ignorant of the existence of the Baltic Sea till the progress of Roman conquest revealed it to them, and enabled them to collect a few imperfect notices regarding its position and extent. Commerce with Germany was almost confined to the trade in amber; but the dealers who sold it to the Greeks and Romans were unwilling to disclose the source of their gains; so that even the desire to possess that precious commodity (equal in value to its weight in gold) contributed little to extend the acquaintance of the ancients with the countries from which it was obtained.²

The origin of the tribes which inhabited the Germany of the Greeks

¹ But these were arbitrary limits, since the Germans had at various periods overrun and colonized nearly the whole of Belgium between the Rhine, the Vosges, the Ardennes, and the

Scheldt. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 28.*—*Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. ii. c. 4.*

² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 11.*

Name, *Teutisch*
or *Teutsch*, the
modern nation-
al name.

and Romans is involved in still greater obscurity. Tacitus³ is inclined to regard them as an indigenous race, unmingled with any foreign stock either of conquerors or colonists.⁴ They themselves derived their origin from the god *Tuisto* through his son *Mannus*,⁵ and adopted the national appellative of *Tuistones*, or *Teutones*, the descendants of *Tuisto*, or *Teut*; whence the modern name *Teutisch*, or *Teutsch*,⁶ is obviously derived.⁷ Again; Tacitus⁸ informs us, that when the *Tungri*, a Germanic tribe, invaded the northern Gaul, the natives applied the name of *Wehrmannen*, which designated the *warriors only*, to the whole tribe; so that they were sometimes called by the national appellation, *Tungri*, and sometimes by that of the most honourable and distinguished body among them, *Wehrmannen*,⁹ warriors,—in the Gallic pronunciation *Germanen*, or *Germanen*,—the *Germani* of the Romans.¹⁰

B. C. 100.
Power of Rome
threatened by
the *Teutones*
and *Cimbri*.

About a century before the birth of Christ the valour and discipline of the Roman armies had swept away almost every obstacle to universal empire. Carthage, the strongest bulwark of the independence of nations, had fallen; the polished and warlike Greeks had yielded to the well-directed power and the faithless policy of the great republic. A large portion of Gaul lying between the Alps and the river Rhone, the whole of Spain, all of Africa that was worth having, had become the provinces or dependencies of Rome; and Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, were shortly to be absorbed in the same irresistible vortex of conquest.

³ De Mor. Germ. c. 2.

⁴ *Luden*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. i. p. 12.

⁵ The original "man," the first-born of the creating power. *Ukert's* Geographie der Griechen und Römer, vol. i. part ii. p. 298.

⁶ The adjective. *Luden*, Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes, vol. i. p. 597. n. 22.

⁷ See, also, *Cluverius's* learned etymologies and illustrations, selected from all the Teutonic dialects. *Germ. Antiqua*, lib. i. pp. 80, 81. But it must be observed that the word "*Teutsch*," as applied to the whole nation, does not appear in any record earlier than the ninth century.

⁸ De Mor. Germ. c. 2.

⁹ From the old Teutonic *Weren*, *Guere*, *Gere*. Lat. *Arma*. Hence *Weren*, defendere, custodire, observare (armis). Thus in *Otfried of Weissenburg's* metrical translation of the Gospels, (dedicated to King Louis of Germany about the year 863,) lib. ii. c. 11. v. 56.

Zi weri thoh gifiangi

Arma hic arripere.—See *Skiliteri*, Thes. Antiq. Teut. vol. iii. p. 847. *Luden*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. i. p. 596. n. 21.

¹⁰ The German genealogists and antiquaries endeavour to trace the descent of *Tuisto* or *Teut* to the patriarchs, who peopled the world after the flood. See *Aventini*, Ann. Boici. lib. i. c. 5.—*Bucellinus*, Geneal. Germ. Notitia, p. 6. *Struvius*, in his Corp. Hist. Germaniæ, vol. i. p. 2, enumerates these various schemes, and gives it as his own impression that the *Tuisto* of the Germans was the Adam of Scripture, since he was strictly the "*Terræ filius*" of Tacitus; *Mannus* he identifies with Noah, "from whose three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, every nation on earth is descended." He brings the aboriginal Germans from the plains of Asia through *Seythia*, to the banks of the *Elbe*, the *Rhine*, and the *Danube*. See his argument, supported by an observation of *Grotius* (*Proleg. ad Scr. Goth.* p. 18.) in pp. 3 and 4 of the Corp. Hist. Germ., vol. i. It is useless to encumber this work with the many fanciful etymologies of the words "*Germania*" and "*Germani*" with which the old writers have amused themselves and wearied the public. See them all collected and examined with great erudition by *Struvius* ubi supra.

In the midst of this career of prosperity and victory, the very existence of the colossal power which had achieved it was suddenly endangered by an enemy whose name was then heard for the first time.¹¹ Towards the close of the second century before Christ, *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, two Germanic tribes, appeared in vast swarms upon the Alpine frontier of Italy.¹² In personal appearance these strangers were reported to be unusually tall and muscular, with blue eyes, red hair, and a fierce expression of countenance: their weapons of offence, a sword, a short spear, and a formidable club; their order of battle, a deep wedge-shaped column; their defensive armour, merely a large hollow shield made of raw hides, stretched upon a wooden frame; their war-cry terrific; their strength almost superhuman; and such their contempt of danger and death, that they never counted the numbers of their enemies.

The Cimbri appear in Noricum.

B. C. 113.
Cæc. Metellus
Cn. Papyrius
Carbo Coss.

Their personal appearance and habits.

The Boii and the Taurisci, Norican nations inhabiting the modern circle of Bavaria and the county of Tyrol, were the first border tribes attacked by these formidable barbarians.¹³ The Taurisci claimed the protection of the Romans as allies of the republic; the consul Papyrius Carbo speedily occupied the passes of the Alps, and advanced into their country for the purpose of watching the motions of the barbarians. To the Cimbri, who, it seems, were not inattentive to the motions of the consul, he gave as a reason for this advance, that the Taurisci were the 'public guests'¹⁴ of the republic. Ambassadors from the Cimbri met him on his march, who declared "that their people were ignorant of the rights of hospitality existing between the Romans and the Taurisci, and that they would thenceforward abstain from molesting them." The consul praised their moderation, and dismissed them with guides to conduct them to their friends. But the guides were privately instructed to lead them by a circuitous route, while he himself advanced by the shortest road and with the utmost speed to attack the barbarians, whom he expected to find unprepared. But the surprise was incomplete; the Cimbri, flushed with recent victories, soon restored the fortune of the day, and Carbo was in the end totally defeated.¹⁵ This first conflict between the German invaders and the Romans is supposed to have taken place at a spot called Noreia, in the modern duchy of Carniola, at no great distance from Aquileia, the most vulnerable part of the Italian frontier.¹⁶ The Roman army rallied at the distance of three days journey from the

Attack the Boii and the Taurisci.

The Consul Papyrius Carbo advances against them.

Negotiation,

Treachery,

and defeat of Carbo at Noreia in the modern Carniola.

B. C. 113.
A. U. C. 641.

¹¹ Tac. de Mor. Germ. c. 37. Orosius, lib. v. c. 16.

¹² Plut. in Mario.—Plutarch says they were computed at 300,000 warriors, and a much larger number of women, children, &c.

¹³ J. Müller, Bell. Cimbricum, Works, vol. xii. p. 271.

¹⁴ ξένοι.

¹⁵ Appian, Ed. Schweighäuser, tom. i. p. 85.

¹⁶ Strabo, Geogr. lib. v. p. 214.

field of battle. But the Cimbri did not pursue their successes; they vanished from this frontier of the republic, no one knew wherefore or whither; but the terror which the defeat of Carbo inspired remained long, and sunk deep into the minds of the Roman government and people.

Teutones and
Cimbri overrun
Gaul,

During a period of four years the movements of the Cimbri are little more than conjectural;¹⁷ but at the expiration of that period, both Cimbri and Teutones, strengthened by the Toygenes and Tigurini, crossed the Rhine in overwhelming numbers, after defeating and driving back the Helvetii, whom they found settled between that river and the Mayne. The greater part of Gaul was next overrun, with little resistance from the inhabitants; first one-third of the lands, and afterwards a second, was appropriated by the conquerors; the country was depopulated far and wide; immense booty fell to the conquerors; the inhabitants were treated with extreme severity, and the partial resistance encountered was punished with unrelenting cruelty.¹⁸

and show a dis-
position to
settle there.

It is not improbable that the disposition evinced by the barbarians to settle in Gaul, again drew upon them the attention of the Romans, who could not overlook the danger of permitting such neighbours to acquire strength and consistency upon the borders of their recent acquisitions in that country. The consul Silanus was therefore sent with a considerable army to be in the neighbourhood of the important events which were passing in Gaul, and (according to the ordinary maxim of Roman policy) to take advantage of them for the aggrandisement of the republic if a fit opportunity should present itself.¹⁹

They sue for
alliance with
Rome;

It seems probable that the confederated barbarians had no present design upon Italy; the step they took at the approach of Silanus indicates that they did not yet feel themselves in secure possession of the countries already conquered, and that they desired time to consolidate their new settlements. They sent envoys to the consul, who referred them and their message to the senate at Rome. Thither they proceeded, and preferred a request, "that the *people of Mars* would grant them a small tract of land by way of stipend; in return for which their arms and services should be at their absolute disposal."²⁰ The senate rejected their suit, and they resolved to obtain by their arms that which had

but the senate

¹⁷ See them ably discussed in *Luden*, Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes, vol. i. p. 34.

¹⁸ *Plut.* in *Mario*. *Cæs. de Bell. Gall.* lib. i. c. 33. p. 31. ed. Varior. 1651.

¹⁹ *Luden*, Gesch. des deutsch. Volk. vol. i. p. 35. The vehement hostility of this otherwise excellent writer towards the Romans renders it necessary to observe some caution in using him as a guide.

²⁰ "Ut Martius populus aliquid sibi terræ daret

quasi stipendium; ceterum ut vellet manibus atque armis suis uteretur." *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3. That they should have complained to the senate of being excluded from Spain and Gaul is inconsistent with the fact that they were then in possession of the greater part of the latter country. The narrative of Florus himself betrays the futility or falsehood of the complaint, if it was ever made.

been denied to their request.²¹ Leaving their heavy baggage behind them, they fell upon the only Roman force within reach, which was commanded by the consul Silanus, and consisted of a single legion only. The Roman army was dispersed and almost annihilated; the consul himself escaped by flight, and the entire Roman province of Gaul was overrun and laid waste.²²

rejects their request. They attack and defeat Silanus.

B. C. 110.
A. U. C. 645.
G. Cæc. Metellus M. Jun. Silanus Coss.

The barbarians did not remain long in the province; they appear to have been more anxious to secure the possession of their acquisitions between the Rhine and the Saone than to make new conquests. They abstained from further attacks upon the territories of the republic, employing their arms in completing the subjugation of Gaul, and strengthening themselves by fresh alliances on both banks of the Rhine. But amid this apparent tranquillity the sagacity of the Romans did not fail to perceive the imminent peril which hung over their heads. Two years after the defeat of Silanus, the consul Lucius Cassius led a Roman army against the Tigurini,²³ an associate tribe of the great Cimbric or Teutonic confederacy. In the country of the Allobroges, not far from the Lemane Lake, a bloody battle was fought, and a third Roman army fell beneath the resistless energy of these terrible barbarians. Cassius, and his legate Lucius Piso, were killed in the engagement; a remnant of the defeated army fled to the entrenched camp, where they capitulated for their lives, upon condition of passing beneath the yoke, giving hostages, and abandoning a moiety of their baggage and stores to the victors.²⁴

After their victory the Cimbri retire into Gaul.

The Romans send Lucius Cassius into the Gallic province; he is defeated by the Tigurini, and

the remains of his army pass under the yoke.

Though no invasion followed this great defeat, it completed the overthrow of the Roman influence in Gaul. The allies of the republic fell off, and entered into engagements with the enemy; the power of the latter gained every day in solidity and consistency; the terror of the German arms mortified the vanity and checked the military ardour of the Roman soldiery; the inhabitants of Italy saw with alarm the tempest of war about to burst upon their own peaceful and luxuriant provinces. Yet Rome and her rulers yielded in nothing to the storm. In the year 106

Roman influence in Gaul destroyed.

Soldiery discouraged;—alarm in Italy.

²¹ *Plut.* in Mario.—*Liv.* Epit. lib. lxiv.—*Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3

²² *Cæs.* de Bell. Gall. lib. ii. c. 29.—*Müller*, Bell. Cimbricum, ubi sup. p. 314. Müller takes Cæsar's report to imply that the Cimbri, on this occasion, made their way into Italy. The words are "Hi (Cimbri) quum iter in Provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, &c." *Luden*, ubi sup. more correctly infers that they very soon retreated to their settlements in Gaul.

²³ Generally held to be inhabitants of the modern canton of Zurich in Switzerland. The traditional Latin name is *Tigurum*, by an ordinary transposition of the native *Turig*. The *T* and the *Z* are used one for the other in the different Teutonic dialects: thus, *Zülpich* and *Tülpich*, (Tolbiac,) *Zabern* and *Tabern*, &c. *Cluver*, Germ. Ant. p. 346.

²⁴ *Cæs.* de Bell. Gall. lib. i. cc. 7, 12, 13, 30.—*Liv.* Epit. lib. lxv.—*Appian*, de Bell. Gall. p. 755.—*Oros.* lib. v. c. 15.

Q. S. Cæpio takes Tolosa, capital of the Tectosages, and draws upon himself and his colleague Manlius the whole force of the Cimbric confederacy.

Dissensions between Cæpio and Manlius cripple their operations.

Scaurus is defeated, taken, and slain.

Still the barbarians are anxious for peace.

They are disgusted by the arrogance and violence of Cæpio.

Battle and total destruction of the Roman army. Manlius is killed. Cæpio escapes.

The camps of the Romans fall into the hands of the Teutones.

The terrified Romans elevate Marius to the command of their armies.

before Christ, the consul Q. Servilius Cæpio led a large army into Gaul, and laid siege to Tolosa, the capital of the Tectosages, a Gallic nation in alliance with the Cimbric confederates. The city was taken by storm, and sacked with circumstances of extraordinary cruelty. The whole force of the barbaric league was now put in motion to avenge the wrongs of their allies. After the taking of Tolosa the army of Cæpio was supported by a second force, under the command of the consul Mar. Manlius, but the want of concord between the leaders prevented any combined plan of operations, and the two armies remained separated by the Rhone,—Manlius on the left, and Cæpio on the right bank. M. Aurelius Scaurus, the legate of Manlius, who appears to have been employed at a distance from the main body, was defeated, taken prisoner, and afterwards put to death by the Cimbri. Yet the latter, strangely ignorant of the advantages they possessed, showed a strong disposition to avoid a decisive action by negotiation. But the pride of Rome bent with extreme reluctance to any conditions in presence of an unconquered enemy; and in this instance the dissensions between the Roman leaders rendered negotiation impossible. The barbarian envoys with some difficulty escaped personal injury from the insane violence of Cæpio, and both parties prepared with exasperated tempers and sharpened animosity for the mortal conflict. The Roman generals combined their forces and gave battle. The confederate barbarians assigned the post of honour in the van to the warlike Ambrones; the rashness of the Romans precipitated their own defeat; the destruction of the army was complete; 80,000 combatants perished on the field, and upwards of 40,000 attendants and camp-followers were butchered by the savage victors;²⁵ Manlius and his two sons were among the slain; Cæpio was one of the few who survived to tell the calamitous tale, and to encounter the torrent of popular terror and indignation.²⁶

Both camps fell into the hands of the conquerors, who devoted the entire booty to the gods; tents, ornaments, costly armour, and stores of every kind were burnt, the horses slain, the prisoners hanged on the branches of the trees, and even the gold and silver cast into the Rhone; no spoil remained to the victors—no mercy to the vanquished.²⁷

Consternation and mourning overspread Rome and Italy: The people lost all confidence in the government,—the armies,—the fortune of the republic. Yet with that sure instinct, which in times of deep

²⁵ The exaggeration of numbers here is manifest. The myriads of slain so frequently enumerated may be in general regarded (historically) as the mere expression of popular consternation or exultation. In this view the numbers of killed and prisoners, the vast amounts of booty gained,

&c. are not unworthy of attention.

²⁶ *Dio Cassius*.—*Plut.* in Mario.—*Luden*, vol. i. pp. 37, 38.—*Müller*, *Bell. Cimb.* ubi sup. pp. 316, 317.

²⁷ *Müller*, *Bell. Cimb.* ubi sup. p. 317, compared with *Orosius*, lib. v. c. 16.

public calamity and imminent peril, frequently directs the eye of nations towards the one master-spirit alone capable of arresting the progress of approaching ruin, the Roman people, with one voice, called upon Caius Marius, the plebeian soldier of fortune, to assume the lead in the government and the command of the armies of the republic upon the threatened frontier.²⁸ The Cimbri, meanwhile, convinced of the futility of all attempts at accommodation with Rome, exasperated by the haughty and intemperate conduct of her generals, and flushed by their late unparalleled successes, prepared to strike one great and final blow against the existence of that mighty republic; the whole confederacy, numbering 300,000 warriors, with innumerable followers, women and children, broke up for Italy.²⁹ But the movements of so vast a multitude were necessarily slow; other objects may for a time have diverted their attention;³⁰ the conquest and pillage of southern Gaul attracted them, and they appear to have neglected the army of Marius till they had ravaged the whole country up to the foot of the Pyrenees.³¹

The Cimbri
move towards
Italy.

Meanwhile the latter advanced cautiously towards the Alps, expecting to find the enemy in full march for Italy, if not already masters of the passes. But the straggling movements of the confederate tribes enabled him to establish himself in the Gallic province, and to close the most accessible passes into Italy. Here, in a corner of Gaul, his left flank protected by the deep Rhone, his right leaning upon the Alps, and maintaining a free communication with Italy by his rear, he determined to await the onset of the Germans. But they did not put him to the trial; their inactivity, at this period, is unaccounted for by the ancient historians. For three entire years Marius appears to have done little more, in a mere military point of view, than watch the enemy and fortify his confined but convenient and secure position. The soldiers were kept in constant exercise, discipline was restored, their spirits were kept up by the exhortations, and their confidence confirmed by the presence of the hero of so many victories.³²

Marius takes
up a position
near the mouth
of the Rhone.

Fortifies it and
restores the dis-
cipline and con-
fidence of the
army.

At length decisive movements were observed among the hostile tribes. They divided their forces into two great bodies. The Cimbri and their allies passed the Rhine into Germany with the intention of entering Italy by the Norican passes;³³ the Teutones and the Ambrones swept the Roman province, and appeared in front of the entrenchments of Marius,

B. C. 103.

The Teutones
and Cimbri se-
parate; the for-
mer advance
against Marius,
—the latter
march through

²⁸ *Plut.* in Mario.

²⁹ *Plut.*—*Müller*, ubi supra.

³⁰ According to *Cæsar* (Com. lib. vii. c. 77. Var. ed. of 1651, p. 336) it should seem that the Cimbri had, at some period or other of their career, withdrawn from Gaul; but it is not stated

whither, or at what time.

³¹ *Liv. Epit. lib. lxxvii.*—*Vastatis omnibus quæ inter Rhodanum et Pyrenæum sunt.*

³² *Plut.* in Mario.

³³ The Brenner and the valley of the Adige

Germany to the
Norican passes.

Marius avoids
a general ac-
tion.

The Germans
attack his en-
trenchments,
and are repul-
sed, but not dis-
couraged.

They pass the
army of Marius
towards the
Ligurian
passes.

Marius follows
them cautious-
ly ;

permits his
men to skirmish
with the Bar-
barians.

with the view either of forcing his position, or of gaining his rear, and forming a junction with the Cimbri in the heart of Italy.³⁴ This plan, however judiciously conceived, was ill-concerted ; the distances which the two bodies had to traverse were very unequal. Without affording time to the Cimbri to gain the Norican passes, the Teutones hurried forward to bring the Roman army under Marius to battle. But the latter kept his troops within their entrenchments, carefully avoiding a general action, probably for the double purpose of increasing the careless audacity of his adversaries, and of rendering his own soldiers familiar with the aspect and mode of warfare of these gigantic barbarians. He returned contemptuous answers to the challenges of the enemy ; he repressed the growing courage of his own men, as much with a view to sharpen its edge as to prevent any premature or dangerous display. As he hoped and desired, the Germans ventured an attack upon his position ; a shower of arrows sufficed to repel an enemy wholly unskilled in the attack of fortified posts. But according to their notions of honourable warfare, the skulking behind walls was the strongest proof of cowardice ; so that, far from being discouraged by the issue of the attack, it seemed but to increase their contempt for their adversaries.³⁵

Wearied at length by the perseverance of Marius in declining the contest, the whole barbarian host put itself in motion to gain the rear of the Romans, and obtain possession of the Ligurian passes. Plutarch informs us that the hostile column consumed six whole days in marching past the Roman entrenchments. The Teutones jeeringly inquired of the soldiers guarding the entrenchments, "whether they had any messages for their wives in Italy, for that they should shortly be with them." Marius followed this movement of the enemy with extreme circumspection. A successful stratagem (for such it seems to have been) in the meantime enabled him to inflict a serious loss upon the barbarians. He had, according to custom, taken up a secure position upon an eminence commanding a full view of the enemy's camp ; a river flowed at its foot, but both banks were occupied by the Germans. His troops, after their day's march, suffered from want of water, and longed for the habitual indulgence of bathing. They complained to the general that they were cut off from the water ; he coldly replied, "That they were men, and that water might be had for blood." The grooms and camp-servants, however, did not wait for permission, but hastened to the banks of the river, indifferently armed, and carrying their water-pitchers upon

³⁴ *Plut.* ubi sup.—*Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3.—*Strabo*, lib. iv. c. 8.—*Luden*, *Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes*,

vol. i. p. 43.—*Müller*, *Bell. Cimb.* c. v. p. 320.

³⁵ *Plut.* in *Mario*.

their javelins. But scarcely had they begun to enjoy the perilous pleasure, when they were attacked and driven back by the enemy. Their cries drew others to their assistance; the impatience of the soldiery, anxious for the fate of their servants and cattle, became incontrollable; a general action was now inevitable, and Marius seems to have directed it with admirable skill and presence of mind. A body of Ligurian allies formed and advanced to the rescue of the parties already engaged in an unequal combat with a column of 30,000 Ambrones. The order of the barbarians was, however, broken by the passage of the river; the Romans poured down upon them from the heights, and committed dreadful slaughter among their confused and crowded ranks. The Germans retreated in disorder to their waggon-bulwark, where they were met by their own women, armed with battle-axes, who fell alike upon retreating friends and advancing foes, upbraiding the former with cowardice, and fearlessly encountering death from the spears of the pursuers. Night at length put an end to the combat,—the Romans retired to an unfortified camp, and, notwithstanding their success, remained in momentary expectation of a nocturnal attack.

They destroy or disperse a body of 30,000 Ambrones who attacked incautiously.

All night long the hills resounded with lamentations for the slain and cries of rage. The barbarians concentrated their forces, the fugitives rallied, and the whole host partook of but one feeling of vengeance for the disgrace of the preceding day. Both parties spent the night in preparation for the conflict. Marius secretly detached a body of 3000 men, under Claudius Marcellus, with directions to pass to the rear of the enemy: and as soon as he should perceive their main battle engaged, to charge with the whole body. At break of dawn, the barbarians, exasperated, but not rendered wiser, by the disaster of the preceding day, formed hastily, and advanced with headstrong impetuosity up the slippery declivity upon which the first line of the Romans was posted. This attack was easily repulsed; the unwieldy columns of the assailants fell into irretrievable disorder; at this moment, Marcellus burst from his concealment upon the rear of the retiring Germans; a body of grooms, disguised as soldiers, nearly doubled his apparent numbers; the already more than half-discomfited enemy became panic-stricken; Marius improved his advantage to the uttermost, and the battle degenerated into a mere butchery. Few of the Germans fled, and still fewer escaped the swords of the Romans. Teutoboch, their king, a man of gigantic strength and stature, fought his way through the enemy with a few companions; but ere he could reach the banks of the Rhine he was intercepted by the hostile Gauls, and surrendered to the Romans to grace the triumph of

The fury of the barbarians and the position of Marius, after the last action, bring on a general battle at *Aquæ Sextiæ* in Provence. B. C. 103. A. U. C. 652.

First attack of the Germans repulsed; they retire in disorder. Marcellus appears with a body of troops in their rear, and completes their overthrow. Destruction of the Teutones. King Teutoboch taken.

The Teutonic women kill their children, and then destroy themselves.

Marius sacrifices the spoils to the gods.

Progress of the Cimbri. They pass the Alps;

attack and

defeat the Roman army under Catulus on the Adige.

They sink into temporary inactivity.

Marius.³⁶ The destruction of the barbarian host was as complete as their enemies could desire; the entire body of the warriors was slain or made prisoners on the field; the camp, with their women, children, baggage, and servants, fell the following day into the hands of the Romans. But multitudes of women were found to have first killed their own children and then themselves, preferring death by their own hands to dishonour and slavery. Marius, after selecting such portions of the spoil as might contribute to the gratification of his troops, and to grace his own triumph, cast the remainder into one huge pile, and, setting fire to it with his own hands, offered it in solemn sacrifice to the gods.³⁷

In the meantime the second great division of the German force, consisting of the Cimbri and their confederates, had consumed the spring and summer in passing through southern Germany, and reaching the defiles of the Norican Alps. In spite of the lateness of the season, they crossed the mountains, and attacked the outposts of the Roman army stationed there under the consul Catulus, to oppose their entrance into Italy. These they quickly drove in, and surprised the main body posted on the banks of the Adige without the present means of retreat. The consul, however, contrived to amuse the enemy while he threw a bridge across the river, and passed over to a more secure position. He had hardly taken up his ground and begun to fortify his camp, when the Cimbri, discovering the direction of his retreat, appeared on the opposite bank, and, without losing time in the construction of bridges, gallantly plunged into the stream, swam across, and attacked the Romans, wholly unprepared for action, and disconcerted by the desperate hardihood of the assailants. Without waiting for directions, they began a confused and hasty retreat, which did not terminate till they had placed the broad Po between themselves and their pursuers.³⁸

The Cimbri, satisfied with their victory, and ignorant of the fate of their allies and countrymen in Gaul, sunk into inactivity. The whole country between the Alps and the Po was in their possession; and it is not improbable that the productiveness of the soil and the beauty of the climate rendered them for a time lukewarm in the prosecution of their great

³⁶ The narrative of this battle is collected from *Plutarch's Life of Marius*; *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3, 9.; *Conf. Luden*, ubi sup.; and *J. Müller*, *Bell. Cimb.* Works, vol. xii. p. 325.

³⁷ The more prominent circumstances of this war only are selected for our narrative. In fact, the German wars of the Romans may be more properly regarded as a portion of Roman than of German history, and are generally so treated.

No further details will be admitted into the following history but such as contribute to elucidate the progress of the people through the different stages of social improvement, till they emerged from barbarism and assumed a steady and permanent position among the nations of Europe.

³⁸ *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3.—*Livii Epit.* lib. lxvii.—*Plut.* in *Mario*.

enterprise, and produced a strong desire to settle where they were. Another cause of inactivity may have been a wish to effect a junction with the Teutones, whose assistance they might regard as essential to their success against Rome herself, of whose power it is obvious they still entertained an exalted opinion.³⁹

The defeat of Catulus upon the Adige once more awakened the terror of the Romans ; they had hardly had time to express their joy for their deliverance out of one great peril when they found themselves exposed to a second more formidable, because nearer to their own thresholds. Marius, who was at Rome preparing for his triumph over the fallen Teutones, immediately quitted the capital, and led his own victorious troops to the aid of the dispirited army on the Po. The united forces passed the river and confronted the enemy. In the conduct of the latter there are unequivocal symptoms of hesitation and uncertainty ; confused accounts of the defeat of their companions in arms may have reached them ;⁴⁰ the desire to fix themselves in their new possessions may have damped their ardour for battle,—either supposition will account for their present conduct : they sent envoys to the Roman leaders to negotiate a peace with the republic, and to demand a cession of territory for themselves and their friends. At the audience Marius tauntingly inquired—“ What friends they meant ? ” They replied, “ The Teutones. ” Marius told them “ they need not trouble themselves about their brethren, for that he had already provided lands for them which they would possess for ever. ” This appalling intimation was given amid the scornful laughter of the by-standers. The envoys, perceiving that insult was meant, or desirous of obtaining fuller information respecting the fate of their companions in arms, the rumour of which it is scarcely possible to imagine should not have reached them in some shape, threatened the instant vengeance of their countrymen, and of the Teutones as soon as they should arrive. “ They are already here, ” exclaimed the Roman ; “ you must not go away without saluting them. ”⁴¹ The kings and princes of the Teutones, heavily laden with chains, were brought before them ; and they departed with rage and dismay in their bosoms to communicate the tidings to their countrymen.

They desire to settle in Italy. Renewed apprehensions of the Romans.

Marius joins his army to that of Catulus.

Hesitation of the Cimbri.

They endeavour to negotiate ; demand lands for themselves and their allies. Marius derides their proposal, and insults their messengers.

³⁹ *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3.—*Müller*, loc. cit. p. 328.—*Conf. Luden*, loc. cit. p. 51. This writer speculates largely upon the causes of this inactivity, and the probable consequences of a successful attack upon Rome : “ If the Cimbri, ” he observes, “ had advanced to Rome or beyond it, surely it would have brought little advantage to the Germans as a nation,—most certainly it would have proved of most calamitous conse-

quences to the progress of mind, the arts, and of human civilization ; neither would the Cimbri themselves have done more than procrastinate their own fall ; they could not have escaped the fate which awaited them. ”

⁴⁰ This conjecture is suggested by *Joh. Müller*, ubi sup. p. 329.

⁴¹ *Plut.* in *Mario*.

They are
thrown off
their guard.

They challenge
the Romans to
fight.

Marius assents.

Battle of *Vercellæ*;
array of
the barbarians.

Equipments
and terrific
aspect of their
cavalry.

Roman order
of battle.

The Germans
take up their
usual order.

Manœuvre to
outflank
Marius.

Catulus repels
the main at-
tack. Error of
the Germans.
Their disorder
and defeat.
Slaughter.

It seems very probable, that, in addition to the ordinary Roman practice of exulting over and mocking a humbled enemy, Marius may have entertained another and a less contemptible feeling, since the passions thus excited in the minds of the Cimbri were likely either to breed discord, or to deprive them of the coolness and deliberation so necessary to encounter the discipline of the Roman armies. If such was his motive, the event justified his sagacity. The Cimbri became eager for battle, and Bojorix, one of their princes, in person brought a challenge to the camp from the barbarian host, summoning Marius and the Romans to the field on the next day but one in the plains of *Vercellæ*. Marius assented, and both parties prepared for the final struggle. On the appointed morning, the barbarians drew out their whole strength. The two wings, each equal in length to the main battle, were thrown back, to afford space for their splendid cavalry, 15,000 in number, to manœuvre freely. These horsemen were peculiarly dreaded by the Romans. Their great strength and activity were well known, and their singular equipments gave them such an air of barbarous ferocity as could not fail to make a strong impression upon the vivid imagination of the Roman soldiery. Their helmets, it is said, were shaped to represent the heads of savage beasts with open jaws; these were surmounted by tufts of feathers, in the form of wings; they wore iron breastplates, and carried glittering burnished shields; their weapons of offence were a javelin for the onset, and a heavy broadsword for close combat.

The Romans were drawn up in the form of a half moon, or curved line, to suit the nature of the ground; Catulus commanded the centre; Marius distributed his own troops on the two wings. The Germans advanced to the attack in their usual deep wedge-shaped column, and with their ordinary impetuosity; the sun gleamed in the faces of the barbarians, and a high wind blinded them with clouds of light dust. The troops of Catulus encountered the first and most formidable onset; the cavalry manœuvred on the flanks of Marius, and endeavoured to circumvent and enclose him between their own squadrons and the right wing of their infantry, but without success. Catulus repelled the main attack, and the German column, wholly unfitted for retrograde movements, retired in confusion;⁴² the cavalry, it is said, quitted the field, and the infantry, outflanked and enclosed by the Roman wings, were thrown back upon their own encampment, where the greater number perished by the swords of the enemy.

⁴² The error, committed at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, was repeated here. The experience of modern warfare amply proves that when the impetus of deep and

solid columns of attack is once checked, it becomes very difficult to withdraw them without confusion in the presence of an active and determined enemy.

As at Aquæ Sextiæ, so at Vercellæ, the Cimbrian mothers slew their own children, and then stabbed or strangled themselves upon the dead bodies of their offspring. But in both these battles the numbers of the slain and prisoners are so grossly exaggerated that it were needless to repeat them. The important facts are abundantly manifest, namely, that the Teutonic and Cimbric power was annihilated,⁴³ the hordes themselves exterminated, or totally dispersed in their flight, and Rome delivered from a greater danger than any which had threatened her since the days of Thrasy-
Teutones and
Cimbri are an-
nihilated as a
power.
 menus and Cannæ.⁴⁴

SECTION II.—B. C. 100—58.

Settlements of the Germanic Nations in Gaul—Roman Interference—The Germans under Ariovistus oppress Gaul—Cæsar defeats the Helvetii—He attacks and defeats Ariovistus.

THE Romans regarded the Rhine as the boundary between Gaul and Germany;¹ but that limit was rather geographical than national. There is good evidence that, at different periods, both Gallic and Teutonic nations in turn overstepped it, and obtained settlements within each other's territories. In some former age, according to the tradition reported
Germanic na-
tions settle in
Gaul.

⁴³ The Cimbri, however, retained both name and station as an independent people. Many of those who escaped the slaughter at Vercellæ doubtless returned to their original settlements in the Cimbric Chersonesus (Jutland). The Cimbri sent an embassy to Augustus. *Strabo*, lib. vii. And Tacitus (*De Mor. Germ.* c. 37) speaks of them as a well-known people in his days. *Ptolemy* (lib. ii. c. 11) and *Claudian* (lib. iv.) both make mention of them.

⁴⁴ Plutarch (in his *Life of Marius*) is still our principal authority. It is probable that he wrote from the detailed accounts transmitted by Sylla, who, he tells us, was himself present in the engagement, and wrote a narrative of it; as well as from the Memoirs which Catulus left of the remarkable events of his consulship, a work which was honoured by the praise of Cicero. *In Bruto*, c. 35. The poet Archias made the Cimbric war the subject of one of his most successful poems, a work which flattered and pleased even the rude and illiterate Marius himself. *Cic. pro Archia Poeta*, c. 9.

The numbers of the slain in the battle of Vercellæ are variously given at 120,000 up to 160,000.

Florus gives the higher number; but he reduces the loss of the Romans to 300! *Hist. Rom.* lib. iii. c. 3. See also *J. Müller*, *Bell. Cimb.* p. 332. Works, vol. xii. *Mascou*, *Hist. of the Anc. Germ.* vol. i. lib. i. c. 14, 15, 16. Also *Luden*, *Gesch. des deutsch. Volk.* i. p. 55, whose lively and argumentative account is well worth the perusal. It may be observed that the Tigurini, whom the Cimbri had left in their rear to guard the passes of the Alps, dispersed as soon as they heard of the overthrow of their allies, and sought refuge among the mountain fastnesses, or dissolved themselves into predatory hordes. *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 3. "Tigurinorum manus, quæ quasi subsidio Noricos insederat Alpium tumulos, in diversa lapsi, fugâ ignobili et latrociniis evanuit."

¹ This seems to follow from Cæsar's description of the limits of Gaul; the Belgians, though in part certainly of Germanic origin, are enumerated among the nations of Gaul. "Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septentrionem, et orientem solem." *Cæsar*, *de Bell. Gall.* lib. i. c. 1.

The Helvetii
and Boii, Gallic
tribes.

by Cæsar,² the Gauls overmatched the Germans in military skill and bravery, and were enabled to pour their superfluous population into the regions beyond the Rhine, where they established colonies in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian forest.³ Cæsar gives them the name of Volcæ Tectosages, which, however, furnishes no etymological clue even to a remote conjecture as to their real name or position.⁴ Tacitus regards both Helvetii and Boii (nations who occupied the southern regions of Germany lying between the Mayne and the Alps) as of Gallic origin.⁵ But, with the exception of these obscure and vague traditions, there is nothing to induce us to believe that the Celtic tribes of Gaul ever made any serious impression upon the proper settlements—we might, perhaps, with as much propriety say, the hunting grounds—of the aboriginal Teutonic races beyond the Rhine.

The Aduatici,
a remnant of
the Cimbri.

On the other hand, there is ample evidence of the encroachments of the latter upon the settlements of the Gauls.⁶ The Cimbri and Teutones were for a time masters of Gaul, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. The battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, though it put an end to their dominion, did not so entirely disperse them that a remnant of the confederate tribes should not have maintained possession of some portion of a country which was once their own. A nation whom the Romans denominate Aduatici were believed to be such a remnant. Cæsar tells us that they were the descendants of Cimbri and Teutones, who, when they invaded the Roman Province, left behind them on the Rhine all their more bulky stores and baggage, under the protection of a guard, consisting of 6000 of their own people. After the destruction of their countrymen this body became engaged in incessant hostilities with the neighbouring nations, till, after various fortunes, they were, by general assent, permitted to settle in a district lying between the Meuse and the Scheldt.⁷

Settle between
the Meuse and
the Scheldt.

The Belgian
nations of
Germanic
origin.

It cannot be questioned that the Belgæ, though enumerated by Cæsar among the nations inhabiting Gaul, were, for the most part, of Teutonic race. In reply to certain inquiries he set on foot to ascertain the strength

² De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 24.

³ A still earlier tradition reported by *Livy*, lib. v. c. 34, makes mention of two Gallic chieftains who, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, emigrated from Gaul; the first of these, Sigovesus, passed the Rhine, and the other, Bellovesus, penetrated into Italy.

⁴ *Beat. Rhenanus*, in *Comm. Rer. Germ.* lib. i., conjectures that they inhabited the banks of the Neckar, and fixes them on the spot where stood the ancient castle of Teck. *Cæsar*, Ed. Variorum, 1651, p. 228, note.

⁵ De Mor. Germ. c. 28.

⁶ Thus, the Tongri broke in upon Belgium and settled there. *Tac.* de Mor. Germ. c. 2 and 28. "Ipsam Rheni ripam (Gallicam) haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes." *Strabo* (lib. iv.) places the Triboci, a German nation, within the confines of the Rheno-Gallic tribes of the Sequani and Mediomatrici. *Struvius* (*Corp. Hist. Germ.* vol. i. p. 55) fixes them in the modern circle of Alsace.

⁷ *Cæsar*, *Comm. de Bell. Gall.* lib. ii. c. 29.

of the Belgic league which had been formed against him, he was told that the greater number of their tribes were descended from Germans, who, in some earlier age, had crossed the Rhine; and, attracted by the fertility of the soil, had settled in Gaul, after having expelled the native inhabitants. He was likewise assured that these nations were the only ones who successfully resisted the arms of the Cimbri and Teutones.⁸ The vagrant Cimbri, therefore, who were left behind on the Rhine by their companions, would naturally seek protection among nations of their own lineage, and endeavour to settle in a country occupied by kindred tribes.⁹ The most considerable of these tribes were the Bellovaci, the Nervii, the Morini, the Aduatici, and the Treviri;¹⁰ their geographical distribution is in a great degree conjectural; but generally we may assume that the Bellovaci occupied the district of Beauvais;¹¹ the Nervii were settled in Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault;¹² the Aduatici in the country between the Sambre and the Meuse;¹³ and the Treviri in the modern Triers, on the banks of the Mosel. We have no certain information respecting the period at which these settlements took place; but the colonists retained, it may be presumed, the habits and usages of their countrymen beyond the Rhine, and kept up some sort of national intercourse with them.¹⁴ Their wars with their Celtic neighbours were frequent. The vagrant tribes of Germany seem, in fact, to have regarded Gaul, its inhabitants and riches, as their own proper prey. From the progress they made, and the success which attended their invasions, it is reasonable to conclude that, at no distant period, they would have reduced it to total subjection.¹⁵ But the Romans wanted it for themselves, and with their ordinary dexterity, under the guidance of Caius Julius Cæsar, the most ambitious and accomplished of their generals and statesmen, availed themselves of the enmity of the two races for the subjugation of both.

The principal Germano-Belgic nations are :—
1. Bellovaci,
2. Nervii,
3. Aduatici,
4. Treviri.

Their successes against the Celto-Gallic nations. Their further progress arrested by the Romans.

⁸ *Cæsar*, *Comm. de Bell. Gall.* lib. ii. c. 4. After enumerating eleven nations, members of the Belgic league, he adds four others, viz., "Condrusos, Eburones, Cæræsos, Pæmanos, qui uno nomine *Germani* appellantur." See, also, *Phil. Cluverii*, *Germ. Antiqua*, lib. ii. c. 1. Ed. Elz. 1616.

⁹ A similar instance occurs in the case of the Teuchteri and Usipetes who, after the dispersion of their nation by Cæsar, were entertained by the Transrhenane Sicambri, and, as subsequently appears, incorporated with them. *Cæsar*, *de Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. c. 16.

¹⁰ *Strabo* adopts Cæsar's division of the whole Belgic people into fifteen tribes.

¹¹ *P. Cluv.* *Germ. Ant.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 22. p. 110.

¹³ *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 21. p. 108.

¹⁴ "*Horum omnium*," says Cæsar, (*Comm.* lib. i. c. 1.) "*fortissimi sunt Belgæ, &c. proximique sunt Germanis.*" And he adds, "*quibus-cum continenter bellum gerunt.*" Still the course of their history proves that they were, at least, as often their allies as their enemies.

¹⁵ This was the feeling of the principal Gallic nations themselves, as appears from the narrative of Divitiacus to Cæsar at their conference. "*Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes e Galliæ finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent.*" *Cæsar*, *de Bell. Gall.* lib. i. c. 31.

B. C. 72.
Disputes be-
tween the Ædui
and Sequani.

The Ædui ally
themselves
with the Ro-
mans.

The Sequani
call in the
Trans-Rhenane
Germans,

who pass the
Rhine under
Ariovistus,

and defeat the
Ædui.

The Germans
settle among
the Sequani,
and oppress
both them and
the Ædui.

The *Ædui* and *Sequani*, two powerful Gallic nations, were engaged in one of those pernicious contentions for supremacy which had already consummated the ruin of the polished communities of Greece.¹⁶ The *Ædui* dwelt upon the western banks of the *Arar*;¹⁷ the *Sequani* occupied the district between that river and the chain of the *Jura*.¹⁸ The former sought and obtained the alliance of Rome; the latter applied for assistance to their German neighbours beyond the *Rhine*. The *Ædui*, though from that period regarded as allies of the republic, were prevented from deriving any benefit from their new connexion by the civil broils in which Rome was at that time plunged. The Germans were nearer at hand, and readily adopted a proposal which might, by a management familiar to the strong when in alliance with the weak, become the means of extending their power and increasing their wealth.

Accordingly, 15,000 German warriors, allured by pay and promises, crossed the *Rhine* to the assistance of the *Sequani*, under a leader known to us by the latinized name of *Ariovistus*.¹⁹ Other bodies followed them unbidden, and the Germans at length counted 120,000 fighting men established within the limits of the *Sequani*.²⁰ The *Ædui* were defeated in every battle; their chiefs and nobles fell in the field, their allies deserted them, and they were reduced to renounce their connexion with Rome, and to give perpetual hostages for their future subjection. The Romans, who regarded treaties of alliance and protection as acknowledgments of the supremacy of the republic, were not inclined to release the *Ædui* from an engagement which afforded a chance of aggrandisement, or a pretext for interference. And the use that might be made of it, under the able management of *Cæsar*, was not long in appearing.

But, in the interim, the war for which the Germans had been summoned had come to an end; and their allies, the *Sequani*, now reaped the bitter fruit of their mistaken policy. Squabbles arose between that people and their savage allies; the whole merit of the victory was due to the latter, and they were not inclined to remember any stipulations by which the full enjoyment of its fruits might be circumscribed or abridged. In one common distress *Ædui* and *Sequani*

¹⁶ The following succinct account of the conquest of Gaul and Belgium by Julius Cæsar is drawn up from his narrative, compared with the learned dissertations of *Struvius* (Corp. Hist. Germ. vol. i. Period ii. sec. 1—6.) *Mascon* (Hist. of the Anc. Germ. vol. i. lib. ii. sec. 1.) and *H. Luden*, (Gesch. des deutsch. Volk. vol. i. cc. 6—11.) a work remarkable for the extent of its learning and research, its ingenuity and vivid-

ness of imagination.

¹⁷ The modern *Saone*—*Cæs.* lib. i. c. 12.

¹⁸ The modern *Burgundy*.

¹⁹ Probably “*Ehrenvest*, or *Ehren-fest*,”—*strong in honours*,—*the honourable*—*the glorious*. *Luden* (vol. i. c. 6. note 7.) disapproves of this etymology, without giving a reason.

²⁰ *Cæs.* lib. i. c. 32.

approached each other, and concerted measures for the expulsion of their German oppressors. A confederacy of Gallic chiefs and tribes was speedily formed, and as speedily dissipated by the vigilance and vigour of Ariovistus and his warriors. The Sequani were compelled to yield two-thirds of their lands to their German masters; the Ædui gave tribute, and the hostages formerly extorted from them by the Sequani passed into the hands of Ariovistus.²¹

They compel the former to yield up two-thirds of their lands, and hold the latter in subjection.

While that chief and his followers were engaged in fixing the yoke upon the necks of the Gauls, the triumvir, Caius Julius Cæsar had obtained the command of the Gallic province of the republic from the reluctant and intimidated senate.²² He assumed the consulate, and set off for his government, where he found immediate occupation for his extraordinary military and political talents. The Helvetii, a numerous Teutonic tribe, had long been settled in the country lying between the river Mayne and the Alps, along the eastern banks of the Upper Rhine. The Mayne separated them from the Suevi, probably at that period, (as for many subsequent ages,) the most powerful and warlike nation of Germany. With this people the Helvetii had been long at war; and, in the course of the contest, had been successively driven from all their settlements between the Rhine and the Mayne, till they were at length shut up within the limits of modern Switzerland,²³ an unproductive and mountainous country, insufficient for their maintenance, and irksome to that restless activity, those migratory habits, which, from its earliest appearance in history, distinguished the Teutonic race.

C. Jul. Cæsar takes the command of the Romano-Gallic province.

B. C. 59.

He finds the Helvetic tribes preparing for an armed emigration into Gaul.

In this confined and distressing position the Helvetic tribes determined upon a general emigration. They employed three years in preparation; they frequently assembled their national councils, consulted upon the direction of their march, entered into negotiations with the Gallic states for a free passage through their territories, collected stores of every kind, exhausted the land for the production of the needful supply of corn for so great a multitude, and having completed the arming and organization of their forces, they concentrated them upon the right bank of the Rhone, where that river issues from the Leman Lake.

Their forces assemble on the Rhone, near Geneva.

Their earlier project appears to have been to break through the gorges of the Rhone into the Lyonnese, which then formed a portion of the Roman province of *Gallia Narbonensis*. A second road lay open to them by the passes of the Jura; but as it was their intention to seek for new settlements in the central or southern districts of

²¹ *Cæsar*, lib. i. c. 23.

²² *Suetonius*, in *Julio*.

²³ Between the river Rhine and the high Alps,

They apply to Cæsar for permission to pass through the Roman province. He temporizes.

He assembles the whole force of the provinces; fortifies the passes of the Rhone;

and rejects the request of the Helvetii, who attempt to force his lines; but without success. But the Sequani grant them permission to pass the Jura.

Cæsar assembles an army,

crosses the

Gaul,²⁴ the Roman province afforded the shortest and the most convenient route to their destination; and they accordingly requested Cæsar's permission to march through the country of the subject Allobroges, promising to conduct themselves as friends, and to abstain from all injury to the provincials or their lands.²⁵ Sound policy, the dictates of his own ambition and the interests of his country, alike prohibited compliance with the request of the Helvetii. So enormous a host could not traverse the Roman province without disorder, nor, probably, without hostility. The Germanic migrations had become a subject of deep apprehension to the Roman people; the perils of the Cimbric and Teutonic invasions were still fresh in their memories; and the rapid successes of Ariovistus afforded alarming proof that the source of the dangers they had so recently escaped was still flowing as abundantly as ever. But Cæsar was not yet prepared for open war. He therefore temporized for a while, and promised to consider the proposal of the Helvetii. At his arrival in Gaul he had found but a single legion in the province; this small corps, hardly exceeding 6000 men, he had strengthened with all the provincial auxiliaries he could muster, and had employed them in erecting strong entrenchments between the efflux of the Rhone near Geneva, and the crest of the Jura, a distance of about nine Roman miles. Having thus effectually blocked up the passes into the territory of the republic, and strengthened his position so as to enable the small force left to guard it to maintain their ground till reinforcements should arrive, he returned such an answer to the envoy of the Helvetii as convinced them that they must either renounce their project or force a passage through the lines of the Romans. Several partial attempts were made to pass the barrier opposed to them, but without success. In the meantime, it seems, they were more fortunate in their second project. Without the permission of the Sequani the passes of the Jura were as inaccessible to them as those of the Allobroges; but Dumnorix, a powerful chief of the Sequani, seconded their request for a free passage, and Cæsar was alarmed by the intelligence that there was no longer any hope of preventing the threatened irruption into Gaul.

He therefore applied himself with the utmost promptitude to collect a force capable of contending with the enemy in the field. Having assembled five legions in Gallia Cisalpina and Italy, he conducted them by forced marches into the territory of the Vocontii,²⁶ and thence across the

²⁴ Cæsar says, "they intended to proceed southward to the country of the Santones," the modern province of Saintonge, lying between the Garonne and the Charente, "bordering on the

confines of the Tolosatii, who were dependents of Rome." Comm. lib. i. c. 10.

²⁵ *Cæs. ibid.* c. 7.

²⁶ Probably across the Mont Cenis, by the

Rhone to the Secusiani;²⁷ thus throwing himself in the direct line of march of the Helvetii, who, in the interim, had traversed the territories of the friendly Sequani, and were already ravaging those of the Ædui.²⁸

That people, regardless of remoter consequences, and looking only to escape the present peril, threw themselves into the arms of Cæsar, and once more invoked that pernicious alliance with Rome which the arms of Ariovistus had for a time compelled them to renounce. The enemy had in the meantime overrun the whole country between the Jura and the Saone;²⁹ and Cæsar determined to advance to meet them before they should have time to consume all the resources of his new allies, and to force their way to the countries they were in quest of. He, therefore, crossed to the left bank of the Saone, while the Helvetii transported three divisions of their army to the opposite shore, leaving the fourth, consisting of the sept or clan of the Tigurini,³⁰ to join them at their leisure. This false movement exposed them to a fatal surprise. Cæsar left his camp about the midnight watch with three legions, and came upon the Tigurini before they could take any measures for defence. The greater part of the tribe was cut to pieces; the rest took to flight and concealed themselves in the neighbouring forests.³¹

After this important success the Roman general instantly threw a bridge over the Saone, and recrossed to the right bank³² to follow the movements of the enemy. The latter, surprised at his rapidity, and, as it should seem, less incensed by the misfortune of their countrymen the Tigurini, than desirous of reaching the as yet distant goal of their expedition, sent their aged chief Divico³³ to remonstrate with Cæsar, and prevail upon him by promises of advantage, or by menaces, to abstain

Rhone, and interposes between the Helvetii and the southern provinces of Gaul.

The oppressed Ædui throw themselves into the arms of the Romans.

Cæsar passes the Saone, surprises,

and disperses the Tigurini, allies of the Helvetii.

He returns to the right bank, and watches the movements of the enemy.

The Helvetii remonstrate and threaten Cæsar, who

route of Exilles (Ocelus) and Susa: "Ab Ocelo . . . in fines Vocontiorum." See *Hoffmanni Lexicon Universale* ad verb. "Ocelus."—The Vocontii inhabited the modern Dauphiné. *Ibid.*

²⁷ An independent Gallic people occupying the country between the Lyonnese, or Trans-Rhodan Allobroges, and the chain of the Puy de Dôme in Auvergne. *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* ad verba "Secusiani" et "Podium."—This position is well laid down in the excellent maps of the Society for the Diff. of Useful Knowl.

²⁸ Cæsar thus made himself master of the courses of the Upper Loire and the Allier, which rivers the Helvetii must pass on their route to the Garonne.

²⁹ "*Flumen Arar quod per fines Æduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit.*" *Cæs. lib. i. c. 12.*

³⁰ The Pagus or Gau of the Tigurini is supposed to have extended over the modern cantons

of Zurich, Zug, Uri, Glarus, Appenzell, and St. Gall. *Hoffm. ad verb. Tigurinus.*

³¹ *Comm. lib. i. c. 12.*

³² But for Cæsar's express assertion, that he threw his bridge over the Saone *after* the surprise of the Tigurini, the writer would have inclined to the opinion that he had maintained the bridges by which he had crossed, from the right to the left bank of the Saone, from the country of the Secusiani, particularly as such a bridge was of the utmost importance to maintain his command of the river, to keep open his connexions with his allies on both banks, and to enable him to cover the frontier of the Roman province, in case of a movement of the Helvetii in that direction.

³³ The identical leader of the Tigurini who, in alliance with the Cimbri and Teutones, had slain the consul Cassius and compelled his army to pass beneath the yoke. *Cæs. lib. i. c. 13.*

continues to follow them;

from interrupting their march. Cæsar disregarded both, and the conference ended in mutual defiance. The Helvetii moved slowly forwards, followed at a respectful distance by the Romans; the light cavalry of the latter were worsted in a skirmish with the rear guard of the enemy, whose spirits were unduly raised by the trifling success thus obtained.

but slowly, owing to the supineness or secret disaffection of his allies.

Cæsar's motions were impeded by the non-arrival of the supplies promised by his allies the Ædui. At the instigation of the Sequanian Dumnorix, a large party among them attempted, by secret influence, to thwart his projects, and, if possible, to avert the danger to their independence which they apprehended from any decisive success against the Helvetii. Cæsar was therefore wholly dependent upon the scanty supplies which reached him by the Saone, and found himself unable to advance to any great distance from the banks of that river. The intrigues of Dumnorix, it now appeared, had given rise, not only to these serious disappointments, but to the partial defeat of his cavalry in the late action with the Helvetii; and he now heard, for the first time, that it was through the influence of Dumnorix among the Sequani that the enemy had obtained an unobstructed entrance into the interior of Gaul.

He attempts to outflank the Helvetii,

but is disappointed by false information.

The Helvetii attack the Romans near Bibracte.

These complicated treasons demanded investigation; in the interim the Helvetii had marched to the vicinity of Bibracte,³⁴ where they took up an insecure position at the foot of a range of hills of easy ascent. Dumnorix was placed in custody; and Cæsar, instinctively perceiving the advantage to be derived from the errors of his enemies, dispatched Labienus to turn their position by seizing the crest of the hills in their rear; but the manœuvre failed, owing to a false report that Labienus had been anticipated by the enemy, and Cæsar approached the opulent Æduan city of Bibracte, in the hope of procuring there the necessary supply of provisions. The Helvetii, either emboldened by the failure of Labienus's movement, or secretly informed of the dearth which prevailed in the Roman camp, boldly placed themselves in the path of Cæsar and assumed the offensive.

Cæsar takes up a strong position.

Battle of Bibracte.

B. C. 58.
3rd July.

and repels the first assault;

A battle was now unavoidable. The Roman general posted his troops in the usual order³⁵ upon the declivity of a steep ascent. The advance of the Helvetii drove back the Roman skirmishers upon their first line; and their main body forming the ordinary column of attack, charged up hill with their customary impetuosity. But the Romans, skilfully availing themselves of the advantage of high and uneven ground, so harassed the advancing enemy with their darts, that they were unable to make any impression

³⁴ The modern "Autun" — Augustodunum, Univ. ad v. *Augustodunum*.
N.W. of Chalons sur Saone. See *Hoffm. Lex.* ³⁵ "Triplici acie."

upon the point of attack. Wearied with fatigue and wounds, the Helvetii gave ground and retreated to a hill about a thousand paces in the rear. Hither the Romans incautiously followed them; by this movement their own flank became exposed to attack by the reserves of the Helvetii, consisting of a fresh body of 15,000 Boii and Tulingi; the Helvetii rallied and again advanced, and the fortune of the day inclined in their favour. The promptitude of Cæsar, however, soon restored the balance; he brought up his second body, which wheeled into line upon the threatened flank of the first, while the third body assailed the Boii and Tulingi in front. All the reserves were engaged on both sides; the Romans had the advantages of discipline, consummate skill and military pride; the Helvetii possessed hardihood, great physical strength, and the utmost contempt of danger and of death. The struggle was long and sanguinary; but the well-directed efforts of the Romans at length prevailed over the rude impetuosity of barbarous warfare. Late in the evening the Helvetii were compelled to yield, and they retired without confusion; one body retreated within the bulwark of cars and waggons in their rear, while another occupied the surrounding heights and annoyed the advancing Romans with their darts. The battle continued till deep in the night; the bulwark of waggons was at length stormed, multitudes perished there, and several persons of rank were made prisoners. But the main body (according to Cæsar's estimate 130,000 strong) made good their retreat, and in four days' uninterrupted march reached the confines of the Lingones.³⁶ There, however, weak with suffering, wounds and hunger, and dispirited by calamity, they accepted the terms offered them by the conqueror, and returned to recolonize the lands they had quitted, and to become the passive instruments of Roman policy. Cæsar knew that the deserted territory lay too invitingly to remain long unoccupied by the restless Germanic tribes beyond the Rhine; and he was anxious that so important a position should be held by a nation no longer dangerous to the Romans, yet still strong enough to guard it against the enemy whose encroachments he most dreaded.³⁷

but having exposed his flanks by pursuing too far, he is obliged to bring up all his reserves.

After a long and bloody struggle

the Romans seize the wagon-camp of the Helvetii, who retreat to the Marne,

where they capitulate, and are permitted to re-occupy the lands they had quitted.

It is very difficult to ascertain the disposition of the Gallic nations towards the Romans at this juncture. One party among the allied Ædui, probably that of Dumnorix, regarded them with the same jealous eye with which they watched the progress of Ariovistus and his Germans. Cæsar had felt the effects of their apprehensions during his war against the Helvetii.³⁸

Abject conduct of the Gallic nations after the battle of Bibracte.

³⁶ The Lingones inhabited the diocese of Langres, in the province of Champagne; Depart. of Haute-Marne. See *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* ad v. Lingones.

³⁷ *Cæsar*, Com. lib. i. c. 28.

³⁸ "Neque dubitare (Æduos) quin si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliquâ Galliâ Æduis libertatem sint erepturi." *Cæs. De Bell.*

Cæsar becomes
the arbiter of
Gaul.

But the Roman party, under the directions of Divitiacus, retained the ascendant; and by the event of the battle of Bibracte all discontents and jealousies seem to have been drowned in the din of victory. All the states of Gaul whom the tidings could reach hastened to him with their congratulations; the sense of independence yielded to the sentiments of awe, admiration, and fear with which Cæsar was now regarded: and all parties

The Ædui and
Sequani com-
plain to him of
the tyranny of
Ariovistus.

appear to have unreservedly flung their destinies at his feet.³⁹ Cæsar's victory had delivered them from one enemy, and they determined not to lose the opportunity, at whatever price, of shaking off the yoke which Ariovistus had imposed upon them. Cæsar lent a willing ear to their supplications; he listened with pleasure to the detail of their sufferings and of the tyranny of the Germans; and if anything had been wanting to convince him of the abject helplessness of his new clients, it would have been the sighs and tears of the envoys of the Sequani, and their anxious desire of secrecy, lest their application should come to the knowledge of Ariovistus, and bring down upon them greater evils than those from which they sought relief at his hands.⁴⁰

Cæsar, regard-
ing Gaul as the
prize of the
conqueror, de-
termines to dis-
pute it with
Ariovistus.

The Gallic nations being now, by their own confession, incapable of defending their lands and liberties against the Trans-Rhenane barbarians, it followed as much from the spirit of Roman policy as from the character of Cæsar, that he should regard the possession of Gaul as a prize to be fought for between Ariovistus and himself. The notion of unpurchased assistance to a feeble ally was too alien from the customary policy of Rome, too disinterested to find a place in so ambitious a mind as that of Cæsar.⁴¹ He determined, therefore, to act while the sense of recent injury should keep the eyes of his allies closed to the consequences of the fatal step they had taken. He intimated to Ariovistus, that he was anxious to consult with him upon certain matters of importance to both parties, and requested him to appoint a convenient place where they might meet and confer upon the subjects in question.

He sounds
Ariovistus.
Requests a
personal
interview,

which the
latter declines.

Ariovistus honestly replied, that such an interview would be attended with great inconvenience and risk, and, as far as he could perceive, could lead to no good result. "He could not understand," he added, "why Cæsar, or the Roman people should trouble themselves about his share of Gaul, since he had shown no disposition to interfere with theirs." It can hardly be doubted that the reply which Cæsar thought fit to return was intended

Gall. lib. i. c. 17. Under these apprehensions they withheld the supplies for the army, and gave information of Cæsar's movements to the enemy. *Cæs. ibid.*

³⁹ See their address *Comm. De Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 12.*

⁴⁰ *Cæs. De Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 31.*

⁴¹ *Luden, Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes, vol. i. p. 76.*

to irritate the German prince.⁴² After enumerating the honours and benefits conferred by the senate upon him, and charging him with an ungrateful requital of these favours, he broadly and offensively stated the conditions upon which he might still continue to enjoy the grace and favour of the senate and people of Rome, namely, that he should introduce no more troops from the other side of the Rhine into Gaul; that he should restore to the Ædui the hostages he held of them; and that he should give back to the Sequani all the lands he had taken from them.⁴³

The two first of these conditions mortified the pride of Ariovistus; compliance with the last would have deprived him of the entire fruits of his victories; and, moreover, was by this time probably wholly out of his power. He therefore answered Cæsar's proposal by appealing to those rights which solemn treaty and successful warfare were universally believed to confer:—"The hostages and subsidies granted him by the Ædui," he said, "were his by solemn compact with that people; the lands of the Sequani had become his indisputable property by right of conquest, and by that right he was determined to hold them. But if such was Cæsar's pleasure, he, for his part, was ready for war; Cæsar would soon be convinced that it was no easy matter to encounter a nation of veteran warriors, who, for the last fourteen years, had not dwelt under a roof."⁴⁴

This bold reply was regarded by Cæsar as a declaration of war. Public grounds were not wanting to invest his resolution with an appearance of expediency at least. The Ædui were the ancient allies of the republic. The maxims of Roman policy forbade him to permit any foreign power, however incontrovertible the right, to exercise control over a nation whom the senate and people of Rome had once honoured with the title of "Friend." The danger arising from the habitual disposition to armed emigration, which the Teutonic tribes had for many ages past evinced, was real and imminent; and it was obvious that, if the Germans of Ariovistus were permitted to overrun Gaul, the territories of the republic would not long remain inviolate; more especially since, by the subjugation of the Sequani, the Rhone was now the only barrier between them and the Roman province.⁴⁵ A third consideration probably recom-

Cæsar sends him a second message with the intention of provoking him.

Ariovistus rejects Cæsar's proposals.

Cæsar regards the rejection as a declaration of war. His reasons for the war.

1. Foreign policy of Rome.
2. The dangers of barbarian emigration.

⁴² Such was the opinion of *Dio Cassius*:—*Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπραξεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπλήξειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξοργεῖν, καὶ τοῦτου πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μεγάλην καὶ εὐπρεπῆ λήψεσθαι.*—"This he did, not that he might intimidate him, but that he might excite him to anger, in the

hope that he might thus obtain a cogent and a specious pretext for war."—*Dio Cass. lib. xxxviii. § 34.*

⁴³ *Cæs. ibid. lib. i. c. 26.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid. c. 27.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid. c. 33.*

3. The apprehensions of the people of Italy.

mended Cæsar's policy at home. The recollection of the alarm occasioned by the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones was fresh in the memories of the timid Italians; and they heard with undisguised apprehension of the vast hordes of ferocious warriors which the gloomy and mysterious wilderness of the north still continued to pour forth. The war was useful, expedient, necessary, and therefore popular. Public and private motives combined to shape the course of Cæsar's policy; and with characteristic energy he determined to take the field before his adversary could be acquainted with his resolution.⁴⁶

The Suevi in arms to join Ariovistus.

Cæsar advances to Vesontio to prevent the junction.

The Ubii detain them on the Rhine.

The Roman army panic-stricken.

Cæsar allays their fears, and advances towards the enemy.

In addition to these motives for dispatch, intelligence had reached him that the war-cry had already sounded through the hundred cantons of the Suevi, and that a large body of that warlike people were already upon the march to reinforce Ariovistus.⁴⁷ To prevent the junction, Cæsar advanced by forced marches upon the town of Vesontio,⁴⁸ a position strong by nature, and capable of affording a good support for his future operations, and made himself master of the place. But several circumstances combined to retard the commencement of active hostilities. The German auxiliaries of Ariovistus were detained upon the Rhine by the enmity of their hereditary foes, the Ubii,⁴⁹ and he became anxious to gain time to enable them to overcome the obstacles thus thrown in their way. At the same instant the Roman army was seized with one of those epidemic panics to which the imaginative Italians have always been liable. In their quarters at Vesontio the soldiers heard many exaggerated reports of the almost superhuman strength and ferocity of the wild warriors they were about to encounter. Cæsar, it is true, succeeded in allaying the tempest of apprehension which threatened to break up his army; but a short delay was necessary to establish their newly recovered firmness, and to inure them to the aspect of these terrific barbarians. With this view he advanced northward by seven ordinary days' marches, and halted at the distance of twenty-four Roman miles from the encampment of Ariovistus.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Dio Cassius*, lib. xxxviii. § 34, vol. i. p. 177.

⁴⁷ The word "pagus" was used by the Romans in two senses, sometimes it signified a *village*, and then it was synonymous with *vicus*; at others it was used to designate a *district or territorial division*. In this latter sense it must be taken when applied to the German nations. The learned Benedictine *Besser*, in his *Tomus Prodrum* to the projected *Chron. Gotwicense*, (a work of marvellous labour and research,) deduces a variety of interesting etymologies from

the equivalent old German word *gow, geu, gau*, or *gaw*, which the French render by the word "canton," which is now generally adopted by all European nations except the Germans. See *Chron. Gotw.* lib. iv. Diss. de Pagis Germ. Med. p. 598.—*Cluver.* Germ. Ant. p. 113.

⁴⁸ Now Besançon in Franche Comté. *Cæs.* lib. i. c. 38.

⁴⁹ Adopting *Luden's* view, *Geschichte des deutsch. Volkes*, vol. i. p. 78, note 6.

⁵⁰ *Cæsar*, *ibid.* lib. i. c. 41.

As soon as the latter heard of Cæsar's arrival, he sent envoys to say Ariovistus proposes an interview, "that, since they were now so near each other, the interview formerly proposed by Cæsar might take place without danger or inconvenience." Cæsar assented, not without hopes that the rapidity of his own movements, and the non-arrival of the German auxiliaries, might have rendered his adversary more tractable.⁵¹ After a five days' negotiation which takes place. upon the form of the proposed interview, it was agreed that they should meet upon an eminence situated at an equal distance from both camps, each attended by an escort of an equal number of horsemen. Cæsar opened the conference by reminding Ariovistus of the marks of confidence and esteem he had received from the senate. He then insisted upon the long connexion which had subsisted between the republic and the Ædui, and observed, that the senate and people were in the habit of dealing alike with all whom they had once adopted as friends and allies; and that it was a state maxim of Rome not only to maintain them in the unabridged possession of their territories, but by every means to advance them in prosperity, credit, and honour.⁵² He concluded by requiring him Cæsar's demands. to desist from hostilities either against the Ædui or their allies; to give them back their hostages, and to permit no fresh troops to pass the Rhine.⁵³

Ariovistus replied with barbaric bluntness, "that he had crossed the Rhine at the instance of the Gallic nations themselves, and under the inducement of large promises of lands and subsidies; that the territories he held were their own free gift, and that the hostages were voluntarily placed in his hands as pledges for the fulfilment of those promises: the tribute he claimed from the vanquished Ædui was his by the laws of war; and if he had fallen out with the Gauls, they, and not he, were the aggressors; they had but paid the penalty of their former rashness; and if they desired another trial of strength, he was ready to meet them in the field: if, on the contrary, they wished for peace, they must no longer withhold the subsidies they had freely engaged to pay: as to the friendship of the Roman people, if it was worth anything, it ought to contribute to his honour and safety rather than tend to his disparagement;⁵⁴ and if they now became instrumental in depriving him of the rewards of his services to the Gauls, and the legitimate fruits of his successes, he should be quite as ready to renounce their friendship as he had once been to obtain it. Then, adverting to the alleged connexion

⁵¹ *Cæsar*, lib. i. c. 42.

⁵² "Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nil deperdere, sed gratiâ, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse."—*Cæs.* lib. i. c. 43.

⁵³ *Ibid.* c. 43.

⁵⁴ He seems to have thought the state maxim which regulated the conduct of Rome towards allies and friends, equally applicable to his own case as to that of the Ædui.

between the Roman people and the Ædui, he flatly told his opponent that *such* a friendship could be no better than a mere pretence. Neither Romans nor Ædui had ever till now performed any of the duties of allies towards each other. The Ædui had not assisted the Romans in their wars with the Allobroges, as allies would have done; nor had the Ædui received any succour from the Romans in their late unsuccessful struggle against himself. The true state of the case was, that one portion of Gaul having by the law of conquest fallen to his share, and another portion to that of Cæsar, neither of them had any just title to interfere with each other's enjoyment of their respective acquisitions; and that if there was any difference as to the question of right, it must be in his favour, inasmuch as he was the prior occupant, the Romans never having, till very lately, passed the frontiers of their own province."

The barbarian, having thus stripped the question between himself and Cæsar of all deceptive pretences, concluded by telling him that he had received certain intelligence that his downfall was earnestly desired by many principal persons in Rome; and that by accomplishing his destruction he had it in his power to earn the gratitude and friendship of a powerful party in the republic; but that he had no such intention: on the contrary, if Cæsar would abstain from molesting him in his new conquests, he would become his devoted friend, and carry on any wars he might have in view without reward, and without danger⁵⁵ or expense to him.

Cæsar's reply.

Cæsar passed by the latter observation of Ariovistus; he went over the old ground once more with a view to perplex the straightforward judgment of his opponent. Coming then to the naked question as it was presented to him by the German prince, he denied his right by priority of invasion; for the Romans, he said, had, long before the arrival of Ariovistus, invaded the territories of the Averni and Ruteni, under the command of Q. Fabius Maximus, and vanquished⁵⁶ those nations, though they had not thought fit either to convert their country into a province, or even to impose a tribute upon them.⁵⁷

Conference broken off by Cæsar.

Cæsar affirms that, during the conference, the escort of Ariovistus

⁵⁵ There seems no reason to doubt that Ariovistus had received correct intelligence of the suspicions entertained at Rome of Cæsar's views. He appears to have built his own plans upon this information, and hints to Cæsar, not obscurely, that he was ready to assist him in his designs upon the independence of his own country, provided he would sacrifice that of Gaul to him. Throughout, Ariovistus dealt with the individual Cæsar, deriding the artful interposition of the senate and people of Rome. The

power was in Cæsar's hands, and Ariovistus did not doubt but that he would use it for his own aggrandizement, as he would himself have done. The real question between them was, which of them should be master of Gaul; or, if they could agree, how they should divide the spoil.

⁵⁶ A. U. C. 633.—B. C. 121. P. Manilius and C. Papir. Carbo Coss. *Art de Vérif. les Dates*, ante-Christian Period, p. 576.

⁵⁷ Cæsar, ubi supra, c. 44.

could not refrain from insulting, and even throwing stones and darts at the Romans. He broke off the conversation under pretence of preventing mischief, and on his arrival in his camp he told the army that Ariovistus had behaved with intolerable insolence and arrogance; that he had interdicted all Gaul to the Romans, and that his cavalry had attacked the Roman escort, and by this treachery had put an end to the conference. The manifest untruth of one of these allegations subjects them all to suspicion. Ariovistus, so far from disputing, had fully admitted the right of the Romans to the share of Gaul they had conquered. The probability is, that Cæsar, perceiving the continuance of the interview unlikely to lead to the attainment of any of the objects he had had in view, was glad of a pretext to break it off, and that he cared as little for truth in the report he thought fit to submit to the army as he had done for candour during the progress of the debate itself.⁵⁸

He circulates an untrue report of the demands of Ariovistus,

By this false and offensive statement of the demands of Ariovistus, Cæsar had succeeded in exciting the vain and haughty temper of the Roman soldiery to a degree of eagerness for battle he had not hitherto observed. Ariovistus, on the contrary, was disposed to renew the negotiations, and sent him a proposal to meet again upon the same terms; or, if he preferred it, to confer through superior officers to be appointed by both parties. Cæsar, instead of adopting either alternative, sent two persons of inferior rank to the camp of Ariovistus, with instructions to hear and report his communication, but without powers of any kind to discuss or conclude. Ariovistus felt this step as a wanton insult; he affected to consider the envoys as intruders and spies, and ordered them to be put in chains.⁵⁹

which stimulates the ardour of his army for battle.

Ariovistus wishes to renew the negotiations.

Cæsar offends him by sending inferior officers without powers to treat.

Ariovistus puts them in irons.

At the same time he broke up his camp, and approached to within six miles of the Roman quarters; and, on the following day, by a skilful flank movement, he interposed himself between Cæsar and his supplies. The latter now used every means to bring his enemy to battle; but Ariovistus kept his men within their entrenchments, merely permitting his cavalry, 6000 strong, to skirmish daily with the Romans. By this system of protracted hostilities the position of Cæsar became every day more embarrassing, and he seems to have resolved upon attacking Ariovistus in his own camp. With this view he seized upon an eminence within six hundred paces of the enemy, and converted it into a strong point of support for the operations necessary to dislodge the Germans from their position. On the following day he drew up his forces in order

He manœuvres to cut off Cæsar from his supplies,

and avoids a battle.

Cæsar forces him to a general action.

⁵⁸ Comp. *Cæs.* lib. i. c. 44, with *Luden*, *Geschicht. des deutsch. Volk.* vol. i. p. 84.

⁵⁹ *Cæs.* *ibid.* c. 47.

Preparations
for battle.

of battle, close upon the quarters of the enemy. Such a defiance was as intolerable to the spirits of the gallant barbarians, as it was bold, and even hazardous, on the part of Cæsar. The military position of both parties, the mutual exasperation of the minds of the soldiery, rendered a battle unavoidable. Yet Ariovistus drew out his forces without hurry or confusion. They marched into line by order of septs or clans—Harudes, Marcomanni, Tribocci, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii, Suevi,—closing up their cars and waggons in their rear, so as to render flight impossible, and afford a protection to their women and property. According to the wild custom of their race, the females of the army addressed each clan as it passed towards the battle front with loud cries, dishevelled hair, and streaming eyes, imploring them by their manhood not to abandon them to foreign slavery.

Cæsar attacks
with his right
wing.

Cæsar commenced the attack with his right wing. The Germans, opposed to that wing, advanced running to meet the assailants, and closed with them so rapidly, as to deprive them of the space necessary to use their javelins with effect. The Romans were obliged to lay aside their missiles, and take to their swords. The Germans promptly closed their ranks, and formed a dense phalanx of spears to receive the formidable sword attack of the Romans. In such cases as this the military devotedness of the few always turns the scale of victory.⁶⁰ A small number of the bravest of the Roman combatants, penetrating through accidental chasms in the barbarian column occasioned by the inequalities of the ground, or beating down the spears of their adversaries with their swords, soon made their way to close combat, and turning aside the large shields behind which the barbarians lurked, or reaching over them, cut down the foremost ranks, and forced the rest to give ground. Meanwhile the success of the Roman right wing was balanced by the danger of their left. This wing was so hardly pressed by the Germans, that it gave way in every direction; and but for the presence of mind of a young officer, P. Crassus, who, without waiting for orders, brought up the cavalry reserves to their assistance, the retreat would have degenerated into rapid flight. By this movement the fortune of the day was restored. The heavy German columns were beaten back, became broken, and at length fled.

The German
phalanx broken
by the Roman
swordsmen.

Left wing of
the Romans
hard pressed.

Saved by the
promptness of
P. Crassus,
who brings up
the reserves to
their aid.

Defeat of the
Germans.

The inferiority, therefore, of the heavy wedge-shaped column, the only order of battle with which the German infantry were familiar, and its inca-

⁶⁰ The position of the Romans brings to mind their danger in the battle between Paulus Æmilius and king Perseus of Macedon,—the perilous condition of the Swiss at the battle of

Sempach, when Arnold of Winkelried embraced a bundle of spears of the Austrian phalanx and sheathed them in his own body to make a chasm for his followers, &c.

pability of withstanding the active evolutions, combined with the individual resolution of the Roman soldiery, was proved by another bloody defeat. Their deep phalanx, when once arrested in its progress, either by successful resistance or by natural obstacles, seems almost to have broken up of itself. In point of physical strength the Germans were greatly superior to the Italians; in hardihood and valour, not behind them; in general field-tactics they betrayed no inferiority: and thus we may, with propriety, trace one of the principal causes which protracted the downfall of the empire, for a period of nearly five centuries, to mere technical defects in the military organization of the armies of its barbarian enemies.

The carnage among the defeated Germans was, as usual, frightful and indiscriminate. The greatest part of the fugitives, however, escaped to the Rhine. Ariovistus himself succeeded in crossing the river in an open boat.⁶¹ But two of his wives perished in their flight; and of two daughters one was killed, and the other fell into the hands of the Romans. The Suevi, who were on their march to join him, returned to their homes as soon as they heard of his defeat; and thus, in a single campaign, the admirable tactics and good fortune of Cæsar had ridded him of the only rivals who could, with any fair chance of success, have contested the dominion of Gaul with him.⁶²

Carnage.

Ariovistus escapes.

Fate of his family.

SECTION III.—B. C. 58.

Geographical Distribution of the Settlements of the Cis-Rhenane Germans in Belgium.—Cæsar's Campaigns against the Belgic League.—Its Dispersion.—Defeat of the Nervii.—His Campaign against the Tenchteri and Usipetes.

AFTER the overthrow of Ariovistus, Cæsar established his legions in winter-quarters within the territory of his new allies the Sequani.¹ As soon as the elation of victory had subsided, the Gallic nations perceived

Cæsar quarters his legions in Gaul.

⁶¹ Cæsar (lib. i. c. 53) says that very few, "perpauci," escaped the pursuit of the Roman cavalry. It will appear in the sequel that many an enemy, whom he describes as exterminated in battle, rises up again in the usual numbers after the lapse of very short periods. The ordinary chances of war are in favour of the majority of the combatants, even after the most fatal defeat.

⁶² According to Cæsar's data, this battle was fought seven days' march north of Vesontio, and 50,000 paces—about fifty Roman miles—from the banks of the Rhine. Some MSS., indeed, read "Quinque" instead of "Quinquaginta."

Beat. Rhenanus (ap. *Struvium*, Syntag. Hist. Germ. vol. i. p. 100) accordingly fixes the spot at a place about a German mile ($4\frac{3}{4}$ English) from the Rhine, near Basle. *Cellarius*, in *Diatriba de Bell. Cæs. adv. Ariov.* § 17, suggests doubts. The better opinion is that of *Cluverius*, *Germ. Antiq.* lib. ii. c. 8. p. 80, who follows the majority of MSS. and places the field of battle at a village called Dampierre, five miles from Montbeliard, in Franche Comté.

¹ Between the Jura and the Saone, in Franche Comté.

with alarm that the disposal of the Roman troops indicated no intention to quit their territory. True it was that every one of the professed objects of the campaign was fulfilled; the Ædui and the Sequani were delivered from their oppressors; the dangers which threatened the Roman province were dissipated; Cæsar had fulfilled to the utmost letter every one of the duties towards the allies and friends of the republic, imposed upon him by the Roman maxims of foreign policy he had so ostentatiously put forward.² Yet his military dispositions plainly indicated an intention to occupy permanently the ground he stood upon; nor could any one doubt but that he intended to convert it into a firm basis of still more extensive operations, the object of which could be none other than the subjugation of all Gaul.³

The Gauls suspect his intentions, and resolve to resist.

They are joined by the Teutonic Belgians.

Geographical distribution of Cis-Rhenane German nations.

They inhabit those parts of Belgium situated between the

These considerations made a strong impression upon the minds of the Gallic nations. The hollowness of his professions was exposed; indignation and apprehension spread from tribe to tribe till it reached the Belgic nations, and produced an unanimous resolution to make a combined effort to avert the threatened danger. The Germans of Belgium readily perceived the consequences of the subjugation of Gaul to their own independence;⁴ and a confederacy was rapidly formed between the northern Celtic nations and the Teutonic Belgians, with a view to anticipate the Romans in the field, and compel them to retire within their own frontier. Some account of the geographical distribution of the settlements of the Cis-Rhenane Germans must precede the detail of their gallant but unsuccessful struggle against the ambition of Rome.

The principal tribes, septs, or nations enumerated by Cæsar as partakers of this Belgic conspiracy,⁵ are the Suessiones, Nervii, Atrebatæ, Ambiani, Morini, Menapii, Caleti, Velocassi, Veromandui, Aduatici, Condrusi, Eburones, Cæræsi, and Pæmani. Pliny points out the river Scheldt as the boundary between the Celtic and Teutonic Belgians.⁶ The southern limit between the two races is more difficult to determine; but we may assume, without danger of important error, that the Teutonic Belgians never extended their frontier beyond a line drawn from the Scheldt, near Tournay, to the Meuse; along the course of that

² The passages in which he assigns these motives are found in lib. i. cc. 11, 33, 43. See also this Hist. p. 29.

³ *Cæs. De Bell. Gall. lib. ii. c. 1.*

⁴ Cæsar states simply, and truly, the ground of their apprehensions. They feared, namely—"ne omni Galliâ *pacatâ*, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur. Deinde, quòd ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos diutius

in Galliâ versari noluerant, ita *Pop. R. exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Galliâ moleste ferebant.*" Lib. ii. c. 1.

⁵ "Certior fiebat.....omnes Belgas contra populum Romanum *conjurare.*" Lib. ii. c. 1.

⁶ *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 13.*—"Totum hoc mare (the North Sea) ad Scaldim usque flumen Germanicæ accolunt gentes."

river to its sources, and thence eastward to the Vosges and the Rhine. From their geographical position, therefore, as well as from express testimony, we must conclude that the Suessiones, Atrebatas, Ambiani, Caleti, Velocasses, and Veromandui, were of Celtic race. The Suessiones possessed that district of the province of Champagne which lies around the cities of Soissons and Noyon;⁷ the Atrebatas occupied a great part of Artois;⁸ the Ambiani were settled upon the river Somme in Picardy; and Amiens probably marks the site of their principal town.⁹ The Caleti dwelt between the mouths of the Seine and the Somme in the modern Pais de Caux.¹⁰ The Velocasses are placed by geographers to the northward of the Seine, between the confluence of that river with the Oise and its mouth. The name of the Veromandui sufficiently indicates their position in the modern Vermandois around the towns of St. Quentin, Châtelet, and Han.¹¹

Scheldt and the Meuse, and eastward as far as the Rhine.

All these nations dwelt within the Belgic division of Gaul. In order, therefore, not to run the risk of confounding the limits of Belgium with those of the Germanic nations which occupied the greater part of that region, it must be observed that the great division of Gaul which Cæsar designates by the name of Belgium, extended southward as far as the rivers Seine and Marne, and stretched thence in a south-eastern direction to the banks of the Rhine. Assuming, therefore, the boundary of the Teutonic Belgians to have been correctly laid down, about one-third of the entire division would remain to the Celtic races,¹² including the Rhemi in Champagne, whom Cæsar expressly excludes from the list of the Belgic nations banded against him.¹³

Line of separation between the Germanic and Celtic Belgians.

These observations will, probably, render the explanations relative to the geographical position of the Cis-Rhenane Germans more intelligible. The *Morini* inhabited the sandy and marshy coast of the North Sea from Calais to Bruges, and occupied portions of Picardy, Artois, and Flanders.¹⁴ The *Nervii* follow next to the eastward, a nation unquestionably of German extraction.¹⁵ Their territory comprehended a part of the county of Namur, lying between the Sambre and the Meuse, the

Cis-Rhenane Germany.

1. *Morini*.

2. *Nervii*.

⁷ *Cluv. Germ. Antiq.* p. 340.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 438; and *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* ad verb.

⁹ "Civitas Ambianensium." *Cluv. ibid.* p. 435.

¹⁰ *Cluv. ibid.* p. 340.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 434.

¹² But see upon this subject *P. Cluver's* learned dissertation upon the distinction to be taken between the terms "Belgium" and "Belgica." *Germ. Ant. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 338.* In chap. 3. he

gives a striking etymological deduction of the word "Belgæ;" quasi, Walgen, Waelgen, Wal-lonen; Anglice Walloons.

¹³ "Rhemi qui proximi Gallia ex Belgis sunt." *Cæs. De Bell. Gall. lib. ii. c. 3.*

¹⁴ The towns of Dunkirk, Nieupoort, Axel, Hulst and Bruges, lie within the territory here described. *Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib. ii. c. 38. p. 439.*

¹⁵ *Strabo, Geogr. lib. iv.—Tac. de Mor. Germ. c. 28.—Cluv. Germ. Antiq. lib. ii. c. 22. p. 429.*

3. *Aduatici*. greater part of Hainault, and parts of Artois and Picardy. The *Aduatici* occupied a great portion of Brabant and a small part of Flanders, as far as the river Dender, together with some districts of Hainault and Namur to the north of the river Sambre. The *Menapii* follow in a northerly direction, and appear to have held the districts of Brussels, Louvaine, Nevelles, and Gemblours, in the province of Brabant.¹⁶ The *Condrusi* dwelt in the eastern extremity of Brabant, and spread themselves over the duchy of Limburg into that of Juliers.¹⁷ The *Eburones* were their next neighbours to the northward. The *Cæræsi* and the *Pæmani* are believed to have dwelt to the south-eastward, and to have filled up the space between the Eburones, the Treviri, and the Rhine.¹⁸ The four last nations were, says Cæsar, collectively called "Germans."

The confederacy embraces all the Belgic nations of both races, excepting the *Rhemi*, who give intelligence to the Romans.

The confederates quarrel.

Cæsar crosses the river Aisne,

and takes up a strong position, while the confederates besiege Bibrax, but without effect.

They turn upon Cæsar,

As far, therefore, as can be gathered from Cæsar's narrative, and the geographical details it presents, we are authorized to conclude, that, with the exception of the *Rhemi*, all the Belgic nations, whether of Celtic or Teutonic race, were engaged in this great confederacy for the defence of the liberties of their country. The *Rhemi*, who inhabited the modern province of Champagne, seceded from their neighbours, and gave full information to the Romans of the general rising and arming, the numbers, strength, and position, of the banded nations. Cæsar, without loss of time, entered the Rhemian territory, and took up a position of observation on the frontier towards the *Suessiones*. Discord had already broken out among the confederates. The *Bellovaci*, as the most numerous, claimed the lead of the combined forces; but the majority decided in favour of *Galba*, king of the *Suessiones*. From this first step we find feebleness and irresolution in every movement of the allies. Cæsar advanced to meet them, and crossed the river Aisne, at a spot not far from its confluence with the *Vèle* near *Soissons*. The Belgians, 230,000 strong, besieged the Rhemian town of *Bibrax* in his front. Cæsar could not, however, venture an attack with the small force at his command. He therefore took up a strong position on the Aisne; he fortified the bridge, watched the fords of the river, and, without quitting his post, kept up the spirits of the besieged by occasional reinforcements and supplies. The enemy, finding themselves disappointed in their first attempts upon *Bibrax*,¹⁹ turned upon the Romans, and moved towards the fords of

¹⁶ *Cluv.* *ibid.* lib. ii. c. 21. p. 428.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 15. p. 394.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 15. p. 397.

¹⁹ The position usually attributed to the town *Bibrax* seems to me irreconcilable with Cæsar's narrative. *Hoffm.* (*Lex. Univ.* ad v.) places it, on the authority of *H. Leodius* and *H. Stephanus*,

at *Bray* or *Braine sur Vèle*, in Champagne. This position would fix *Bibrax* in the rear of Cæsar; and, to have besieged it, the barbarians must already have effected the passage of the Aisne and cut off his communications; which movements, however, he expressly tells us they were prevented from accomplishing by his own

the Aisne, with a view to cut off Cæsar's communications and compel him to risk an engagement, or to quit his advantageous position. This movement induced Cæsar to change his front, and to take up equally strong ground at no great distance from his first camp, still keeping the command of both banks by means of the fortified bridge. The confederates flocked to the fords; Cæsar directed his whole cavalry and light-armed troops to file across the bridge and fall upon the enemy while involved in the fords, and before they could form on the opposite bank. This movement was executed with perfect success; the Belgians were thrown back over the Aisne, and a great many were killed or drowned in the stream. In the meantime the Æduan prince Divitiacus, following Cæsar's instructions, had invaded the territory of the Bellovaci, who, already disgusted by disappointment, quitted the army, and hastened to the defence of their own country. In the course of the following night the whole confederate army abandoned their encampment in disorder. At break of day Cæsar pursued them with his cavalry. The rear guard defended themselves with great gallantry; the main body in advance became panic-stricken, and were dispersed or cut to pieces almost without loss or danger to their pursuers.²⁰

who defeats them while attempting to cross the river.

They retire in confusion.

Cæsar pursues them with his cavalry, and disperses them.

After the dispersion of the confederates, Cæsar made a single forced march to Noviodunum,²¹ the capital of the Suessiones. The nation submitted, surrendered their arms, and gave hostages, among whom were two sons of King Galba. From Noviodunum he advanced into the territory of the Bellovaci,²² and received the submission of their capital, Bratispantium;²³ the inhabitants consenting to give five hundred hostages, and to deliver up their arms. The Ambiani made as little resistance, and obtained the pardon of Cæsar upon similar terms. The three principal Celtic members of the league were subdued; the more southern members of that race, Velocasses and Caleti, might be neglected; and the Roman general prepared to encounter a nation of different temper and lineage, a people unacquainted with fear, disdaining submission, enured to hardships, and delighting in war.

The Suessiones surrender

The Bellovaci

and Ambiani submit.

Having collected the necessary information, he marched his army

Cæsar approaches the

dispositions. The same doubt seems to have occurred to others. See *Cæsar*, ed. Var. 1651, lib. ii. c. 6, note.

²⁰ *Cæsar*, ed. Var. 1651, lib. ii. c. 5—11. These seven chapters cannot but be highly interesting to every military reader. The picture of circumspection, sagacity, and boldness they exhibit, the clearness of the narrative, the precision of the movements, all contribute to render them among

the most interesting of these extraordinary memoirs.

²¹ Afterwards Suessiones or Soissons.

²² The Beauvaisin.

²³ Some place Bratispantium at Grattepance, or Granville en Beauvaisin. *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* ad v.; others identify it with Beaumont sur Oise; others with Clermont en Beauvaisin. See *Cæs.* ed. Var. ub. sup. lib. ii. c. 13. nota *Merulæ*.

territories of
the *Nervii*.

Their simple
and hardy
habits.

The Romans
advance to the
banks of the
Sambre,

towards the sources of the Scheldt and Sambre. Here the territories of the *Nervii* commenced. "This people," said his informants, "suffer no traders or merchants to enter their country; they permit neither wine nor any other luxuries to be introduced, because they believe that such indulgences subdue the spirit of the people and relax their courage. The *Nervii* are a wild race of great valour; they chide and rebuke the Celtic Belgians for yielding to the Romans, and betraying the honour of their ancestors. For their own parts they declare they will never send ambassadors nor accept any conditions of peace." A three days' march brought the army to the banks of the Sambre, where the *Nervii*, with their allies the *Veromandui* and *Atrebat*es, (whom, for want perhaps of more accurate information, we have enumerated among the Celtic members of the league,) awaited his approach; unwilling, however, to risk an engagement till joined by the *Teutonic Aduatici*, who were hastening to share in the defence of their common country.

where the
Nervii and
their allies take
post.

Cæsar, whose information was generally minute and accurate, expected, as usual, to be permitted to choose and survey his own field of battle. The *Nervii* were informed by certain Celtic deserters, that it was the ordinary custom of the Romans, upon arriving at the place of encampment, to take up their ground by divisions of single legions; and that these divisions were usually separated by the long train of baggage and store carts attached to each legion. Upon this information they grounded a bold and skilful plan of attack. They first removed all their women, aged persons, and children, to the most inaccessible of the habitable spots among the marshes and forests in their rear; they then took up a position upon the shallow Sambre, in the direct line of the Roman advance. A hill, sloping gently towards the river, with a space of about two hundred paces of open ground at its base, and covered towards the brow with a dense forest, afforded them the means of arraying their forces, concealing their numbers from the enemy, and observing all his movements at their pleasure. On the opposite bank of the river arose a similar eminence, consisting of broken and obstructed ground, which the Roman quarter-masters had pitched upon for their encampment for the night, in ignorance both of the numbers and position of the enemy, who showed only a few piquets of cavalry upon the opposite banks of the river. But the informants of the *Nervii* were imperfectly acquainted with Cæsar's

They project to
surprise the
Romans while
in the act of
taking up their
ground and
fortifying their
camp.

mode of approaching an enemy, and had built their scheme of attack upon the ordinary Roman mode of taking up an encampment when no enemy was at hand. Cæsar, upon this occasion, not ignorant of the close vicinity of the *Nervian* army, brought up six legions at once, leaving the baggage to follow under escort of two newly raised regiments, whom he could not

so safely trust in his line of battle. As soon as the Roman army appeared on the ground, they proceeded to their ordinary occupation of measuring out and fortifying the encampment, while the cavalry pushed across the river, which at this spot was not more than three feet deep, and skirmished with the enemy's piquets up to the very margin of the wood in which the whole army lay concealed. As soon as the Nervii observed the Roman order broken up by the operation of encamping, and perceived the first of the long train of the baggage upon the ground, they gave the signal of battle, and disengaging at once their entire force from the wood, drove in the advanced cavalry of the Romans. Such was the rapidity of the movement, that the various operations of filing out of the woods, forming their columns of attack, crossing the river, and mounting the hill upon which the Romans were entrenching themselves, seemed but the work of a moment.

They attack
the Romans.

Nothing but the admirable discipline of the Roman troops, and the imperturbable presence of mind of the extraordinary man at their head, could have saved them from destruction. There was no time for communicating with the various corps, or for providing and stationing the usual reserves; all unity of command was lost for the moment,—for once the reins of war had slipped from the hands of the experienced and fortunate guide. The situation of the Roman army was not only highly dangerous but wholly new, both to the general and soldiers; the latter were called upon to fight without the usual stimulants; there was no leisure for exhortation, promises of reward, reminiscences of former deeds; the general had neither chosen nor surveyed his battle-field, and when suddenly beset by his enemies, he found it encumbered with obstacles, the view towards the front impeded by thick hedges, and the whole position without natural defences for his flanks. But every officer of the army perceived the danger, and, without waiting for orders, applied the best remedy in his power. The soldiers were, in an instant, recalled from their work, assembled under their banners, brought into line, and stationed so as to present a front to the enemy and arrest the first impetuosity of the onset.

Their immi-
nent danger.

These able dispositions, adopted under circumstances to which no known military rule applied,²⁴ gained a moment's time to Cæsar to introduce some order among his scattered forces. He rode rapidly along the lines, addressing a few words to each legion as he passed, and encouraging all by his presence. On the left, the ninth and tenth legions

Cæsar rallies
the left of his
line.

²⁴ "Instructo exercitu magis ut loci natura ut rei militaris ratio, atque ordo postulabat." Comm. de Bell. Gall. lib. ii. c. 22.

The Nervii
attack and
take the Ro-
man camp on
the right.

drove the Atrebatas across the river; but, pursuing them too hotly to the opposite bank, became involved in the broken ground on that side, and were compelled to retreat to their first position with considerable loss. While the Roman left and centre were thus hotly engaged on the river, the Nervii, with all their forces, attacked the right wing, and penetrating between the twelfth and seventh legions, which formed the Roman right, charged furiously up the hill, intending to possess themselves of the half-finished camp in the rear, and envelop the exposed flank of the centre. The camp fell into their hands, and the defeated cavalry, who had stationed themselves there, retired to a more distant point. The terrified grooms and camp-servants, seeing the enemy in possession of the camp, fled to the rear, spreading the tidings of defeat among the advancing baggage and their escort; the light troops of the army disbanded themselves in every direction, and the Treviran auxiliary cavalry retreated to their homes, and reported to their fellow-citizens the total defeat of Cæsar and the capture of his camp and baggage.

The presence
of Cæsar en-
courages the
dispirited
soldiery.

Cæsar hurried from the station of the tenth legion on the left to the point of danger on the right. He found the cohorts of the twelfth crowded together, and reduced almost to inaction by the simultaneous front and flank attack; all the centurions of the fourth cohort had fallen; all the other centurions were either killed or wounded; the standard-bearer had perished, and many soldiers of the rear ranks had dropped out of the line to take shelter from the darts of the Germans. There was no reserve at hand for their support, and the enemy was rapidly gaining ground on both flanks of the enveloped legion. In this desperate condition of his right wing, Cæsar, seizing a shield from the nearest soldier, advanced to the front, cheering on the soldiers by word and gesture. By great personal exertions he gained sufficient ground to extend his line, and afford the soldiers the power of using their swords. He re-established the communication with the seventh legion, and, in some measure, restored the fortune of the day. Still the danger was imminent; confusion and dismay spread more widely in the rear of the army, and the enemy continued to gain ground.

He regains a
little ground,
and
re-establishes
the communi-
cations.

The advancing
Nervii brought
to a stand-still;
the baggage
legions retake
the camp;
Labienus is
victorious on
the left,
comes to the
assistance of
the right, and
the Nervii are,

Confident of victory, the Nervii pressed heedlessly forward; but at this critical moment, those in possession of the Roman camp desisted. The two fresh legions of the baggage escort advancing rapidly up the reverse of the hill. At the same instant, Labienus, the legate of the tenth, having succeeded in dispersing the enemy in his front, hurried to the assistance of the twelfth and seventh. The Romans renewed the battle with brightened prospects; the cavalry, which had retired, took heart; and, anxious to retrieve the disgrace of flight, instantly recovered

the camp, and fell upon the enemy with a vigour sharpened by the sense of shame. The Nervii were, in their turn, enveloped by the Romans ; but they relinquished not an inch of the ground they had gained ; preferring death to defeat, they fell bravely on the spot, where, till within a few moments, a certain victory seemed to smile upon them. Heaping up the bodies of their dead companions around them, they dealt death and wounds from behind this frightful rampart ; and when their own darts failed, they hurled back the javelins of the enemy upon himself. Here their leader Baduognatus, most of their chiefs, and almost the whole military force of the nation, perished. The Commentaries of Julius Cæsar are a lasting²⁵ monument to their worth. The extraordinary valour and conduct of the Nervii drew forth the unqualified admiration of the accomplished victor. This battle, in the opinion of Cæsar himself, rendered all the stories of their former deeds credible ; since, he observes, “ such magnanimity could not fail to convert the most difficult enterprises into feats of ordinary achievement.”²⁶

in turn, enveloped and cut down almost to a man.

Their extraordinary devotedness.

After the downfall of their nation, the remnant of the Nervii, consisting, according to Cæsar’s representation, of very few besides old men, women, and children, implored the clemency of the conqueror, and seem to have obtained more than usually favourable terms. They were allowed to re-occupy their lands, and to re-people their towns ; and strict commands were issued to the neighbouring tribes, and to his own troops, to abstain from molesting or injuring them.²⁷

The remnant of the Nervian nation submits.

The Aduatici, who were upon their march to take part in the great struggle, and who, had they been present, would probably have given a different turn to the battle, immediately retreated ; and withdrawing from the open country, and dismantling their towns, retired to one of their cities most strongly defended both by nature and art. Cæsar invested the place ; the inhabitants sued for terms of capitulation ; and, after some delay, agreed to the imperative condition of delivering up their arms. The sequel of their story is singular : Cæsar affirms that the

The Aduatici retire to their principal town.

Cæsar invests the place. They capitulate.

Cæsar imputes

²⁵ That only 500 should have remained out of 60,000 warriors, and not more than 3 out of 600 senators or chiefs, is not the more credible because Cæsar pretends to have derived his information from the vanquished themselves ; and when we find this same nation, only a few years afterwards, starting again into life, and gallantly making head against their former conquerors, (*Cæs.* lib. v. c. 38—53,) it is impossible to believe that 59,500 men fell in the battle on the Sambre, or that of 600 chiefs only 3 remained alive. See *vide Cæs.* lib. ii. c. 27.

²⁶ “ Quæ facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.” *Cæs.* *ibid.* c. 27.

²⁷ *Cæs.* *ibid.* c. 28. It is singular that he should have abstained from demanding hostages or requiring the delivery of arms. May it not be doubted whether the victory was as complete as it is represented to have been ; and whether the Nervii were not still so formidable, and the losses of the Roman army in the late battle so great, as to render an attempt to impose the usual conditions unadvisable ?

treachery to
them;

repulses a
sally; takes
the city, and
sells all the in-
habitants as
slaves.

A. U. C. 697.
B. C. 56.

garrison, affecting to comply with these terms, threw such a quantity of arms over the wall that the heap almost reached up to the breast of the parapet; but that they still kept back about a third of their store, with which, and such substitutes as they could secretly fabricate, they managed privately to arm the whole body of their warriors; that they then opened the gates and permitted the Romans freely to enter the city: that Cæsar, fearing the insolence and the love of plunder of his own soldiers, ordered them at night-fall out of the town, and caused the gates to be closed; but that suddenly, in the middle of the night, when all was silent in the camp, the gates were thrown open, and the Aduatici issued from them with all their forces and attacked the Roman camp. The Romans, however, were on the alert; the sally was repulsed with the loss of 4000 men killed on the spot. The next day Cæsar burst open the gates and took possession of the place, without meeting with the smallest resistance, and the whole population, to the number of 53,000 heads²⁸ was sold to the Roman slave-dealers who followed the camp.²⁹

Cæsar determined to employ the following year in completing the conquest of German Belgium, as he had already done that of Celtic Gaul by his legate P. Crassus. The Morini in Artois and Flanders, and the Menapii in Brabant, were the first objects of attack. Conscious of their inferiority in the field, they betook themselves to the protection of the dense forests and inaccessible swamps of their territory. Cæsar laid waste the open country, destroyed all the towns and villages, rooted up the crops, and carried off everything that might contribute to the support of the inhabitants. The exasperated proprietors watched every movement of the Romans, they waited till their military array was broken by the necessary tasks of foraging, cutting wood, or fortifying the camp; then, suddenly, the woods swarmed with enemies, who cut down the workmen at their labours, or, enticing them to precipitate pursuit, involved them in the pathless forest, and there sacrificed them to their vengeance. By such harassing attacks the army suffered daily losses. Cæsar, therefore, pro-

²⁸ *Cæs.* lib. ii. c. 33. *Capitum* numerus ad eum relatus est millium LIII.

²⁹ There are some serious improbabilities in this narrative. The mode of delivering up the arms is singular; it is strange that Cæsar should have been contented with the unsatisfactory device of throwing them over the wall, and that, without further precaution, he should have permitted his own men to enter the town. But it seems clear that he had an intimation of the intention of the barbarians. The Roman army

was prepared for the attack, which they could not have been, had they not been fully aware that the delivery of the arms was incomplete. The reason assigned for evacuating the town at night wears an appearance of affected humanity and consideration. Other doubts might be suggested; but the story must stand as it is,—unworthy of entire credit,—incapable of a satisfactory refutation. See *Luden*, (vol. i. p. 100.) who states the doubts with his usual vivacity and acuteness.

jected the entire clearance of the country, in order effectually to lay bare the haunts of his adversaries. But the work proceeded slowly; and before any great progress could be made, the autumnal rains compelled him to desist for that season, and gave the harassed inhabitants a comfortless breathing time amid their blackened dwellings and wasted possessions.³⁰

But scarcely had one enemy quitted their country than the unfortunate Menapii were assailed by another from the opposite quarter. Two German tribes, whom the Romans call *Usipetes* and *Tenchteri*, crossed the Rhine, not far from its mouth, in great numbers. "The Suevi," they said, "a godlike nation whom none could withstand, after harassing them for many years, and preventing them from cultivating their fields, had, at length, driven them into exile, and forced them to look out for other settlements in a far country." These emigrants had wandered, according to their own account, for the space of three years, in various parts of Germany, till they found means of crossing the Rhine, and quartering themselves upon the already exhausted Menapii.³¹

The Romans had by this time thrown off the mask of allies and protectors of the Gauls, and acted as absolute lords of the land; they claimed the same allegiance from the cheated and deluded tribes of the country which a rightful monarch claims of his native subjects; they regarded impatience under the new yoke as disaffection, resistance as rebellion. Cæsar knew that the Celtic nations were anxiously looking round for a deliverer, and that they would hail him with joy from whatever quarter he might rise up. The appearance of the Tenchteri and Usipetes seemed to afford a prospect of emancipation, and the people of Gaul hastened to open a secret communication with them, and to invite them into the interior of the country. The emigrants joyfully complied with the invitation, and put themselves in motion towards the territories of the Treviri, through those of the Eburones and Condrusi.³² The danger of a general insurrection in Gaul seemed to Cæsar imminent; he therefore took the field without delay, and was met at the distance of a few days' march by envoys from the Germans. They assured him "that compulsion, and not choice, had induced them to seek for new settlements, and requested him either to assign them lands to live upon, or to permit them to occupy those they had already won; they declared they would not now be the aggressors; though it was not their habit to shrink from attack: excepting only

A. U. C.
698—699.
Cn. Pompeius
and M. Crassus
Coss.
B. C. 55—54.

³⁰ *Cæs. lib. iii. c. 28, 29.*

³¹ *Ibid. lib. iv. c. 4.*

³² Probably through Liège and Luxemburgh towards the Moselle. The position of the Treviri

answers very nearly to that of the modern Lorraine, together with the late archiepiscopal territory of Treves. See *Cæs. lib. iv. c. 4, 5, 6.*

the Suevi, whom the gods themselves could not withstand, there was no nation on earth they feared to meet." Cæsar shortly replied, "that there could be no peace between him and them as long as they remained upon Gallic ground; but that, if they pleased, they might go and live among the Ubii, who at that moment stood in need of assistance against the Suevi, the mortal enemies of both nations; and that, if they wished it, he would prepare the Ubii for their reception." The envoys answered, that they would consult their countrymen upon this proposal, and requested him to advance no farther till they should return with their answer. This reasonable request was refused by Cæsar. They then besought him to grant them at least a three days' truce to enable them to treat with the Ubii upon the terms of their future union. But Cæsar would not pledge himself even to this short suspension of hostilities.

Cæsar accuses
the barbarians
of treachery.

The proposal of a peaceful union with the Ubii was obviously a mockery, if the time necessary for carrying it into effect was to be refused. Yet such was Cæsar's intention; he suspected, he tells us, that the barbarians had no other object in view than to gain time to recall their cavalry, whom they had sent to the precise distance of three days' march to forage among the Ambivariti. All the indulgence the envoys could extort from him was a promise not to advance more than four miles on that day. But, before he dismissed them, he directed them to return on the morrow, and bring with them as many of their chiefs as possible, that he might have the fullest assurance of their unanimity and sincerity. At the same time he sent a message to his cavalry, who formed the advanced guard, not to be the first to attack; but, if attacked themselves, to rely implicitly upon the support of the whole army. A message so obviously needless, if he did not contemplate aggression, cannot fail to excite suspicion that he intended to provoke it. He could easily have disposed his army so as to support his cavalry in case of need, without whetting their appetite for battle and increasing their insolence by assurances of ready support. The disposition thus fostered in the Roman soldiery tends to throw light upon the incident which follows.

They attack
the Roman
cavalry.

After the departure of the envoys, Cæsar put his army in motion to perform the stipulated four miles. The advanced guard of the Germans consisted of about 800 horsemen, the residue of the absent cavalry. The moment the Roman horse, 5000 strong, came in sight, this handful of Germans, we are told, furiously charged their antagonists. The latter, totally unprepared for such an outrage, and relying upon the day's truce granted at the express desire of the German envoys, were thrown into utter confusion, and seventy-four men, including an officer of rank, were left upon the field.

When Cæsar's avowed anxiety to bring on an engagement with the two tribes before they could be joined by their cavalry, his apprehension of the wayward Gauls, his fear of German valour, and the great losses he had suffered in his late wars with that fierce race, are duly considered, we may, at least, be excused for doubting the integrity of this statement. The attack was highly favourable to Cæsar's professed views, and his subsequent conduct shows that he was determined to lose no part of the advantage it afforded him. After this alleged treachery, he declares that he regarded any further delay as mere folly; this one skirmish had so raised the enemy in the opinion of the Gauls attached to his army, that it became indispensable to attack before the impression should have time to ripen into conspiracy or mutiny. He therefore determined to listen to no terms of peace, nor admit either explanation or apology.

At the appointed time, the German chiefs, the very men who but the day before must, according to Cæsar's statement, have rendered themselves culpable of the basest treachery, and incurred his just resentment, appeared, without hesitation or apprehension, in great numbers before him; a conduct totally at variance with any consciousness of that guilt which Cæsar's narrative imputes to them. When in his power, they were immediately ordered into custody, and Cæsar joyfully³³ issued orders for an immediate attack upon the unsuspecting barbarians. He formed his army into three columns; and before the enemy could have any intimation of his approach, passed rapidly over the intervening eight miles. The Germans, deprived of their leaders, and totally unprepared for battle, yielded, after a faint resistance, in consternation and dismay; 180,000 men, mingled with crowds of infirm persons, women and children, fled in one dense mass, pursued and butchered without mercy by the Roman cavalry, towards the Rhine, where the greater number of those who had escaped the sword perished in the stream.³⁴ The cavalry of the Usipetes and Tenchteri, who had been unable to take a share in the battle, effected their retreat across the river to the Sicambri,³⁵ who received them, and granted them an asylum within their territory.

The migratory disposition of the Germans had now, for nearly a century, rendered them the scourge and terror of their neighbours. Cæsar apprehended, that by displaying the Roman eagles upon German ground, he should impress them with a salutary fear, and convince them

His statement
not to be relied
upon.

Their princes
are seized by
Cæsar and put
in chains, and
the people
suddenly at-
tacked, routed,
and slaugh-
tered without
mercy.

The cavalry of
the Usipetes
and Tenchteri
take refuge
among the
Sicambri.

Cæsar crosses
the Rhine with
a view to strike
terror into the
Trans-Rhe-
naue nations.
B.C. 55—54.

³³ "Quos sibi Cæsar oblatos gavisus." Cæs. De Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 13.

³⁴ Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 13—15. Luden, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. i. p. 106—111.

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³⁵ The Sicambri, or Sigambri, dwelt in Rhenish Westphalia, between the river Lippe and the confines of Hesse Cassel. Cluv. Germ. Ant. p. 537.

that that broad and formidable stream was not a better protection to themselves than it had hitherto proved to their neighbours. The Ubii, now almost exhausted by their struggle with the all-powerful Suevi, anxiously implored the assistance, if not of his arms, yet of his name: the Sicambri had offended by harbouring the enemies of Rome, and he deemed it a duty, both towards the allies of the republic and his own fame, to punish and intimidate, if he could not exterminate, this restless

Commands the Sicambri to dismiss the fugitive Tenchteri; and builds a bridge over the Rhine.

and daring race. As a prelude to hostilities, he sent a message commanding the Sicambri to dismiss their new guests, and the Tenchteri to submit to the Roman dominion. In the short space of ten days, a bridge wide and strong enough to pass his whole army over the Rhine³⁶ and secure an unmolested retreat in case of accident, was begun and finished, and Cæsar, the first of the Romans, encamped on German ground. Here no symptoms of yielding appeared, no envoys came to his camp, no hostages were proffered; but neither did any enemy appear in the field.

The Sicambri retreat to their forests & abandon the open country.

The Sicambri, who were the first threatened, adopted the advice of their new allies the Tenchteri, and, abandoning the open country, betook themselves, with their families and property, to the recesses of the forests.

The Suevi summon their warriors and take post in the interior of their country.

The Suevi summoned their national council, and determined to draw the enemy into the interior and involve him in the boundless woods and swamps of their country. With this view they dispatched messengers to all the hundred cantons of their race, directing the warriors to forsake their villages and fields, to conceal their women and children in the forests, and to assemble at an appointed spot in the very heart of their territory, there to give battle to the Romans if they should advance so far.

Cæsar declines pursuing them,

But Cæsar's ambition was moderated by sound political views. The time for attempting the conquest of the unlimited wilderness before him, and the subjugation of its formidable occupants, was not yet come; Gaul was still a new and unsettled acquisition. For the present the display of the power of Rome was, in Cæsar's apprehension, of greater moment than the extension of her frontiers. He, therefore, contented himself with ravaging the territory of the Sicambri, and converting their open country into a desert. The Suevi were scared back into their forests; the Ubii were, for the instant, relieved from the pressure of war; but, above all, the vanity of Rome was gratified. The object of his great expedition of

ravages the territory of the Sicambri,

³⁶ The Ubii, he tells us, offered him boats enough to pass his whole army over the river; but he deemed it safer and more conducive to the dignity of the Roman arms to build a bridge. By the prodigious celerity with which it was effected he probably intended to impress the Germans with a high idea of the power of

Rome; at the same time it was not Cæsar's policy to trust the safety of his army to the fickle faith of allies; and the advantage, in this respect, of a bridge over open boats before so active and daring an enemy as the Germans was too obvious to be neglected. See *Cæs.* lib. iv. c. 17.

observation was accomplished, and he withdrew his legions into Gaul, taking care to break down the bridge behind him. The short remainder of the season was consumed in a similar demonstration against the island of Britain.³⁷

Here the more open face of the country, the political divisions, and the party jealousies to which it was a prey, afforded a fairer prospect of conquest, and Cæsar determined to devote the ensuing year to the task of establishing the Roman power in that country. On his arrival from Italy early in the spring, he found every preparation completed for the projected invasion. But, before he embarked, dissensions having broken out between the two sovereign princes of the Germanic Treviri,³⁸ Cingetorix and Induciomarus,³⁹ Cæsar desired to secure the Roman influence in that state, which had hitherto eluded his grasp, by a decisive interference. The unsuccessful prince Cingetorix threw himself into the arms of the Romans; while Induciomarus, his rival, hoping to strengthen himself by Cæsar's patronage, offered to place his own fortunes and those of the state at his disposal. Cæsar accepted the apologies of Induciomarus, but restored the balance of parties by reinstating Cingetorix and his friends, a step which, though it repressed insurrection for the moment, converted the rival prince into an irreconcilable enemy of Rome.⁴⁰

Cæsar departed for Britain. The whole season for military operations passed away, yet no firm footing was gained in the island. The army returned to Gaul, and took up its quarters for the winter upon a line too extensive for mutual communication and support. This unusual distribution was occasioned by the total failure of the crops of the preceding season, and the consequent scarcity of provisions in Gaul. One legion, under C. Fabius, was quartered among the Morini in the modern Flanders and Artois. A second legion, under Q. Cicero, was stationed in the territory of the Nervii in Brabant; a third under L. Roscius, on the confines of Normandy;⁴¹ a fourth, under T. Labienus, was placed among the Rhemi, and intended as a corps of observation upon the neighbouring Treviri;⁴² three legions under M. Crassus, L. Manutius

and retreats into Gaul.
A. U. C. 699.
B. C. 55—54.

A. U. C. 700.
B. C. 54.
Cæsar contemplates the conquest of Britain; but interferes previously in the affairs of the Treviran princes, Cingetorix and Induciomarus.

He reinstates Cingetorix and offends Induciomarus.

He goes into Britain: returns into Gaul, and is forced by scarcity to distribute his winter-quarters too widely.

³⁷ Cæs. De Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 20.

³⁸ Pfister (Gesch. der deutsch. vol. i. p. 64) Germanizes this name into *Hincmar*; but gives neither reason nor authority for it. He treats the Cheruscan Inguiomarus in like fashion.

³⁹ Cluverius, in his Germ. Antiq. p. 379, assigns to the Treviri a territory, extending east and west between Charlemont on the Meuse and Andernach on the Rhine, following the line of the forest of Ardennes, (Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 3,) embracing the duchies of Lux-

emburg and Lorraine, and such parts of the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine as lie along the Moselle and upon the Rhine from Manheim to Andernach.

⁴⁰ Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 2, 3, 4.

⁴¹ Among the Essui, Hesui, or Sessui, an unsettled position in ancient geography. See Hoffm. Lex. Univ. ad ver. *Essui*.

⁴² Probably on the limits between Champagne and Lorraine.

Plancus, and C. Trebonius, were distributed among the Celtic Belgians; one legion and five cohorts, under Quintus Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, occupied an advanced post among the Eburones, between the rivers Meuse and Rhine.

He is aware of the weakness of his position, and remains in Gaul through the winter to watch it.
Ambiorix and the Eburones

Cæsar was so well aware of the weakness of so extensive a line, that he determined, contrary to his custom, to remain in Gaul for the winter.⁴³

attack the encampment of Sabinus and Cotta in their territory.

Ambiorix craftily urges the legates to quit their station.

The nation of the Eburones was governed by two independent chiefs, named Ambiorix and Catavolcus. Sabinus and Cotta depended upon these princes for their winter supplies. About a fortnight after the arrival of the Roman troops at their station, Ambiorix, under pretence of escorting the convoys of provisions to the legates, appeared with a numerous body of warriors in the vicinity of the camp, without exciting suspicion. Suddenly the barbarians fell upon the Roman woodcutters and put them to the sword. They then pushed forward to the camp, hoping to carry it by a sudden assault, but the attack was unsuccessful. After this failure Ambiorix sent a private message to the legates, protesting that the late hostilities could not be laid to his charge; that he was well disposed towards the Roman people, and towards Cæsar in particular; but that, in fact, he was as much ruled by his own people as they by him. The wily barbarian added, that the attack upon the camp was only a part of a general scheme of insurrection for the recovery of their liberty, secretly entered into by all the Gallic states; that a large body of Germans were advancing to join the confederates from the other side of the Rhine, and that they were already within two days' march of the Roman encampment. He concluded by giving it as his friendly advice, that the legates should instantly quit their exposed position, and hasten to the assistance of Cicero or Labienus, (a distance of not more than fifty miles in either direction,) and prevent them from being overpowered by numbers, as they themselves would inevitably be if they remained much longer where they were.

Sabinus and Cotta disagree.

Sabinus prevails, and the Romans march out without proper precaution.

Cotta gave little credit to the professions of Ambiorix, and advised that the camp should be defended to the last extremity. But the senior legate Sabinus overruled this prudent advice. In the council of war high words arose between the commanders; the ordinary precautions necessary to diminish the hazards of the perilous step they were about to take were neglected; and when the detachment quitted its quarters the soldiers were encumbered by the baggage they were allowed to carry away with them, and dejected by the loss of that they were obliged to leave behind. So little danger was apprehended, that no

⁴³ *Cæs. lib. v. c. 24.*

means were taken to ascertain the position of the enemy, till, at the distance of scarcely two miles from the camp they had quitted, the whole division found itself suddenly enveloped and attacked on both flanks, in a hollow way, where there was no room to manœuvre and little chance of escape, if defeated. The barbarians judiciously avoided close combat, confining themselves to perpetual desultory discharges of missiles upon the front, flanks, and rear of the Romans at once. The combat lasted from dawn till late in the evening; by this time every officer of distinction was either killed or wounded. Still the soldiers resisted with unflinching courage and without disorder. But at the moment when the darkness of night might have ridded them of their assailants for awhile, the credulity and rashness of Sabinus sealed the destruction of his corps. Seeing the faithless Ambiorix urging on his troops to the charge, he proposed a parley. The barbarian, true to his treacherous policy, invited him to a conference, encouraging him to hope for favourable terms if he came unarmed. Cotta, bleeding and desperately wounded, refused to quit his post, and Sabinus, with his few surviving officers, threw away their arms, and, advancing towards the enemy, commenced the parley. Ambiorix protracted the discussion till he had completely surrounded the legate and his attendants, when, at a given signal, they were all cut down in sight of their own soldiers. The Eburones renewed the attack with shouts of triumph; all order ceased among the Romans. Cotta fell gallantly fighting at the head of his troops; a few effected their retreat to the forsaken camp, where, despairing, they fell upon their own swords; a very small number escaped through forests and bye-paths to Labienus, and reported to him the disaster which had befallen their comrades.⁴⁴

They are surrounded by the barbarians.

They resist gallantly as long as daylight lasts.

Ambiorix lures Sabinus into a conference, and

assassinates him and those officers attending him.

Cotta falls. The Romans are cut to pieces. A few escape to the camp of Labienus.

After his victory Ambiorix hastened into the territory of the Nervii and Aduatici, proclaiming the death of the Roman generals and the destruction of the Eburonian legion, and promising his ready assistance to overwhelm that of Cicero in like manner. The two nations eagerly embraced the project; their cantons assembled their forces with such promptness that the camp of Cicero was invested before the news of the defeat of Labienus and of his own approaching danger could reach him. His outposts and foragers were surprised, his messengers were intercepted, his communications with the other detachments cut off. The first assaults of the enemy upon the camp were indeed beaten back; but the incessant labours and combats to which the soldiers were now for several weeks exposed, diminished their numbers and wore out their

Ambiorix raises the Nervii and Aduatici, and attacks the camp of Q. Cicero.

⁴⁴ *Cæs.* lib. v. c. 28—37

strength. Ambiorix, still trusting to the detestable policy which had hitherto stood his friend, proposed a parley, which was granted by Cicero. He told the Romans, "that all Gaul was in arms; that the Germans had passed the Rhine; that the Eburonean legion was already cut to pieces; that Cæsar's winter-quarters, as well as those of the other legions, were invested; and it would therefore, he added, be a gross error to expect assistance from persons no better off than themselves; but that since the confederates had no other object in view but to be rid of the quarterings of Roman soldiers among them, and to prevent that abuse from ripening into a custom, they would freely permit the legion to quit their quarters and withdraw whithersoever they pleased without fear of molestation."

He attempts to
cajole and in-
timidate Cicero,

who wisely dis-
regards pro-
mises and me-
naces, and
escapes the
snare.

Cicero firmly and wisely replied, "that it was not the custom of the Roman people to take advice of an enemy in arms; but that if they wished redress for the grievances they complained of, they had but to lay aside their arms, and trust to Cæsar's justice, backed by his own intercession, for a favourable answer to their petition."⁴⁵

Ambiorix be-
siegues the
camp,

sets the Ro-
man huts on
fire; and com-
mits a furious
assault on the
fortifications.

After the failure of this scheme of treachery, the attacks upon the camp were renewed with courage and judgment. The military experience the barbarians had derived from their connexion with the Romans was put in requisition; towers were erected to command the camp; military engines were constructed to batter the entrenchments; burning combustibles were thrown upon the straw thatch of the Roman huts, and while the flames, aided by a high wind, were raging within, the enemy without stormed the camp from several quarters at once. But at this trying moment the courage and presence of mind of the besieged did not desert them; no one looked behind him to enfeeble his courage by beholding the destruction of his fortunes and property. Not a man deserted his post, or sheltered himself from the darts of the assailants. The eagerness of the besiegers proved detrimental to the success of their plan; their masses thronged to the entrenchments, so that the front ranks became crowded and wedged against the walls, and unable either to use their weapons or to extricate themselves. The assault was repelled on all sides with great slaughter.⁴⁶

He is bravely
repelled.

He continues
the siege.

Cicero con-
trives to open
a communica-
tion with Cæsar,

For several days longer the siege was carried on with equal obstinacy of attack and resistance; but every hour enfeebled the garrison and diminished its numbers. Means were at length found of communicating the condition of the legion to Cæsar through the devotion of a Nervian slave named Vertico, who reached the general's quarters and returned in

⁴⁵ *Cæs. De Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 38—41.*

⁴⁶ *Cæs. lib. v. c. 43.*

safety. But unable to devise any better means of eluding the vigilance of the enemy, he attached the answer to an arrow and shot it into the camp. For two days longer the Romans remained in ignorance of their approaching deliverance, till a soldier by chance discovered the dispatch sticking in the wood-work of the fortifications. Hope, confidence, and courage revived; but Cæsar was still unable to assemble a force adequate to meet the besiegers in the field. Labienus was threatened by Induciomarus and the Treviri; and a large detachment was required to place the Roman magazines, stores, and treasury at Samarobriva, on the Somme, in security. Weakened by these indispensable detachments, Cæsar's force was reduced to little more than 7000 infantry and 600 cavalry, to contend with an army which, after all its late losses, was still estimated at 60,000 combatants. He approached the enemy boldly, but cautiously. As soon as they got intelligence of his arrival, the confederates raised the siege and advanced to overwhelm him by numbers in the field. Cæsar changed his tactics with the change of circumstances; his main design was accomplished; the siege of Cicero's camp was raised. He now affected excessive timidity; scarcely a sentinel appeared upon the ramparts of his encampment; the barbarians thronged to the assault with their habitual hardihood and incaution, nothing doubting but that the Romans were already dismayed and paralyzed by their numbers, their wild cries, and impetuous courage. Suddenly all the gates of the camp were thrown open, the Roman cavalry charged the disorderly rabble with vigour and effect, dispersing them and killing great numbers.⁴⁷

who advances
to his assistance,

and diverts
the barbarians
from the siege.
They turn upon
him; he affects
timidity; they
attack incau-
tiously, and
sustain a
severe defeat.

No enemy now interposed between him and the quarters of Cicero. After relieving the disabled legion, he retired into Celtic Belgium, where the report of his success against the Nervii and Aduatici had extinguished the flame of insurrection quite as suddenly as the military conduct, the vigour, and the treachery of Ambiorix had kindled it.⁴⁸ Induciomarus quitted the position he had taken up in front of Labienus, and dismissed his army. Cæsar spent the remainder of the winter in watching, cajoling and intimidating the disaffected Celts. The prince of the Treviri employed the period of inaction in soliciting the Trans-Rhenane Germans; but, though unsuccessful in obtaining their aid, such was his military reputation, and the opinion entertained of his power, that the exiles and discontented persons from all Gaul flocked to his standard, and many of the disaffected states sought his friendship and alliance.⁴⁹

He relieves the
camp of Cicero,
and quells the
insurrection
in Gaul.

Induciomarus

is strengthened
by the exiled
and discon-
tented Gauls.

The existence of the Germano-Belgic confederacy seemed to hang upon the life of this distinguished person. Before the season for military

⁴⁷ Cæs. lib. v. c. 52.

⁴⁸ Cæs. lib. v. c. 53.

⁴⁹ Cæs. lib. v. c. 55.

He beats up
the quarters of
Labienus,

operations had arrived, Induciomarus again beat up the quarters of Labienus, rather with intent to harass the Romans in their quarters than with any view to serious warfare. It was his practice to make frequent incursions with small bodies of troops up to the very entrenchments of the Romans. Labienus encouraged his temerity by a show of fear; he permitted the barbarians to vent their reproaches and taunts upon his soldiers, and even to annoy them with showers of missiles, without retaliation, till he perceived such an obvious abandonment of all order and circumspection on their part, as to ensure the success of a well-timed sally. Such an opportunity soon presented itself; Labienus instructed his soldiers to make the destruction of Induciomarus their sole object, and not to deal a blow till they had first slain him. Just as the Treviran chief was returning homewards, after one of his usual excursions, the Roman cavalry issued from the camp; his panic-stricken followers fled; the prince was overtaken and killed, and his head brought back in triumph to the camp. His death broke up the formidable confederacy he had been mainly instrumental in forming; Nervii, Eburones, and Treviri dispersed their troops, and before summer the entire province of Gaul was reduced to apparent tranquillity.⁵⁰

and is en-
trapped and
slain by him.

Cæsar quells
the Nervii,
the Senones,
the Carnutes.

The Treviri,
notwithstand-
ing the death
of Induciomar-
us, again ap-
pear in arms,

and take up a
position on the
Meuse opposite
to Labienus.

In the course of the winter Cæsar himself made a rapid incursion into the territory of the Nervii. Some of the clans gave hostages,⁵¹ and Cæsar returned into central Gaul to reduce the rebellious Senones and Carnutes, whom the risings in the north had encouraged to make one feeble effort more for the recovery of their independence.⁵² At the same time the Treviri again appeared in arms; the spirit of Induciomarus, his dauntless resolution and reckless imprudence, still animated his companions in arms. A promise of succours from Germany was obtained, and Labienus, though strengthened by two fresh legions, appeared an easy prey to these sanguine warriors. The two armies lay close to each other on the opposite banks of the Meuse, near the modern city of Verdun in Lorraine.⁵³ Neither party seemed at first inclined to risk the passage in the presence of the other. But Labienus, by a commonplace stratagem, contrived to draw his opponents into a position in which certain destruc-

⁵⁰ Cæs. lib. v. c. 56—58.

⁵¹ Cæsar, speaking generally, says that, after overrunning and devastating the *open country*, he compelled them to give hostages. This submission would not, however, extend beyond the reach of the Roman arms, and no permanent conquest of the country was thought of for the moment.

⁵² The *Senones* occupied the district of Sens, and spread themselves from that city E. S. E. as

far as Auxerre, (Antessiodorum,) over a part of Burgundy, and the southern districts of the Orleannois. The Loire bounded them to the south. The *Carnutes* occupied the territory of Orleans, Chartre, Blois, and the Dunois. *Hoffm. Lex. Univ. ad verba.*

⁵³ The opinion of the commentator *Montanus* ad Cæs. Varior. ed. Leyden. 1651, is here adopted.

tion awaited them. He gave out that he intended to relinquish his position on the following morning. As he intended, the report reached the enemy through the medium of their spies. At the time appointed he broke up his camp with every symptom of trepidation, and no little apparent disorder. The Treviri, confident of victory over a broken and flying enemy, no longer thought of waiting for the German auxiliaries, who, it appears, were not far off. The whole army crossed the river in pursuit of the supposed fugitives. The Teutonic tactics were at all times, and under the most favourable circumstances, ill-adapted to such operations. But in this case they had to contend with the difficult and broken ground which rose on the opposite bank of the Meuse. No sooner, therefore, did Labienus perceive them inextricably involved in his toils, than the apparent confusion among the legions ceased in a moment, and the crowd of supposed fugitives resolved itself into a compact and judicious order of battle. The barbarians, startled at first, and then alarmed by the suddenness of the rally, did not await the charge of the Romans; the whole army, almost without striking a blow, dispersed to the woods, pursued by the cavalry of Labienus. The slaughter was considerable, and many prisoners fell into the hands of the Romans. The German auxiliaries retreated across the Rhine, and with them all the leaders of the insurrection. The Treviri were reduced to a state of vassalage, and the civil authority for the time was entrusted to the Romanized Cingetorix.⁵⁴

He induces them to cross the river by a pretended flight,

takes them at advantage,

and completely defeats them.

Ambiorix still held out in the north of Belgium among the Eburones and Menapii. He communicated with the Treviri while they were yet in the field, and, through them, with the trans-Rhenane Germans. Cæsar's first object was to deprive the Eburonean prince of the resources which his connexion with the Menapii afforded him; the next, to cut off his communications with Germany. With these views he marched into the territories of the Menapii with five light legions. The inhabitants fled to the woods at his approach; but the total ravage of their lands, and the destruction of their villages, their cattle, and crops, reduced them to sue for peace. Their submission was accepted only upon the hard terms of renouncing all connexion with Ambiorix, engaging neither to grant him asylum, nor to hold any intercourse with him, giving hostages for their future conduct, and maintaining a Roman corps of occupation.

Ambiorix still holds out among the Eburones and Menapii.

Cæsar invades the country of Menapii,

reduces them to submission, and takes military possession of their land.

It seems that the trans-Rhenane tribes, from which both Ambiorix and Induciomarus had derived most frequent succours, were the people

The Suevi of Cæsar

⁵⁴ Cæs. ed. Varior. lib. vi. c. 7, 8.

whom Cæsar denominates "Suevi." The position of this nation is liable to some uncertainty. The frequency of migration, the ignorance of the Romans, the indiscriminate use of the generic or national name for the clan or tribe-name,⁵⁵ each of these causes of error in its turn has contributed to render the ethnography of ancient Germany perplexing and intricate. But the acknowledged position of the Cherusci and Ubii may, in this instance, serve as a guide to that of the Suevi of Cæsar. According to his narrative, the Suevi were the close inland neighbours of the Ubii. The forest Bacenis divided the Suevi from the Cherusci, who, as is known, dwelt in the districts of Brunswick, Hanover, and Luneburg; that forest, therefore, naturally identifies itself with the modern Harz-Wald, and its continuation the Thuringer-Wald; and upon this supposition the Suevi in question are the Chatti of Tacitus, and their possessions coincide with the modern Hesse Cassel, conjoined with the adjoining duchies of Eisenach, Weimar, Erfurth, and Gotha.⁵⁶

identical with
the Chatti of
Tacitus.

Cæsar crosses
the Rhine a
second time

B. C. 54.
to chastise the
Suevi.

After the submission of the Menapii, Cæsar prepared once more to cross the Rhine. His avowed objects were, first, to secure the wavering faith of the Ubii, whom he suspected of a secret attachment to the anti-Roman party among the Treviri; next to cut off Ambiorix from all hope of aid from the trans-Rhenane Germans; but principally to inflict such a chastisement upon the restless Suevi as should prevent them from ever meddling again with the affairs of Gaul, or disturbing the schemes of Roman ambition in that country. The plan having been previously laid down, and the materials provided, a stout bridge, furnished with a strongly fortified bridge-head at each extremity, was thrown across the broad and rapid Rhine,⁵⁷ a little above the spot at which he had passed the river the first time. He led his army into the territory of the Ubii, accepted their exculpations, and directed them to collect their wives and children, and all their provisions and moveable property, into the towns, so that the Suevi, whose attack he expected and courted, might, in addition to the other evils with which he intended to overwhelm them, find themselves deprived of sustenance, and be compelled, by the apprehension of famine, to fight at disadvantage. But the Suevi were in a condition very different from that of any Germanic people whom Cæsar had hitherto

He throws a
bridge over the
Rhine;
and endeavours
to draw them
into the open
country.

⁵⁵ A fourth cause, which will be noticed hereafter, arises from confounding the confederate names, such as Marcomanni, Allemanni, Franks, &c. with the tribe-names of the various clans of which they consisted.

⁵⁶ See the learned and convincing dissertation of *Cluverius* (Germ. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 5.) upon the position of the Catti, Chatti, Hassi, or Hessians,

and the discrepancies of Cæsar and Tacitus relative to the geography of the *Suevi*.

⁵⁷ From the data in Cæsar's Commentaries compared with the short accounts of *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 10, and *Strabo*, lib. iv. c. 3, and with *P. Cluver's* Observations in Germ. Ant. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 382, the first bridge must have been built at no great distance from Cologne.

encountered. Unlike the hordes of Ariovist, or those of the Tenchteri and Usipetes, they were neither emigrants nor invaders. The great extent of their territories, as much as the physical character of its surface, afforded them great advantages for protracted warfare; and the unsettled occupation of their lands, the moveable nature of their property, its small value and easy restoration when injured or destroyed, divested invasion of all its terrors, and induced them to regard the interior of their difficult and obstructed country as the most favourable field of battle they could choose.⁵⁸ Very few days elapsed after Cæsar had crossed the Rhine, before the news reached him of a general gathering of the Suevic clans; not on the Ubian frontier, but at a point furthest removed from it, near the forest Bacenis, on the borders nearest to the remote Cherusci. Almost totally ignorant of distances, of the nature and surface of that region, or of the roads and approaches; and knowing that Germany was too little of an agricultural country to afford sustenance for so large a force as his, Cæsar at once perceived that the enemy he sought was beyond his reach. After a short sojourn upon the German soil he led his army back into Gaul; and, after securing the bridge-head on the left bank of the Rhine by additional fortifications and a strong garrison, he broke off about two hundred feet of it from the right bank, and determined to employ the summer in hunting down the undaunted Ambiorix.⁵⁹

Gathering of
their tribes.
They take post
in the interior.

Cæsar perceives that
they are beyond
his reach, and
retires into
Gaul.

The invasion of Germany had thrown the Eburones and their prince off their guard. No doubt they regarded that enterprise as affording them a certain period of respite from the alarms of war, and therefore dispersed, without apprehension, to their homes, to gather in their harvests. Cæsar, acquainted with their habits, chose this period as the most favourable to slake his vengeance for the slaughter of his legions and the death of his lieutenants. Accordingly he led his army through the forest of the Ardennes, sending forward the cavalry under L. Minutius Basilus, with directions to approach the confines of the Eburones with all possible secrecy and dispatch. Basilus by a prompt execution of his instructions surprised many of the inhabitants in their houses and on their fields; and learning from some of his captives that Ambiorix himself was then at his summer residence, situated in a glade of dense forest, and attended only by a small body of cavalry, he proceeded directly to the spot, seized the horses, chariots, and arms of the Germans, and surrounded

Ambiorix and
the Eburones,
thrown off their
guard by the
absence of
Cæsar on the
opposite bank
of the Rhine,
disperse to
their homes;

they are surprised.

Ambiorix surrounded in his
residence;

⁵⁸ The observations in the text, referrible to the motives of the Suevi for choosing to fight in their own territory, are founded upon a social condition there has been as yet no fit oppor-

tunity to explain. Such anticipations are often unavoidable in historical narratives.

⁵⁹ *Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 29.*

but escapes.

the house of Ambiorix. Escape seemed impossible; but the desperate resistance of a few faithful followers afforded him time, before they were overpowered, to mount a horse and escape the fate of Induciomarus.⁶⁰

The people retreat to the forests, swamps, and islands of the ocean.

Ambiorix had, indeed, escaped; but, in his present unprepared condition, the risk of opposing Cæsar in the field was out of all proportion to the chance of success. He issued directions to the people to betake themselves to the forest and the swamp, or to the islands thrown up by ocean-tides and storms at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Waal, and the Rhine. Catavolcus, the aged king of the other moiety of the Eburonian nation, incapable alike of exertion or of flight, took refuge in voluntary death.⁶¹

Catavolcus kills himself.

Cæsar resolves to extirpate the Eburones.

The sudden disappearance of the entire population with their cattle and property sufficiently prepared Cæsar for the kind of warfare he would now have to wage. An unencumbered army was essential to the success of his operations, a numerous one would rather have increased than diminished the difficulties he had to contend with. He therefore divided his army into three corps, and detaching two of them upon other services, he resolved to grapple with Ambiorix in the last of his strong holds on the shores of the ocean.⁶² But before he set out he stationed all the magazines and baggage of the army at Atuatica, a town or post in the centre of the Eburonian territory,⁶³ under the protection of the newly raised fourteenth legion, commanded by Q. Tullius Cicero. At parting, he assured the troops that he would return in person,⁶⁴ within seven days; and in that mind he directed his two lieutenants, Labienus and Trebonius, to meet him at Atuatica for the purpose of receiving their instructions as to the change of plan which the existing circumstances required. Nor were those circumstances devoid of danger and difficulty. No enemy was to be seen in the field, but his presence was felt everywhere; the region contained neither towns nor fortified posts; wherever a secluded valley, a woody

He places the baggage and stores of the army at Atuatica in custody of the newly raised fourteenth legion, under Q. Cicero,

and proceeds against the Eburones.

⁶⁰ *Cæs. lib. vi. c. 30.* Cæsar regards the escape of Ambiorix as a strong instance of the power of Fortune in defeating all human calculation, and setting all probabilities at defiance. In his own case he worshipped her as his tutelary divinity, and attributed his own elevation fully as much to the favour of the goddess as to his own merits.

⁶¹ *Cæs. lib. vi. c. 31.*

⁶² "Ipse ad flumen Scaldim, quod influit in Mosam, extremasque Arduennæ partes ire constituit, quo cum paucibus equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat." *Cæs. lib. vi. c. 33.* Though it cannot be said of the Scheldt, with propriety, that it flows into the Meuse, yet the two rivers may be said to come together, inasmuch as they flow into the sea through channels which commu-

nicate with one another. This was probably what Cæsar meant by the influx of the one into the other. But *Cluver* treats the matter seriously, and quotes the passage as one of Cæsar's many geographical blunders. *Germ. Ant. lib. ii. c. 29. p. 451.*

⁶³ The position of Atuatica has been much disputed; but the Itinerary of Antoninus seems to settle the question. *Aduaga Tongrorum*—manifestly Atuaca Tongrorum—is placed midway between the station of *Bagacum* (Bavay in Hainault) and *Colonia Agrippina*, (Cologne). The contraction of *Atuatica* into *Atuaca* is ordinary. The position will then be made to correspond accurately with the modern town of *Tongern*, about three or four leagues to the northward of Liège.

⁶⁴ "Sese reversurum confirmat." *c. 33.*

tract, an inaccessible marsh, afforded chance of shelter or an opportunity for ambush, there they fixed themselves. Great caution was therefore necessary in approaching the forests and entangled ground about the banks of the rivers and marshes; less, indeed, with the view of avoiding surprise, or providing for the security of the mass, than of preventing the soldiery from being destroyed in detail, a danger to which the desire of booty, so strong among the Romans, was perpetually exposing them.

In order, therefore, to spare the lives of the legionaries, Cæsar held out the plunder of the Eburones as a lure to the neighbouring Gallic nations, and thus induced multitudes to aid him in his project of utter extirpation against the authors and perpetrators of the treacherous scheme to which the legions of Sabinus and Cotta had fallen a sacrifice.⁶⁵

He calls great numbers of adventurers to his assistance and spares the legions.

During the absence of Cæsar from Atuatica, the Sicambri, a Germanic tribe occupying the right bank of the Rhine from the northern confines of the Ubii to the sea, crossed the river about thirty miles below the spot where Cæsar had built his bridge,⁶⁶ in hopes of sharing in the plunder of the hapless Eburones. They had already made many captives, and collected a great number of cattle, when information reached them that Cæsar was absent from the camp at Atuatica, and that the vast riches it contained were guarded only by a single legion. Quitting their booty, they hastened forward in the hope of surprising the station, the plunder of which would repay them tenfold for the loss of that they left behind.⁶⁷

Meanwhile the Sicambri make an incursion into the Eburonian country to share the spoil of that unfortunate people.

In Cæsar's absence they resolve to attack the camp at Atuatica.

Cicero had hitherto strictly adhered to the directions given him by Cæsar at parting, not to permit a soldier, or even a camp-follower, to stray to any distance from the walls. But when the seventh day of Cæsar's absence had already elapsed, and the appointed time for the distribution of provisions (which it seems could not take place in the absence of the general) had gone by, Cicero yielded to the clamours of the soldiery, and permitted five cohorts to leave the camp for the purpose of gathering in the grain and foraging in a plain at a short distance from the station, and separated from it only by a low hill. Three hundred invalids, and a few soldiers, only remained to do the necessary garrison duties.⁶⁸

Cicero neglects the injunctions of Cæsar, and is taken by surprise.

At this moment, the Sicambrian cavalry arrived in front of the station, surprised the hawkers and suttlers who had established themselves outside the ramparts, and dashed at the porta decumana. The cohort posted there, with the utmost difficulty withstood the first onset. The soldiers, who were in no otherwise able to account for the sudden appear-

⁶⁵ Cæs. lib. vi. c. 34.

Ant. p. 537.

⁶⁶ Possibly in the vicinity of Dusseldorf, or between that city and Cologne. See *Cluv. Germ.*

⁶⁷ Cæs. lib. vi. c. 35.

⁶⁸ Cæs. lib. vi. c. 36.

The camp saved by the devoted valour and presence of mind of Sextus Baculus.

The Romans sustain heavy loss.

The Sicambri retreat.

Ambiorix and the Eburones continue their gallant but fruitless resistance,

till, overwhelmed by calamity and suffering, they yield to their fate.

ance of an enemy at the head-quarters of the army, took it for granted that Cæsar himself had sustained a defeat; and but for the extraordinary devotedness of a sick officer, the entire stores, magazines, and treasure of the army must have become a prey to a mere handful of predatory barbarians. Sextus Baculus, the invalid in question, upon the first alarm, leaped from his bed, and, snatching up a shield, planted himself in the gate; the centurions of his cohort followed his example, and the progress of the barbarians was arrested for the moment. Meanwhile the alarm spread to the cohorts, who, after completing their forage, were returning towards the camp. The barbarians instantly quitted their prey, and turned upon the new-comers; and before the raw levies could recover from their surprise at the unexpected onset, the different cohorts became confused and separated; one body was surrounded and cut to pieces; the majority reached their lines in safety, and the barbarians, abandoning all hope of the greater prize, contented themselves with the booty snatched from the Roman sutlers and the captured cattle of the Eburones, and retreated in safety to the opposite bank of the Rhine.⁶⁹

Shortly after this fortunate escape,⁷⁰ Cæsar returned to the camp and prepared to resume the bloody task which this accidental inroad had interrupted. Hordes of greedy adventurers from the neighbouring states, accustomed to the climate of the Low Countries, and familiar with the mode of living and acting in such localities, were collected around the devoted Eburones; all the produce and cattle of the country, the only property of the inhabitants, was quickly consumed; the houses and buildings were destroyed, and the land so wasted that no hope remained of making it available for the support of human life for many years to come. Ambiorix, though frequently involved in the enemy's toils, and often in sight of his pursuers, continued to elude their grasp. The people, though broken down by suffering, reduced to penury, and greatly diminished in numbers, appear not to have abandoned themselves; till Cæsar, having extinguished the last spark of Gallic liberty in the blood of its guardians, was once more at leisure to resume the work of extermination. Despairing of taking Ambiorix himself in his toils, he resorted to an abominable but not unusual device of conquerors. Next to the glory of reducing Ambiorix into his power, he regarded it as most conducive to his dignity, says his

⁶⁹ *Cæs. lib. vi. c. 36 to 41.*

⁷⁰ In chap. 42, Cæsar again takes occasion to admire the mysterious dealings of fortune, that she should have conducted the barbarians to the camp at the precise moment of the absence of the cohorts; and still more that she should have

averted them from the very gates of his head-quarters; and, moreover, that the very persons who came professedly to plunder the subjects of Ambiorix should have unwittingly rendered them a most essential service.

continuator, A. Hirtius, so utterly to ruin the country of his subjects, that if any were left alive after this treatment, they might attribute all their miseries to him, and preclude him from ever returning to expose them to a renewal of such unparalleled sufferings.⁷¹ This nefarious scheme was probably successful; nothing more is heard of Ambiorix, and very little of the people he once ruled; but we are entitled to infer, from the silence of history, that he died, as he had lived, a free man.⁷²

Ambiorix escapes.

SECTION IV.

Conquest of Pannonia, Noricum, Rhetia and Vindelicia.—Wars of Augustus, Drusus, and Tiberius, in Germany.

THE short period of eight years had sufficed for the entire conquest of the Celtic and Germanic nations west of the Rhine. After the departure of Cæsar, an unusual tranquillity prevailed along the frontier of the Rhine, which must be ascribed rather to the efficiency of his political and military measures for the security of his new conquests, than to the¹ altered temper of that restless race. Their position had, in fact, undergone an important change. Gaul was now no longer divided among many discordant nations; the Romans had united it under one vigorous civil and military administration, and therefore that country no longer afforded the same facilities for depredation or conquest. The allegiance of the cis-Rhenane Germans was secured by the establishment of fortified posts and military roads connecting one station with another. Within a few years after the conquest, the colonies of *Augusta Trevirorum*, *Augusta Nemetum*, and *Augusta Vangionum*,² arose upon the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. These splendid establishments served not merely as stations for watching the exposed frontier, and defending it against the inroads of the trans-Rhenane tribes, but also for

Tranquil state of the Rhenish frontier after Cæsar's departure from Gaul.

Altered position of the Germanic nations after the conquest.

Romans establish fortified posts and colonies.

Triers, Spire, and Worms.

The cis-Rhenane Germans

⁷¹ *A. Hirtii* Comm. de Bell. Gall. lib. viii. (contin.) c. 24.

⁷² Throughout this chapter the criticisms of *Luden*, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, book i. c. 11; *Mascou*, *Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, book ii.; *Schmidt*, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. book i. c. 6; *Struvius*, *Corp. Hist. Germ.* part ii. § 1 to 6; and *Struvius*, *Syntagm. Hist. Germ.* Dissertat. iv. § 9—14, have been consulted. For the facts themselves, the original authorities of Plutarch, Cæsar, Dio Cassius, Florus, and Tacitus have been relied upon.

¹ *Cicero* ad Atticum, lib. xiv. ep. 9. edit. Verburg, vol. vii. par. ii. p. 1864. Cicero informs Atticus that Aurelius, the lieutenant of Hirtius Pansa, who was left in Gaul by Cæsar, had received assurances of obedience from the Germans, and the nations of that race—"illasque nationes." *Dio Cassius* ap. *D. Bouquet*, vol. i. p. 517, describes the tranquil state of Gaul after Cæsar's departure.

² *Mascou*, *Hist. of the Germ.* vol. i. p. 75, quotes *Bucherius* de Belgico Romano.

adopt Roman habits, laws, and language. Eight legions stationed in Gaul, who are employed in constructing high roads, which afford the readier means of repressing foreign invasion and domestic discontent.

propagating Roman laws, habits, and language; and reconciling the inhabitants to the dominion of their more civilized masters.³ Eight legions, stationed at the most convenient points for observation and defence, were, at the same time, occupied in the construction of the great roads which traversed Gaul from the Alps and the Pyrenees to the most important posts upon the Rhine from its sources to the ocean: In the Belgic province only, eight principal roads, diverging from Bavacum,⁴ the capital of the Nervii, towards the interior of Gaul and the new stations on the Rhine, were constructed; and the facility of communication⁵ thus established enabled the Roman governors to concentrate a sufficient force upon any point which might be threatened, to suppress insurrections and protect the agriculture and commerce of the new conquests. The united operation of such powerful means as the establishment of colonies, the construction of high roads,⁶ and the dissemination of Roman habits and language, necessarily tended to attach the people to the new order of things, and by so much to impede the inroads of foreign enemies; while an active and moveable force,⁷ constantly at hand, deterred the discontented, and repressed that wild love of innovation which lay deep in the character of the Gallic nations.

B. C. 49.
A. U. C. 706.

The peace of Germany not interrupted for a period of twelve years.

When the division of the empire took place between the triumvirs Octavianus, Antonius, and Lepidus, the province of Gaul was given to Octavianus, who assumed the surname of Cæsar after his adoptive father. At his departure from Gaul Cæsar had left L. Manucius Plancus and Decimus Brutus as his lieutenants behind him. A period of twelve years elapsed without affording any incident which has been thought worthy of commemoration by contemporary historians. Octavianus entrusted the management of Gaul to Vipsanius Agrippa; and in the year 37 B. C.,

³ *Strabo* (lib. iv.) observes that, in the ages of Augustus and Tiberius, most of the Gallic nations (including the cis-Rhenane Germans) had adopted the language and manners, and accommodated themselves to the civil government of the Romans.

⁴ Bavais, or Bavay, in Hainault, about three leagues from Valenciennes.

⁵ *Bucherius* de Belgico Romano, § xix. p. 31, as quoted by *Mascou*, vol. i. book ii. c. 5. "Bavaco quidem octo emanant quarum una Coloniam Agrippinam per Tungros (Tongern); altera per Mosæ superiora, propter Dionantum (Dinant) et per Arduennam, Augustam usque Trevirorum (Trevés); Tertia Durocortorum Rhemorum (Rheims in Champagne); Quarta per Augustam Viromandunorum, (the Abbey of Vermond, two leagues from St. Quintin en Ver-

mandois according to *Hoffman*, Lex. Univ.) Quinta per Cameracum (Cambray), læva quidem Bapalmes et Samarobrivam Ambianorum (Amiens), dextra Vemetium Atrebatum (the little town of Orchies in Artois, according to *Hoffman*; or the city of Arras, according to *Cluver*, Germ. Ant. p. 438.) Tarvanum Morinorum (Teroanne in Artois) et Bononiam ad Mare (Boulogne sur Mer): Sexta Verovicam hodie Verdyk ad Lisam (Lys), Castellum Morinorum (Cassel), Marcis ad litus Saxonicum hodie Mardyk: Septima Gandavum (Ghent) in Menapiis: Octava denique per Enghien, Keyster, Asche in Brabantiam Rheno Trajectum (Utrecht) tendebat. Also *Luden*, vol. i. p. 154.

⁶ *Bucherius* (ubi supra) attributes most of these roads to the emperor Augustus.

⁷ *Mascou*, vol. i. book ii. c. 5.

we find him engaged in quelling a serious disturbance which had broken out among the Rhenish Germans, at the instigation, at it seems, of their Trans-Rhenane countrymen. Some unknown cause of dissatisfaction, perhaps the pressure of an external enemy, had induced the Ubii, the ancient allies of Rome, to make an incursion into Gaul. The prompt advance of Agrippa speedily reduced them to submission. It was not, however, thought prudent to permit them to resume their old settlements beyond the Rhine; and a territory in the vicinity of the modern city of Cologne was assigned to them, where they might dwell under Roman superintendence.⁸

Vipsanius Agrippa transfers the Ubii to a settlement on the left bank of the Rhine.
B. C. 37.

As the Roman power acquired strength in Cis-Rhenane Germany, considerable bodies of Germans were raised in those provinces, and trained in the Roman tactics and discipline. The undaunted valour and great physical powers of these warriors were highly esteemed by the Romans.⁹ The German troops in the service of Cæsar contributed in no small degree to the victory of Pharsalia, and accompanied him in all his subsequent wars.¹⁰ Indeed, the increasing difficulty of recruiting the vast armies necessary to guard the extended frontiers of the empire, compelled the government to look for a supply of soldiers from among the conquered nations. The Teutonic tribes, in every respect the most formidable enemies of Rome, were likely to furnish the best auxiliaries; and it became a matter of no small importance to maintain and extend the Roman influence among them, as much for the purpose of obtaining recruits as of preventing hostile designs.¹¹

German troops in the service of Rome highly esteemed.

Difficulty of recruiting the Roman armies renders the enlistment of foreigners necessary.

Vipsanius Agrippa had, it seems, passed the Rhine; but with what view we are uninformed.¹² Ten years afterwards Caius Carinas defeated the Suevi, who had made an irruption into the Roman Germany, for which exploit he was honoured with a share in the great triumph of Augustus over the nations of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Gaul, and Germany, in the year of the city 725.¹³ However honourable the victory of

A. U. C. 715.
A. U. C. 725.
Carinas defeats the Suevi.

⁸ *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 134.—*Tacitus*, Ann. lib. xii. c. 37.—*Tac.* Germ. c. 28.—To the migration of the Ubii from the right to the left bank of the Rhine we may probably ascribe the foundation of the city of Cologne about the year 35 B. C. *Tacitus* (Ann. lib. i. c. 36, 37, 71.—lib. xii. c. 27.) mentions it as a place of some importance, immediately after the accession of Tiberius, under its most ancient name of *Oppidum* or *Civitas Ubiorum*. About eighty-five years afterwards, Julia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and wife of the emperor Claudius, sent thither a colony of veterans, and gave the city the name of *Colonia Agrippina* (A. D. 50.) *Cluv.* Germ. Ant.

lib. ii. c. 17. p. 403, 404; and particularly *Tac.* Ann. lib. xii. c. 2. 7.

⁹ *Suetonius* in *Julio*, c. 24. p. 26. ed. Var. 1647, 8vo.—*Sueton.* in *August.* c. 49. p. 187.

¹⁰ *Florus*, lib. iv. c. 2.—*Lucan*, *Pharsalia*, lib. i. v. 419, et seq. *Lucan* enumerates Nervii, Vangiones, Batavi, and Treviri, and alludes to the Eburones,

.... "Et cæsi pollutus sanguine Cottæ"—

scilicet, Eburo.

¹¹ *Luden*, vol. i. p. 159.

¹² *Dio Cassius*, lib. xlviii. § 49. p. 564.

¹³ *Ibid.* lib. lv. § 21. p. 653.

Nonnius Gallus subdues the Treviri.

The Roman people and army anxious for the conquest of Germany.

Augustus accordingly resolves to reduce the Alpine countries south of the Danube,

a project which Julius Cæsar had planned and partly executed.

B. C. 34.
A. U. C. 718.
Augustus subdues the Panonian lapidæ.

Carinas, the Treviri, and several other Germano-Belgic nations in alliance with them, still continued in arms. They were at length appeased or subdued by Nonnius Gallus.¹⁴ These disturbances seem not to have given any serious alarm to the Roman government, or even to have diverted Octavianus from the prosecution of a scheme of conquest now rendered necessary, as well by the actual position of the empire as by the inclinations of the army and the fears of the Roman people.

The lingering terror which the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri, and the rapid successes of Ariovistus had left behind them, impressed the government with the necessity of providing a permanent security for the Gallic and Italian frontiers of the empire. The restless and predatory spirit of the border nations left no hope that they would neglect any opportunity of spreading themselves over the rich and fertile provinces in their vicinity. The alarm so forcibly described by Tacitus,¹⁵ at an interval of more than two centuries from the period of the Cimbric war, seems never to have wholly subsided. The army called for occupation, the bent of public opinion was in favour of conquest: nor was the power of Augustus of so absolute a character as to make it safe to neglect either the inclinations of the soldiery or the wishes of the great body of his subjects. He therefore resolved to possess himself of the whole line of the Alps from the confines of Savoy to those of Dalmatia, districts¹⁶ inhabited by numerous independent tribes of fierce and hardy mountaineers, who preferred death to the loss of independence, and held a country by nature so strong as to require time and the undivided forces of the empire to reduce it. The expediency of such a measure¹⁷ to give consistency to his scheme of conquest had not escaped the attention of Cæsar while he commanded in Gaul; and he had made a commencement by subjugating the Nantuates, Viragri, and Seduni, tribes inhabiting¹⁸ the valley of the Rhone from the Lemman Lake to the sources of that river, and occupying the important passes of the Pennine Alps,¹⁹ the possession of which was essential to secure the communication with the Gallic provinces.

In the year 34 B. C. (therefore shortly after the partition of the provinces among the members of the Triumvirate), Octavianus Cæsar marched his legions from the Illyrian, or Dalmatian frontier, against the

¹⁴ *Dio Cassius*, lib. li. § 20. p. 652.

¹⁵ *Tacitus*, *Germ.* c. 37. p. 423. 4to. ed. emphatically called the "Cimbric terror." Tacitus is supposed by Cluver to have written his *Germany* in the second year of Trajan, therefore about the year of Christ 100. *Cluv. Germ.*

Ant. 531.

¹⁶ *Florus*, lib. iv. c. 12. pp. 121, 122.

¹⁷ *Luden*, vol. i. p. 160.

¹⁸ *Cæsar*, *Comm.* lib. iii. c. 1—6.

¹⁹ Now known by the names of the St. Bernard, Simplon, and St. Gothard.

Pannonian Iapidæ. After a long and obstinate defence, those gallant barbarians were compelled to bow beneath the yoke of Rome, and Octavianus penetrated northward to the banks of the Danube.²⁰ The civil war against M. Antonius suspended the conquest of the Alpine regions. But as soon as Octavianus found himself the acknowledged master of the Roman world, the scheme was resumed with vigour and perseverance. The country of the Salassii, lying on the borders of Piedmont and Savoy, was seized upon with circumstances of unexampled treachery and cruelty, and a general insurrection of the inhabitants of the western Alps for a time arrested the progress of the Roman arms in southern Germany. Pannonia²¹ and Noricum²² were, however, at length reduced to entire submission, and Rhætia and Vindelicia²³ became the next objects of attack.²⁴

The territories of the Salassii taken possession of by treachery.

Rhætia and Vindelicia are attacked.

Boundaries of Rhætia.

The region comprehended by the ancient geographers under the name of Rhætia was bounded to the westward by the Rhine and the Black Forest; to the northward by the Danube to its confluence with the Inn; to the eastward by the course of the latter river; the Alps formed the limit to the southward.²⁵ Rhætia was again subdivided into Rhætia Proper and Vindelicia. The Vindelicians occupied the entire northern or plain country from the sources of the Danube to its confluence with the Inn, expanding themselves southward to the shores of the Brigantine lake.²⁶ The Rhætians were a mountain tribe inhabiting the numerous Alpine valleys from the sources of the Inn to the vicinity of Verona and the Venetian Alps, and comprehending the entire modern county of Tyrol within their limits. The Roman writers describe them as a horde of savages of such untameable ferocity, that their entire subjugation was no longer an act of choice or mere ambition, but of necessity. Accordingly, in the year 15 B. C., Augustus sent the elder of his stepsons, Cl. Tiberius Nero, with an army through the territory of the Helvetians against the Vindelicians; whilst the younger, Claudius Drusus, was directed to penetrate through the Tridentine passes against the

Rhætia subdivided into *Rhætia Proper* and *Vindelicia*. The Vindelicians inhabit the banks of the Danube to its confluence with the Inn.

The Rhætians dwell in the modern Tyrol.

B. C. 15. A. U. C. 737. Tiberius sent against the Vindelicians, and Drusus against the Rhætians.

²⁰ *Florus*, lib. iv. c. 12.—*Dio Cassius*, lib. xlix. § 45, 46. p. 594.

²¹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. liii. cc. 19, 25, 26.—*Strabo*, lib. iv. c. 6.

²² The modern circles of Austria and Bavaria.

²³ The circle of Swabia and a part of Bavaria, as far as the confluence of the rivers Inn and Danube.

²⁴ *Dio Cassius*, lib. liv. § 20. p. 750.—*Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. c. 109.—*Luden*, book ii. c. i.

²⁵ *Ptolemy*, Geogr. lib. ii.—*Cluverius*, Germ.

Ant. Rhætians, Noricans, and Pannonians, *i. e.* almost the whole circles of Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria were regarded as Illyrian nations, and included within that great division of the empire.

²⁶ *Cluverius*, Geogr. Ant. Germ. p. 722.—*Lacus Brigantinus*, the lake of Constance; or, (more in unison with the ancient name,) the Lake of Bregentz, a modern town on its shores, which either gave its name to the lake or received its own from it.

Both countries subdued in a single campaign; and the new conquest secured by colonies, military roads, and posts. The inhabitants enrolled in the armies of the empire.

Public testimony of gratitude to Augustus for these splendid conquests, and the deliverance of the border provinces from invasion and rapine.

Augustus improves the civil and military administration of the Rhenish provinces.

He takes the government of the frontier provinces and the command of the armies stationed there.

Rhætiens. The barbarians, disdaining the fastnesses of their country, met the Romans in the field, and suffered successive defeats; and in the course of a single campaign, of unexampled skill and rapidity on the part of the Romans, and of obstinate self-devotion on that of the vanquished, the reduction of Rhætia was completed. This important acquisition was immediately secured by the construction of fortified stations and military roads. To this period we trace the foundation of the great colonial city of Augusta Vindeliciorum.²⁷ The Itineraries of the empire, and the researches of modern antiquaries, depose to the military skill and indefatigable industry with which the great roads and principal posts were selected and laid down. Great numbers of the warlike youth of Vindelicia and Rhætia were voluntarily enrolled among the legions of their conquerors; and thus, in an incredibly short space of time, an exasperated foe was converted into a useful auxiliary.²⁸ These magnificent acquisitions, but chiefly the deliverance from the dangers of invasion and rapine which they brought with them, were thought worthy of the national gratitude, and a triumphal arch was erected in honour of Augustus at the foot of the Alps, with an inscription proclaiming to the world, that, under his auspices, forty-six Alpine nations, extending from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, had been added to the dominions of the republic.²⁹

The attention of Augustus was in the interim directed to the improvement of the military and civil condition of Belgium and the provinces on the Rhine. He regarded himself, or, with consummate skill and dissimulation, affected to regard himself, merely as the head of the administration of the republic. In the distribution of the provinces between himself and the senate, he assumed the government of all the border provinces, with the command of the armies stationed there; in fact, of the entire military force of the republic. The vanity of the senate and people was amply gratified with the administration of the settled and peaceful provinces, while the substantial power of the state remained with an unimpeached title in the hands of Augustus. Belgium and the districts of the Rhine, like every other portion of the empire within the reach of a foreign enemy, or where an active military force was stationed, fell under his control. He introduced a new territorial division for the more regular distribution of

²⁷ The still populous and flourishing city of Augsburg on the river Lech. The city does not seem to have assumed the name of "Augusta" even as late as the age of Tacitus, who calls it "Splendidissima Rhætiae Provinciæ Colonia." But Ptolemy, in the succeeding age, gives it the

name of "Augusta Vindeliciorum." *Cluv. Germ. Ant.* p. 723.

²⁸ *Dio Cass.* lib. liv. § 22. p. 751.—*Mascov*, book iii. c. 11.—*Luden*, vol. i. p. 171.—*Cluv. Germ. Ant.* Vindelicia et Noricum, c. 3. p. 722.

²⁹ *Dio Cass.* lib. liii.

the armies upon that dangerous frontier; and, possibly, for the better management of the civil and fiscal administration.

Cæsar's division, as we have seen,³⁰ comprehended all the nations of Teutonic descent within the third or Belgic portion of Gaul; the more southern parts were inhabited by Celtic races; the Rhine formed the boundary to the eastward, and the ocean and the Seine to the westward and southward. After the pacification of the Germanic nations, Augustus deemed it expedient to gratify them with the permission to retain their national name. He divided the Belgic province into two parts; the first preserved its original name, and was subdivided into Belgica Prima and Secunda; the second obtained the name of Germania, and was again subdivided into Germania Superior and Inferior; the limit between these divisions was the river Abrinea (the modern Are). Germania Superior, or, as it was sometimes called, Prima, stretched southwards to the confines of the Rauraci,³¹ and included the Tribocci in the modern Alsatia, the Nemetes, and Vangiones, from Worms to Maintz,³² and a portion of the

He divides Gallia Belgica into four provinces: 1. Belgica Prima; 2. Belgica Secunda; 3. Germania Prima; and 4. Germania Secunda.

³⁰ P. 35.

³¹ Whose capital, Augusta Rauracorum, lay upon the left bank of the Rhine, about a league to the eastward of Basle.

³² *Dio Cass.* lib. liii. makes Germania Superior to commence at the sources of the Rhine, and extends Germania Inferior to the British ocean. —*Cluverius*, *Germ. Ant.* lib. ii. c. 37. p. 498. It is singular that in the general division in which the nations of Germanic origin are thrown together, an exception should be made in the cases of the Nervii (a race of the purest Teutonic descent); and of the Treviri, the greater portion of whose territory was annexed to Belgica Prima, as the Nervii were included in the Belgica Secunda. See also *Mascou*, book iii. c. 4. p. 70.

To this period we trace the foundations of the cities of *Strasburg*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and *Maintz*. Cæsar made the Nemeti, or their principal town — afterwards called *Civitas Nemetum* or *Noviomagus* — his winter-quarters during his last campaign in Gaul. *Hirtii Comm. de Bell. Gall.* lib. viii. c. 46, 52. — *Lehman*, *Chronica der Stadt Speyer*, book i. c. 5. says that Cæsar and his successors in the empire fortified Spire as a strong frontier city against the Alemanni, who dwelt on the opposite side of the Rhine, and placed a strong garrison there under a præfectus militum of its own.

Argentoratum, or *Civitas Argentoratensium*. Teutonicè "Ander argen Straasse," fortasse. *Cluv.* 368. (Germ.) *Stratisburg*, *Straatburg*, — "the borough on the street," identical in mean-

ing with our "*Chester-le-street*," a small market-town in the county of Durham. The first author who mentions Strasburg is Ptolemy, who wrote about 138 years after Christ. But as Ptolemy speaks of none but the principal cities of Gaul, *Argentoratum* must have risen to that dignity long before he wrote. *Cluv.* makes no doubt that Strasburg was one of the principal stations among the great number established by Drusus along both banks of the Rhine, A. U. C. 745. B. C. 9. *Germ. Ant.* lib. ii. c. 11. p. 368.

Borbetomagus (in the Itinerary of Antonine, "Bormetomagus.") *Germ. Worms*; or, in the "*Libellus Provinciarum Civitatumque Galliarum*," "*Civitas Vangionum, hoc est Wormacia*." In the ancient German, *Wormitzmagen*, or *Wormit-magen*; pronounced *Vormitomagus* by the Romans, and *Bormitomagus* (*Βορμιτόμαγος*) by the Greeks: thus also in Ptolemy. *Cluver.* lib. ii. c. 13. p. 375.

Maintz, — Gallicè Mayence, — so called from its position opposite to the confluence of the Main, or Mayne, with the Rhine; Teutonicè, *Mainzich*, or *Moenzich*, a "Mæno," or "Mæno." Teutonicè *Main* or *Moen*, with the affix "*zich*" or "*sich*" denoting "*locality*." The Romans, accommodating these sounds to their mode of enunciation, made it into *Maguntiacum* and *Moguntiacum*; — in Ptolemy, *Μογοντιάκον*. *Florus* (lib. iv. c. 12.) enumerates *Maguntiacum* and *Bonna* (*Maintz* and *Bonn*) among the towns standing in the age of Drusus, B. C. 9: "*Bonnam et Magontiacum pontibus junxit* (viz. with the right bank of the Rhine) *et classibus firma-*

Eight legions
quartered in
the two Ger-
manies under
Silius and
Cæcina.

territories of the Treviri. Germania Inferior or Secunda extended along the Rhine to the shores of the Ocean, and was separated from the Belgic province by the Meuse, the Dender, and the Scheldt. The nations within its limits were the Tungri, Ubii, Sunici, Gugerni, Menapii, Toxandri, Batavi, and Caninefates, all of them nations of Teutonic origin. The eight legions appointed to cover the Rhenish frontier were divided into two corps : the first, under the command of C. Silius, consisting of four legions, was quartered in Germania Superior, with Maguntiacum as its head-quarters ; the second, under Aulus Cæcina, occupied Germania Inferior, of which one detachment had its head-quarters at the Ara Ubiorum, afterwards called Bonn, and the other at Vetera, a spot subsequently known by the name of Santen, in the modern duchy of Cleves.³³

A. U. C. 735.

B. C. 19.

A. U. C. 736.

B. C. 18.

Disturbances
in the Ger-
manies.

These measures of administrative and military policy were not taken before they were called for. Disturbances, fomented by the independent Germans on the right bank of the Rhine, broke out among the provincials of Lower Germany, where Lollius commanded. In the following year Agrippa was sent by Augustus into Germany ; but before he could make any progress against the insurgents, he was called away by a rebellion in Spain. Tiberius succeeded his brother in the command, but after a short sojourn in Gaul he abandoned the completion of the task to C. Lollius, a man whose cupidity, violence, and incapacity, served but to fan the flame he was commissioned to quench.³⁴

The Sicambri
and their allies
the Usipetes
and Tenchteri
invade Ger-
mania Secunda

The origin of the rebellion is involved in some obscurity. The Sicambri, Usipetes, and Tenchteri, trans-Rhenane nations, who had for some time acknowledged the Roman supremacy, and signified it by the payment of tribute, suddenly seized upon certain Roman officers who sojourned among them, and inhumanly hanged them upon crosses. The rapacious character of Lollius authorizes the inference that these persons were sent for the purpose of extortion, and that they thus drew upon themselves the treatment they met with.³⁵ The Sicambri and their allies

vit ;" but the reading "Maguntiacum" in this passage rests upon the authority of *Cluver*. p. 376. My copy has "Gildubam." The reasoning of *Cluver*, however, seems conclusive. At all events, Maguntiacum became the head-quarters, and consequently the capital, of *Germania Superior*, in the time of Drusus, and never afterwards ceased to be so.

³³ Now Rhenish Prussia. See *Cluverius's* copious and masterly disquisition respecting the distribution of the Roman armies on the Rhine. *Germ. Ant.* lib. ii. p. 376. See also *Tac. Ann.*

lib. i. c. 31.

³⁴ *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. p. 217.

³⁵ The general character of the Roman fiscal administration in Gaul had already become so oppressive, that Augustus found it necessary to remove the procurator Lucinius, whose rapacity had caused a general discontent throughout the country. *Dio Cassius*, lib. liii. The view in the text is confirmed by the old scholiast *Helenius* *Acron* ad *Hor. Carm.* lib. iv. Od. 2. vv. 34, 35. who, in allusion to the offence of the Sicambri, expressly says that certain centurions, sent to

followed up their barbarous deed with a resolution and courage worthy of and totally
 a better beginning. They crossed the Rhine, totally defeated the defeat the
 præfect Lollius, pursued his flying troops to the gates of their head- Præfect Lol-
 quarters, and ravaged a great part of Lower Germany. The disgrace of lius.
 this overthrow, aggravated by the capture of the eagle belonging to the
 fifth legion, stung the Romans to the quick.³⁶ Augustus hastened into A. U. C. 738.
 Gaul in person to wipe out the disgrace; but the intelligence of his B. C. 16.
 arrival seems to have abated the confidence of the barbarians. They
 sued for peace and obtained it upon giving hostages for their future sub-
 mission. During his residence in Gaul, Augustus visited the German
 provinces,³⁷ and completed the organization of a military system (as we
 have seen) equally well adapted to aggression or defence. The war
 in Rhætia and Vindelicia was about the same time brought to a successful
 issue; and, after a sojourn of two years in Gaul, Augustus retired to
 Rome, leaving his stepson Drusus in command of the province.³⁸

Augustus goes
 into Gaul to
 repair the dis-
 grace of the
 Roman arms.
 The Germans
 sue for peace
 and readily ob-
 tain it.

The frontier of the empire towards Germany was completed. The
 Rhine and the Danube not only afforded strong lines of defence, but
 by the construction of high roads, and the establishment of colonies,
 fortified posts and military lines, secured a safe basis of operations
 against the independent nations beyond them. The arm of Roman
 power seemed already to encircle Germany; nations equally gallant and
 equally well-defended by nature, had already sunk into servitude;
 indeed, no contemporary observer of the events we have hastily sketched,
 himself capable of taking an adequate survey of the accumulated means
 of conquest now in the hands of Rome, could have entertained much
 doubt of the issue. And this it is which invests the long, the obstinate,
 and at length successful defence of the Germanic nations with a
 character of its own, an interest proportioned to the great apparent
 inequality of the means of attack and resistance.³⁹

The Rhine and
 the Danube
 become the
 boundaries of
 the empire.

demand tribute, were the persons put to death by the Germans.

³⁶ *Dio Cassius*, lib. liv. § 21. p. 751—an instructive story.—*Suetonius* in August. c. 23.

³⁷ At least the inference that he did so is strong from a passage of Tacitus, (Ann. lib. i. c. 46.) in which Tiberius is twitted with the example of Augustus, who in his old age "so

often visited Germany," while he, (Tiberius,) though in the flower of his years, sat bandying empty words with the fathers in the senate.

³⁸ *Dio Cassius*, lib. liv. c. 20—22.

³⁹ In the course of this section *J. V. Müller's* Hist. of Switzerland, book i. c. 5. has been consulted.

CHAP. II.

THE ROMANS RESOLVE UPON THE CONQUEST OF GERMANY.—INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL STATE OF THE GERMANIC NATIONS IN THE AGES OF CÆSAR AND TACITUS.

Motives for the conquest of Germany:

1. Superior physical powers of the barbarians;

2. Recollection of past perils,

B. C. 613.

B. C. 389.
particularly the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri.

THE mortifying defeat of Lollius seemed but a link in the chain of events, from which the Romans might draw fresh confirmation of that important lesson which the experience of the past seemed to convey, namely, that success against such an enemy as the Germans depended upon the maintenance of discipline, the selection of skilful commanders, the completeness of their lines of defence, the refinement of civilized policy, in short, upon anything rather than the mere qualities of the warrior, enduring courage, physical strength, daring enterprise, in all of which impartial history assigns the palm to the fierce barbarians of the north. The most ancient traditions of their country reminded the Romans of the weakness of natural barriers¹ or national resistance, to exclude the northern barbarians from the attractive regions of the south. Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, had, in times past, been overrun by mingled races of Celtic and Teutonic origin.² The faint traditions of a primitive Tuscan, Rasenic, or Rhætian conquest, the successful irruptions of Bellovesus in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, and of the Senonian Brennus, rather more than two centuries afterwards; the more recent, the well-authenticated, the terrible invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri; the rapid progress of Ariovistus and of the Helvetii, the impotency of the intermediate nations to resist the onslaught of the barbarian numbers and valour; and, lastly, the personal experience which the Romans had of the undying, the invincible ardour for war and conquest characteristic of the Teutonic races, all concurred to point out the dangers to which the civilized world must remain exposed so long as a single clan or canton of Germany refused to submit to the yoke of Rome.³

¹ The ancient Italians relied upon the Alps as an insuperable obstacle to invasion till the irruption of the Gauls, shortly after the age of Bellovesus. (B. C. 613.) *Liv.* lib. v. c. 34.

² *Barth. Urgeschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i.

p. 188.—*Pfister*, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 6.

³ It is not improbable that the kind of retrospective view of German affairs which Tacitus so eloquently lays before us in the 37th chap. of

Yet this is but the common picture of that condition to which every system of policy, based upon conquest, in the end reduces its projectors and agents. Aggressive war becomes, in such cases, a matter so much more of necessity than of choice, that *that* which is in its nature a foul wrong is converted by the position in which the combatant is placed in the first instance, into a necessary measure of self-defence,—then, a right, a privilege, a glory. Thus it was that Rome came to regard herself as the destined mistress of the world. No point in her history is more remarkable than the laxity of the prevailing notions as to offensive and defensive war,—the difference between alliance and obedience,—friendship and subserviency,—the reconciliation of interests,—the mutuality of benefits, accommodations and services in her intercourse with foreign powers. Alliances appear to have been considered as measures of momentary convenience,—friendships and treaties as expedients : practically, indeed, she recognized no limits to her dominion,—she acknowledged no national rights adverse to her pretensions. The interposition of Germany, like an immense wedge, thrusting itself between her most valuable acquisitions,—cutting off or endangering her communications, appeared as an odious obstacle to her scheme of dominion,—as a galling reproach to her military pride. In addition to these incitements, the acquisition of Germany seemed, at the period we have arrived at, already within her grasp ; an opportunity offered itself of at once avenging the injuries and for ever putting an end to the perils which, up to this moment, she remembered with feelings of mingled trepidation and resentment.

3. The natural consequence of their position as a people of conquerors, and of the course of policy is forced upon them by that position.

4 The existence of free Germany endangers the communications of the provinces, and galls the pride of the Romans.

The Germanic nations, on their part, regarded war as the most honourable of occupations, and plunder as the most legitimate of

The Germanic nations eager for war,

his “Germany,” occurred in nearly the same shape, though with fewer facts to support it, to the emperor Augustus, whose pacific policy suffered a marked exception in his German wars. “Our city,” says Tacitus, “had entered upon its 640th year when, in the consulate of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, the clang of the Cimbric arms was first heard. From which period, if we compute down to the second consulate of the Emperor Trajan, two hundred and ten years may be told up ; so long have we been conquering Germany ;—many the injuries mutually inflicted during that long space of time : neither Samnium nor Carthage,—neither the Spains nor the Gauls, nor even the Parthian, hath given more frequent warnings ; for, indeed, *German liberty* is a sharper thorn in our sides than the whole power of the Arsacidæ. What more sensible mischief hath the East brought

upon us than the slaughter of Crassus, where Pacorus himself soon succumbed beneath the arms of Ventidius ? But the Germans, by the death or defeat of Carbo and Cassius, and Scaurus Aurelius, and Servilius Cæpio, and Marcus Manlius, at once ravished five consular armies from the republic, and, latterly, three entire legions, under Varus, from the empire. Neither did Caius Marius in Italy, nor Julius Cæsar in Gaul, nor Drusus, nor Nero, nor Germanicus beat them back without danger and loss. A little while after, they laughed to scorn the menaces of Caius Cæsar. After that they remained quiet for a short space, until, taking advantage of our discords and civil strifes, having forced the winter-quarters of the legions, they even menaced the Gauls ; and, being driven from that quarter, they were subsequently rather triumphed over than conquered.” Germ. c. 37.

but incapable
of political
union;
poor and brave,
and impelled
by their own
necessities to
prey upon
their richer
neighbours.

Both parties
driven into the
contest by the
necessities of
their position.

gains.⁴ Their country was poor, and they looked to the spoils of their rich neighbours to indemnify them for the privations to which their stern climate and their own want of industry⁵ exposed them. But the tribes of Germany were unconnected by any bond of political union. Their best chances of defence lay rather in the natural strength of the country they inhabited, their native courage and power of endurance, than in military combination or systematic policy. The whole male population were warriors from their cradles;—their poverty was so great, and the little property they possessed was of so portable a nature, that invasion brought with it few of those evils which their richer neighbours endured when it was retaliated upon them. The Germans were, in short, barbarians,—standing upon a level of civilization but little elevated above that of savages; and there is no truth more firmly established than that civilization and barbarism cannot subsist peaceably side by side with no other barrier than a river or a chain of mountains to part them. The contest, therefore, between parties so situated towards each other, was rather the result of necessity than of choice. The character and the interests of both (as they understood them) lay in war; and their safety, and even their existence, were made to depend upon its issue.

Since the progress of the contest could hardly be made thoroughly intelligible without adverting to the character and condition of the combatants, we must shortly review the internal and external state of Germany at the period we have fixed upon as the commencement of the war for the conquest of that country. The subject seems to dispose itself most conveniently under the three following particulars:—I. The locality and external condition of the Teutonic tribes; II. Their social, political, and military customs and relations; III. Their moral habits and religious opinions.

SECTION I.

Locality and External Condition of the Teutonic Races.

Stature of
the Germans;
their strength,
activity, and

THE testimony of antiquity to the athletic appearance and extraordinary growth of the Germans is unanimous.¹ The aspect of the people, the strength and bounding activity of limb and motion, the power of enduring

⁴ *Tac. Germ.* c. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.* c. 15.

¹ *Strabo*, lib. viii.—*Pliny*, *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. e. 78.—*Tac. Germ.* c. 4. *Vit. Agric.* c. 11.—

Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. c. 3.—*Joseph.* de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16.—*Cæs.* de Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 39. To these testimonies may be added those of Polyænus and Herodian.

cold, hunger, and fatigue,² and the harshness of their language,³ affected the Romans much in the same manner as the personal qualities and bodily powers of the red Indian warriors of North America affected the civilized European when he first set foot upon the new world. The contrast which the aspect of the Germans presented to that of the inhabitants of southern Europe could not fail to strike the Romans. The extreme fairness of their complexions,⁴ their yellow hair, their gigantic stature, and fierce blue eye, expressive of indomitable pride and lofty resolution, so struck the fancy of the Italians, that blue eyes came to be regarded as a beauty, and men and women frequently exchanged their own dark hair for the yellow tresses of their German captives,⁵ a fashion which soon became so prevalent as to give rise to a considerable traffic in human hair from Germany.⁶ The Germans themselves were fully conscious of their personal superiority over the puny dark-visaged Italians. They regarded their own fair skins and yellow locks as proofs of the purity of their national descent.⁷ Tacitus himself entertained the same opinion; he knew no other mode of accounting for the uniformity of personal appearance among the tribes of Germany than by supposing them to spring from one common stock, and to be the unmixed aboriginal natives of the soil.⁸

power of endurance strongly affect the Romans.

The courage and confidence of the Germans increased by a consciousness of personal superiority. Tacitus regards them as aboriginals.

Of the mental qualities of the Germans we derive no very flattering report from the Romans, who, indeed, regarded them as a race of energetic but ignorant barbarians, infinitely beneath themselves in political cunning and military discipline.⁹ The Germans, on their part, looked upon the arts of the Romans with feelings of haughty contempt,

The Romans despise the capacity of the Germans; the latter treat the arts of the Romans with contempt.

² Tac. Germ. c. 4.—Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 21.

³ Tac. Hist. lib. ii.—Diod. Sic. lib. v. Ἀὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ τῇν πρόσωψιν κατακληκτικοὶ, καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς βαρυηχεῖς καὶ παντελὺς τραχύφωνοι κ.τ.α.

⁴ See the testimonies collected in Cluverius's Germ. Ant. lib. i. c. 14. p. 94.—Tac. Germ. c. 4.

⁵ Ovid, de Art. Amand. iii. v. 164.—Amores, i. El. xiv. v. 45.—Martial, Epig. xiv. 25.

⁶ The ancient Germans carefully washed and heightened the yellow colour of their hair by dyes. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii. c. 2. p. 520.—Diod. Sic. lib. v.—Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. c. 12. Pliny speaks of the practice of dyeing the hair yellow as an old custom among the Romans derived from the Gauls. See also Valer. Maximus, lib. ii. c. i.

⁷ The old German poets adorned the most beautiful of their heroines with flowing yellow tresses. The older historians frequently notice the long yellow hair of heroes and distinguished

persons. Luden, vol. i. p. 451.

⁸ "Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo qui Germaniæ populos nullis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos, propriam ac sinceram, et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida." Tac. Germ. c. 4.

⁹ This must be taken as the general result of the various estimates of the German character transmitted by the ancients. When it suited their purposes they were ready enough to praise their discernment as highly as their valour. Thus Agrippa, in allusion to the submission of the Belgic Germans, exhorts the Jews to imitate the prudent conduct of that heroic people, "who," he says, "have souls even greater than their huge bodies,—despisers of death,—men whose wrath is more terrible than that of wild beasts." Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. xvi. § 4.

They derive their origin from the god *Tuisto* and his son *Mann*.

rather than of fear or jealousy. Their tactics appeared to them as an acknowledgment of personal inferiority,—their civilization as unmanly sloth, and mean effeminacy. They derived their own origin from their Gods. “The divine *Tuisto*,” said they, “begat a son named *Mann*, from whose loins the whole nation is descended.”¹⁰ Hence they called themselves *Mannen*, the sons of *Mann*; and hence the frequent additions of that appellation to their national and military associations,—as, *Mark-Mannen*, *Alle-Mannen*,—and, still more strikingly, in *Ger-Mannen*, or *Wehrmannen*, the name by which they were known to the Greeks and Romans.¹¹

The confusion of the ancient geography of Germany.

Without attempting to unravel the intricacies of the geography of ancient Germany, we may, with the assistance of the additional evidence which our acquaintance with subsequent events has brought to light, explain some of the misunderstandings which the ignorance or the carelessness of the old geographers has occasioned. In general the Romans contented themselves with the first name that fell in their way, without inquiry into its precise signification or applicability to the people it was intended to designate. The names of nations, tribes, cantons, and clans became mixed together in inextricable confusion. Thus, in Plutarch, the cumulative name “*Teutones*” is applied to a single division of the great Cimbric confederacy; in Cæsar, *Suevi* are found upon the ground which Tacitus assigns to the *Chatti*; the accounts of Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy present irreconcilable contradictions of the same character; tribe-names are confounded with national names, and both with merely occasional or confederate appellations. As an instance, we may point to the word *Germani*, obviously derived from a title of honour assumed by the warriors of the Teutonic races to distinguish them from their unwarlike neighbours, or from the peaceful classes of their own communities. Other instances will shortly present themselves.

Suevi, *Marco-manni*, *Ale-manni* in substance the same race under different names. 1. *Suevi* inhabit

But the point it is most important to clear up for the use of our narrative relates to the distinction between the appellations of *Suevi*, *Marcomanni*, and *Alemanni*:¹² 1. Tacitus assigns the greater part of central Germany to the *Suevi Semnones*, a name under which, he tells us, are

¹⁰ Tac. Germ. c. 3.

¹¹ *Germanen*,—from *Gerre*, or *Wehre*, “war,” and the affix “*Mann*,”—literally, war-men or “warriors.” So (Italicè) *Guerra*, (Gallicè) *Guerre*, (Anglicè) *War*,—modern German *Wehre*, defence. See the various significations of the old Teutonic word *Were*, *Guere*, *Gere*, (arma, bellum, seditio,) and *Wehren* (defendere, custodire, ob-servare) apud Schilter. Thesaurus Antiquitatum, &c. vol. iii. Glossarium Teutonicum, p. 847. The

guttural *g*, when it precedes the *u* or *w*, seems to have been thrown out or retained indifferently in the English and other modern languages, as, *Guard*, *Ward*,—*Guardian*, *Warden*, of common root. So also *Gwatkin*, *Watkin*,—*Guillim*, *William*.

¹² The *Alemanni* do not, however, appear upon the stage of history till the reign of *Caracalla* or *Alex. Severus*, about the middle of the third century.

comprehended, not single tribes like the Chatti or Tenchteri, but a central Ger-many; cluster of nations spreading themselves over the greater part of Germany, distinguished from one another by several tribe-names, and known collectively by that of Suevi.¹³ This people and its numerous ramifications extended from the upper Rhine in a diagonal direction to the Elbe and the Baltic, and even beyond it, to the unknown regions of Scandinavia.¹⁴ Suevic nations are met with on the Saale, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, in one line, and, in another, from the Danube to the North Sea.¹⁵ Yet, notwithstanding this ubiquity, it is surprising that the Suevi, under that name, are never found in actual contact with the Romans in the field. During Cæsar's wars against the Belgic Germans we hear much of them; but always at a distance. They supplant the Helvetii on the Upper Rhine,—they press hard upon the Ubii,—they expel the Tenchteri and Usipetes,—their power is regarded with superstitious awe;—the Gods themselves are thought scarcely capable of coping with them; yet, in the field, they are no where to be met with. The difficulty, however, readily yields to a closer inquiry:

2. In the age of Augustus, an ancient people, known to Cæsar, Livy and Tacitus by the name of Boii, still occupied the fertile plains inclosed by the Sudetes, or giant mountains, to the eastward, the Erzgebirg to the northward, and the Böhmer-wald to the westward, and extending southward to the banks of the Danube. From the Boii, or Bojen, the country was denominated, in the old Teutonic dialect, Bojenhaim, the *dwelling or home of the Bojen*. The Romans and Greeks called it Bojeohæmum.¹⁶ This people, supposed by some writers to have been of Gallic or Celtic origin, were attacked, about the year 9 of the Christian era, by a numerous body of warriors calling themselves Mark-Mannen, or Men of the Marches;—they overran the Bojen-haim, and their king or chief, Marbod or Marobod, established there a formidable monarchy, which for a time became equally dangerous to Rome and to the independence of his own countrymen.¹⁷ The dominions of the Mark-mannen, or Marco-manni of the Romans embraced, in addition to the country of the Bojen, (which may be regarded as a conquest,) nearly the whole district assigned by Tacitus

¹³ Tac. Germ. c. 38.

¹⁴ Cæsar finds them on the Upper Rhine as the neighbours and enemies of the Helvetii. (Comm. lib. i. c. 52.) Again he meets with them in Hæssa as the bitter foes of the Ubii. (Comm. lib. iv. c. 1.) The Usipetes and Tenchteri, nations of the Lower Rhine, fly before them. (Ibid. lib. iv. c. 4.) He describes them as "longè maxima gens."

¹⁵ Luden, vol. i. p. 176.—Cluverius, Germ.

Ant. lib. iii. c. 25. p. 597.

¹⁶ Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. p. 222.—Tacit. Germ. c. 28. The modern German name is contracted into Boheim and Böhmen. Tacitus, Vell. Paterc., Strabo and Ptolemy write the name substantially alike: thus, Tac., Bojemum; Vell. Pat., Bojeohæmum; Strabo, Βοϊαίμων; Ptolem. Βαίμοι.

¹⁷ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. loco citato.—Strabo, lib. vii.

and are a
genuine Suevic
association ;

to the Suevi Semnones,¹⁸ together with five or six other cantons of Eastern Germany. The supposition that the Mark-mannen should have acquired these extensive dominions by conquest, in the absence of all evidence, must fall to the ground. The reverse of this proposition is the true one ; Suevi and Mark-mannen move and act in concert,—they occupy the same districts,—they follow the same banners, and constitute the population of one and the same state. We therefore naturally conclude that the Mark-mannen were what their name imports, namely, the great body of border-warriors sent forth annually by the Suevi either to guard their own frontiers or to make war upon their neighbours.¹⁹ The name they assumed designated merely their office or function ; no tribe-name could have suited a military assemblage of such a nature ; and they would of course become known to the Romans by the simple and comprehensive appellation adapted to their collective character rather than by the numerous names of the tribes of which they consisted.²⁰

3. Alemanni
the same ;
though they
advance into
notice at a sub-
sequent period.

3. The same remarks apply, without material variation, to the great military association afterwards known by the name of *Alle-Mannen*.²¹ After the displacement of the Mark-mannen, the Ale-mannen are found in the very position, between the Rhine, the Mayne, and the Danube, which the former had relinquished to follow the fortunes of Marbod in the east of Germany. The name they assumed, and that by which they were distinguished by the Romans is compounded of the old Teutonic words *Al*, signifying *Universality*, and *Mann* ; in this conjunction implying a union or association of warriors from *all* tribes and clans.²²

Suevi, there-
fore, a generic
name com-
prising all the
clans or can-
tons of Central
Germany.

These considerations leave but little doubt that the name *Suevi* was a generic name comprising the collective clans or cantons of central Germany. It is singular that the earliest conquest of the Suevi, the district between the Rhine, the Mayne, and the Danube, should still

¹⁸ *Tac. Ann. ii. c. 45.* Germ. c. 39.

¹⁹ "Bellandi causa," according to *Cæsar*, *Comm. lib. iv. c. i.*

²⁰ *Luden*, i. book ii. c. 2.—*Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 25. p. 599.*

²¹ These races will be more particularly noticed in a subsequent chapter, when the subject leads us to the consideration of the military associations by which the empire was assailed about the middle of the third century.

²² *Schilteri Thesaurus Ant. Teut. vol. iii. Gloss. ad verb. All-mann, p. 21.* The testimony of the Byzantine *Agathias* to the view taken in the text is express. He quotes Assinius Quadratus, an Italian writer on German affairs, of great reputation for accuracy of statement.

Quadratus declares that the Alemanni were no other than a great association made up of various nations, and that they intended to convey that fact by the name they assumed.

The theories relative to the origin of the Alemanni are as numerous as the critics who have plunged into the labyrinth of ancient German geography. See the list in *Struvius*, *Corp. Hist. Germ. vol. i. Proleg. sect. i. c. 21—26.* *Cluver*, (*Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 4.*) with his usual dogmatism, affirms that the Alemanni were of Gallic extraction ; but he is refuted as much by the weight of facts as of authority. Name, position, conjunction, character, all indicate a genuine Teutonic race. See also *Goldastus*, *Rer. Allemann. Script. vol. i. p. 146.*

retain the name of Suevia or Swabia. In the fifth century, the Suevi appear among the conquerors of Spain under their proper name; but, in the interim, they are recognized only under borrowed or assumed names, probably because they lived under no common form of government, and associated only for the purposes of defensive or aggressive war. It will, therefore, be assumed that the terms Suevi, Marcomanni, and Alemanni are, as it respects personality, the same; and that the two latter names (with such an admixture as all military associations both admit of and encourage) designate those great bodies of Suevic warriors which, from the age of Cæsar down to the fall of the western empire, came more immediately into contact with the Romans upon the frontiers of the Rhine and the Danube.

The Markmannen, however, were not immediately succeeded by the Allemannen, after their displacement by Marbod. In the first instance they made way for the *Mattiaci*, a tribe in alliance with the Romans.²³

Mattiaci in the modern duchy of Nassau.

To the north-eastward of these we meet with Usipetes or Usipii, dwelling between the rivers Weser and Elms, in the bishoprics of Osnabrück²⁴ and Minden. Their military associates, the Tenchteri, appear to have bordered on them to the south-westward, occupying the country of the Rhine from the vicinity of Dusseldorf to the mouth of the Lippe, and thence eastward as far as Arensberg and Paderborn.²⁵ To the south of the Tenchteri the Sicambri, or Sigambri, and the Ubii, shared with them the modern duchy of Westphalia; the Ubii on the Rhine, the Sicambri to the eastward.²⁶

Usipetes between the Weser and the Ems.
Tenchteri in the Suevic district.

Sicambri in the Duchy of Westphalia.

To the eastward of the Mattiaci and Ubii, in the modern Electorate of Hesse, dwelt the Chatti of Tacitus and Suevi of Cæsar. They are described²⁷ by Tacitus as a nation which combined the native courage and daring of the Germanic races with more than their ordinary deliberation and prudence. They had made considerable advances in military

Chatti in the Electorate of Hesse.

²³ Tacitus does not indicate clearly the position of the Mattiaci. But from a comparison of *Pliny*, Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. c. 2. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxix. c. 4. and *Tacitus*, Hist. lib. iv. c. 37. their position may be fixed with tolerable certainty in the southern parts of Hesse, around Wiesbaden in Nassau, Frankfort on the Mayne, and in the Rheingau.

²⁴ *Cluv.* Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 10. p. 543.—*Pfister* derives the name from the river Use or Usbach, in Nassau Usingen, where they are supposed to have dwelt before they were expelled by the Suevi in Cæsar's time. *Gesch. der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 160.

²⁵ According to *Cluver*, (lib. iii. c. 10. p. 545.) their canton comprised a part of the Duchy of

Berg, and the localities of Kaiserswerda, Salingen, and Steinbach.

²⁶ *Cluver* places the Sigambri between the river Lippe and the confines of the modern Electorate of Hesse Cassel. *Germ. Ant.* p. 537. *Pfister* derives the name from the river Sieg. They were dispersed in the reign of Augustus, and are therefore not mentioned by Tacitus.

²⁷ *Cluver* insists that the Suevi of Cæsar were not Suevi; but Chatti, Hatti, Hassi, or Hessians. They were probably both, Suevi being the generic and Chatti the tribe-name. This supposition would, at least, strike off one from the many geographical blunders which that vivacious dogmatist ascribes to Cæsar. *Germ. Ant.* lib. iii. c. 5. p. 523.

science beyond their countrymen; they paid more attention to discipline, and trusted less to fortune. "Luck," he says, "was esteemed by them as but a precarious reliance; military science and courage a certain advantage. They trusted more to the talent of the general than to the mere brute strength of the men: they provided for the wants of a campaign, carrying stores and supplies into the field along with them: other tribes might go out to battle; the Chatti went forth to war."²⁸

*Chamavi,
Angrivarii,
Marsii,*

Bructeri,

Frisii,

*Batavi,
Caninefates,*

Chauci,

a tribe of
fishermen,

To the northward of the Chatti, three clans occur whom Strabo and Tacitus designate by the names of Chamavi, Angrivarii, and Marsii. They held the country upon the Upper Ems, and between that river and the Weser. This district, Tacitus assures us, had been formerly occupied by the Bructeri, whom the Chamavi and Angrivarii had expelled and almost extirpated. The Marsii, likewise, disappear, and are not again heard of;²⁹ it is probable that they melted into some neighbouring clan. But the Bructeri are, in a subsequent age,³⁰ again found in their ancient seats and in augmented numbers and power.

The flat and swampy country between the Lower Rhine and the Ems was occupied by the Frisii; the islands at the mouths of the Rhine and Meuse, and the marshy grounds between those rivers, by the Batavi and Caninefates.³¹ To the eastward of the Frisii, the coast between the Ems and the Elbe was held by the Chauci. Tacitus describes them as a powerful nation, who, by the expulsion of the Ansibarii, had become neighbours to the Chatti. "The Romans," he adds, "regarded them as noblest of the German nations, since they preferred resting their power rather upon justice than force." Their neutrality in the wars between the Romans and their formidable neighbours, the Chatti, may have won for them this eulogium. The account³² of them transmitted by Pliny is, in every respect, less flattering:—"Here, in the space of a single day and night," he says, "the ocean, far and wide, twice advances and recedes, occasioning such a struggle between the elements, that one might doubt whether the entire region should be accounted to the land or the sea. The indigent inhabitants build their huts upon artificial mounds above the reach of the highest floods. When the tide is in, they look like

²⁸ Tac. Germ. c. 30.

²⁹ *Chamavi*. According to *Pfister* they took their name from the district of Cham, or Ham, on the Lippe, quasi Cham-au, or Cham-gau.—*Angrivarii*, Angern, or Engern, of *Pfister*.—*Marsii*, called Marsatii by *Pliny*. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 15.

³⁰ The Marsii are several times mentioned by

Tacitus. Ann. i. 56; ii. 25, 50.—Hist. iii. 59.—Germ. c. 2.

³¹ The country of the Frisii, or Friesen, included all the northern provinces of the kingdom of Holland. Zealand and Utrecht were probably occupied by the Batavi, or the Caninefates, or by both. *Cluv.* lib. iii. c. 17. p. 559.—*Tac.* Germ. c. 29 and 34.

³² Tac. Germ. c. 35.

mariners in their barks, when it retires they resemble shipwrecked sailors. They endeavour to catch the fish as they pass by their huts with the retreating tide. They have no cattle, and, unlike their countrymen, milk forms no part of their food. They do not even hunt, for their woods are too distant. They twist sea-weed and rushes into rude nets, and for fuel scrape up the mud with their hands; and drying it rather in the wind than the sun, warm both their food and their own stiffened limbs with the heated clay. Their only drink is rain-water, preserved in pits within their huts."³³

Allowing for the tone of exaggeration which strangeness is apt to engender, we readily recognize a state of society adapted to the nature of the country; a community of fishermen, fencing out the ocean tides by rude dykes, upon which they built their houses; living upon the produce of their nets, and having no other fuel than the turf which they dug out of their bogs. The country extending along the coast of the North Sea from the efflux of the Ems to that of the Weser and the Elbe, to this hour presents, in the main, the same physical features.³⁴

To the south-eastward of the Chauci lay the land of the Cherusci, a race which, for a period, nobly sustained the honour and independence of their country. Their territory comprehended the regions between the Weser and the Upper Elbe to its confluence with the Saale, where they bordered upon the Hermunduri.³⁵ The Chatti were their neighbours to the south-westward.

The original land of the Cimbri, or Kimbern, is still the subject of controversy. Tacitus thought he had met with a weak remnant of this celebrated race in the Jutish peninsula. The discovery gave occasion to the elegant paragraph before adverted to.³⁶ While the stirring recollections it recalled were floating in his imagination, it is not surprising that the historian should have overlooked the propriety of identifying by satisfactory detail the Cimbri of Marius with the reduced tribe he introduces to us under that name. The geographical position of the old Cimbric race (if the name ever was any other than a name of association) is, at least, very doubtful.³⁷

³³ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. c. 1.* The account of Pliny is entitled to the preference over that of Tacitus, since he was an eye-witness of the state of the country he describes during his campaigns in Germany under the command of Germanicus.

³⁴ The Chauci possessed the low swampy coasts of Bremen, East-Friesland and the Duchy of Oldenburg.

³⁵ *Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 19.*—*Tac. Germ. c. 36.*

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³⁶ *Tac. Germ. c. 37.* "Parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens," &c.

³⁷ Schilter, in his excellent Glossary to the *Antiq. Teutonicæ*, vol. iii. p. 162. suggests the best etymology. He derives it from the old Teutonic word *Champf*, a fight or battle; hence *Chempfer* or *Chimpfer*, a warrior,—a sound the Romans would readily change into Cimber. Hence, also, the French and English word *Champion* for one who maintains another's

Hermunduri in Franconia and the Saxon Duchies.

Quadi in Lower Austria and Moravia.

Gothini, Osi, Lygii, Arii, between the Oder and the Vistula, *Burgundians*, and *Vandals*.

Soil and climate of Germany

colder and more moist than it is now; abounds in marshes and forests,

Northward of the Danube, in the circle of Franconia and the Saxon duchies, geographers place the nation of the *Hermunduri*, a people who lived in friendly intercourse with the Romans. The *Quadi* occupied Moravia, Lower Austria, and a part of Hungary.³⁸ The eastern frontier of Germany is arbitrarily peopled by the ancient writers with tribes of Gallic and Sarmatian origin. Such are the *Gothini, Osi, Lygii, Arii*.³⁹ The banks of the Oder, and the region extending from that river to the Vistula, are assigned to *Burgundians* and *Vandals*,⁴⁰ races destined yet to slumber for a period in obscurity till they re-appear as the conquerors of Gaul, Spain, and Africa.

The Romans have left us an unfavourable picture of the soil and climate of Germany. They describe the sky as grey and cheerless; the land wholly abandoned to nature, destitute of roads, and covered with impenetrable swamps and forests. Making every allowance for the prejudices⁴¹ of persons used to look upon the ever-smiling landscape and transparent sky, and to enjoy the soft air of Italy; and something, perhaps, for the sense of the dangers which lurked in the dark forests and trackless wastes of Germany, there is no reason to doubt that the climate of the country was both colder and moister than it is at present. The gradual decay of the forests produced swamps and favoured the growth of bog; and the vapours from the soaked and spongy soil carried off the genial warmth of which well-drained and cultivated lands are naturally more tenacious. The *Hercynian* or *Orcynian* forest is described by Cæsar as sixty days⁴² journey in length and nine in width. A series of forests, extending from the south-western to the north-eastern extremity of Germany, may still be traced, interrupted, indeed, by many wide intervals, yet still marking with sufficient accuracy the direction, and even the dimensions of the great Hercynian forest. The thickly-wooded

cause by battle. See *Du Cange*, Gloss. voce *Campio*.

Pfister, in his *History of Germany*, (vol. i. p. 163,) suggests another etymology. According to the *Malberg Gloss.* to the *Lex Salica*, he says, the word *Cymar* signifies a comrade or companion; hence *Cymren*, a companionship of war, an appellation which must vanish of itself as soon as the enterprise which gave rise to it was at an end. But having carefully looked through all the *Malberg Glosses* to the *Salian Law* in *Canciani's* edit. of the *Barbaric codes*, and not having been fortunate enough to meet with the word, I am unable to confirm the conjecture.

³⁸ *Tac. Germ. c. 42.—Cluv. lib. iii. c. 31. p. 621.—Luden, vol. i. p. 474.*

³⁹ *Tac. Germ. c. 28.* But solid reasons will, I think, appear hereafter for classing all these tribes among the Teutonic races.

⁴⁰ The *Burgundians* are not named by *Tacitus*; but *Pliny*, who wrote before him, mentions them. *Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 16.* Likewise *Strabo*, lib. vii. The *Vandals* are but once, and that incidentally noticed by *Tacitus*, *Germ. c. 2. Cluver, lib. iii. c. 46. p. 696*, enumerates the authors who speak of them.

⁴¹ *Raro ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asiâ aut Africâ, aut Italiâ relictâ, Germaniam peteret? informem terris, asperam cælo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit? Tac. Germ. c. 2.*

⁴² *Comm. lib. vi. c. 25.*

districts now known by the names of the Schwartz-Wald, the Oden-Wald, the Spessart, the Harz, the Thüringer-Wald, the Böhmer-Wald, and the Riesen Gebirg, in ancient times, ran into one another, forming a wide belt of woodland from the Rhine, near Basle, to the frontiers of Poland. It produced oaks of enormous growth, and abounded with game and animals of the chase. Among the latter, the gigantic urus, or wild bull, and the stately elk, the largest of the deer species, most attracted the admiration of the Romans. Both races are now extinct in the forests of Germany.⁴³

which were filled with game and animals of the chase. The Urus, the Elk.

In the construction of their houses the Germans preferred wood to stone, on account of its greater abundance and the ease with which it is wrought. We can hardly doubt that their mode of building resembled that which still prevails in the colder and more woody districts of Germany and Scandinavia, where the rough-hewn trunks are laid horizontally upon one another, and the interstices stopped up with a stiff compost of clay and straw. The ancient Germans used to roof their houses with thatch. Besides their usual dwellings, they dug deep pits, which they covered over with dung or sods, level with the ground, and used as storehouses and workshops, or as a refuge against the severity of the weather, or even as places of concealment for their persons and property in times of war or public disturbance.⁴⁴

Houses of the Germans

built of the rough-hewn trunks of trees, and roofed with thatch.

The Teutonic tribes abhorred the confinement of cities and towns. In whatever direction the Romans penetrated into Germany, they found, in the interior of the forests, many grassy glades, large tracts of fruitful meadow and field, inclosures of hedge and palisade, farm-yards or courts, and long straggling villages and hamlets.⁴⁵ The houses were built with wide open spaces between them; the situation of each dwelling was determined by mere convenience, such as the neighbourhood of a good

The Germans live in villages.

⁴³ *Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. c. 26, 27.—Tac. Ann. lib. iv. c. 72.* "Quibus (Germanis) ingentium belluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt."

⁴⁴ *Tac. Germ. c. 16.—Luden* (vol. i. p. 541.) quotes Moser's *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 113.

⁴⁵ Villages or vici; but neither *Oppida* nor *Civitates*, words which implied a number of dwellings surrounded by walls. The *Civitas* was of necessity a municipium or town, governed by a senate and magistracy. The *Oppidum* was merely a walled town within some municipal district: in these senses, no doubt, cities and towns were unknown to the Germans.

Cæsar, indeed, commands the Ubii to remove from the country to the towns, (*Comm. lib. vi. c. 10*;) yet, if he meant native towns, it is singular that they should all have vanished between the ages of *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*. *Velleius Paterculus*, who served nine years in Germany under *Tiberius*, found no towns there. The mention of towns in other writers is so vague, that we do not know whether they are speaking of the Roman Germany or of the independent country on the right bank of the Rhine. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who gives copious accounts of the Roman wars with the Trans-Rhenane Germany, does not notice either town, or castle, or fortress belonging to the natives.

spring, a fertile tract of land, a wood for a hunting-ground, and a good supply of timber.⁴⁶

Mode of cultivating the lands.

No person or community allowed to appropriate the land.

The warlike and adventurous spirit of the Germans inclined them more to pastoral than agricultural pursuits. Both Cæsar and Tacitus inform us, that they divided out the productive lands according to villages or communities, and that these lands were again allotted to individuals by a fixed rule or custom of their own. No person or community was allowed to settle upon this allotment, or to take more than a single year's crop from it; after which it became fallow, or was transferred to another set of cultivators. Under such a system we are not surprised to learn that they did not bestow labour in proportion to the actual fertility of the soil, that they planted neither orchards nor gardens, that they neither inclosed nor irrigated their natural pastures; but that they confined themselves strictly to the raising of sufficient grain for the supply of the year.⁴⁷

The acquisition of landed property not favoured by the German customs.

No German, therefore, possessed a property in any specific portion of land.⁴⁸ For this extraordinary policy Cæsar assigns reasons too philosophical to have had much influence upon so rude a people. They were apprehensive, he thought, that fixed possessions might tempt them to exchange a life of warlike adventure for one of agricultural sloth: they feared, he says, that the acquisition of large landed property might enable the few who would obtain it to oppress the poorer sort: they wished to guard against the enfeebling effects of commodious weather-proof dwellings; and, generally, against the corruptions, factions, and dissensions, incident to the possession of wealth, or (as we should term it) to the growth of a landed aristocracy. But we may more safely attribute this peculiarity to that contempt for labour which nations in that stage of civilization frequently entertain. The free warrior would not stoop to the spade or the plough, and took little interest in the produce of the soil as long as the woods yielded him wild cattle and venison, and the spoils of his enemies furnished him with the few luxuries he desired. The little grain he required was easily raised. And, indeed, we have no intimation of any law specifically prohibiting the acquisition of a fixed property in

⁴⁶ Hence the frequency of the terminations *Feld*, *Wald*, or *Wold*, *Brunn* or *Born*, in the names of German towns and villages. The equivalent terminations *Field*, *Wold*, *Bourn*, or *Burn* are equally familiar to us: still more frequently the word *Haim*, *Heim*, or *Hausen* was added to the name of the chief of the clan or canton, signifying the home or dwelling (mansion) of the chief. The equivalent English term *Ham*,

the Dutch words *Heem*, *Huys*, or *Husen*, form the terminations of innumerable towns and villages in England, Holland, and the Netherlands.

⁴⁷ *Tac. Germ. c. 16.*—*Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. c. 22. Pfister, Hist. of the Germ. vol. i. p. 143.*

⁴⁸ "Neque quisquam agri modum, certum, aut fines habet proprios, &c." *Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. c. 20.*

land ; that kind of property seems rather to have been discountenanced by the habits and prejudices peculiar to that stage of civilization. The annual changes may, therefore, after all, have reference to the large fallows which their inartificial agriculture rendered necessary ; and may have been introduced merely with a view to prevent the total exhaustion of the better lands. Still the inference that landed property was unknown to the ancient Germans remains unimpeached. The whole of the land was vested in the community at large, and was apportioned, through the agency of the magistrates, among the septs or clans into which the canton or gau was divided. It must remain a matter of doubt whether the annual migrations had the effect of removing the individual only, or the entire community, from the land occupied during the previous year.⁴⁹

We are in possession of very little information regarding the trade and agriculture of ancient Germany. The kinds of grain most frequently grown were oats and barley.⁵⁰ The oats were ground into meal and eaten in the shape of porridge.⁵¹ Their barley supplied them with beer. Wheat and rye were likewise grown. The land was rich in natural pastures ; and the cattle maintained upon them constituted the riches of the people. Milk and the flesh of their herds, the venison of their forests, cheese and wild fruits, with a little bread, constituted the food of all classes.⁵² The rivers of Germany produced great abundance and variety of fish ; and the moors, woods and marshes abounded with many kinds of wild fowl. With such resources as these, we conclude that the land produced enough to render the population, in this scattered condition, independent of supplies from other countries. But famine, when it occurred, must have been severely felt ; any sensible increase of population rendered migration a measure of self-preservation ; and to this cause, among others, we may attribute the predilection of the Germans for that

Trade and
agriculture.Food of the
people.

Productions.

Means of sub-
sistence pre-
carious. Effects
of scarcity.

⁴⁹ See F. Luden's ingenious essay on the "Gemeinden, Gauë, Staaten, and Manneien" of the ancient Germans, in which he combats, I think successfully, the opinions of those writers who represent the Germanic nations as mere pastoral and nomadic tribes, and vindicates their claim to territorial as well as national locality and permanence. *Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes*, vol. i. p. 479, et seq.

⁵⁰ *Tac. Germ.* c. 23, 26.

⁵¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xviii. c. 17.

⁵² *Tac. Germ.* c. 23.—*Cæs. Comm. lib.* iv. c. 1. lib. vi. c. 22.—*Pompon. Mela*, lib. iii. c. 3.

—*Pliny*, *Hist. Nat. lib.* xv. c. 30. says that the cherry had found its way to the Rhine. And in lib. xix. c. 42. he tells us that the vine had been successfully introduced from Rhetia. But *Mascou* (*Hist. of the Germ.* book v. c. 58.) thinks that the Rhine was indebted to the Emp. Probus for its vineyards. *Pliny* (*Hist. Nat. lib.* xix. c. 28.) likewise notices a gigantic species of turnip, radish, or carrot, of the size of a newborn child, brought from Germany, and produced as a great delicacy at the table of the Emp. Tiberius.

peculiar remedy, and their perpetual tendency to break bounds in any direction which promised them a plentiful supply of food.⁵³

Articles of
commerce.

Germany produced few articles of commerce. The native gaut, or goose, yielded down and feathers to pillow the heads of the luxurious Romans; and they adorned their persons, houses, and furniture, with amber brought from the shores of the Baltic.⁵⁴ The Germans had no coin of their own, but used the small silver money of the Romans for the purposes of their traffic. The trade in slaves, no doubt, was known to them. All captives taken in war became slaves, and we know from Tacitus that there were more ways than this by which a freeman might be reduced to slavery. If men might sell themselves to discharge gambling debts, they must have been tolerably familiar with that kind of traffic, and slaves must have been not only a valuable but an easily disposable kind of property.⁵⁵ The commerce carried on with Germany by the Romans was more considerable on the side of the Danube than on that of the Rhine. The nations in the latter quarter were perpetually embroiled with Rome; while in the former the friendship of the Hermunduri might introduce the Roman traders into the heart of Germany. Augsburg, the Augusta Vindelicorum of the Romans, was the great staple or mart for goods intended for the German market. A trade of some kind was carried on with the Quadi from Carnuntum in Pannonia; and, through it, some knowledge was obtained of the courses of the interior rivers and of the shores of the Baltic. Upon the whole, however, it seems probable that the commercial intercourse between the Romans and the Germans was never very active, and that it was almost wholly carried on by barter upon the frontier.⁵⁶

Slaves.

Arts and ma-
nufactures.

In arts and manufactures the Germans had not advanced beyond the supply of the commonest wants of life. They tempered weapons and forged ploughs; they wove the wool of their sheep into coarse garments; they were tolerably expert carpenters; their engineering was confined to the erection of wooden stockades and abattis, constructed of earth bound together by wickerwork and strengthened with beams of timber. The ordinary clothing of the Teutonic tribes consisted of a sagum or mantle of coarse cloth fastened upon the breast by a pin or a sharp thorn;⁵⁷ sheepskins and the furs of wild animals furnished winter clothing. The dresses of the poorer classes were very scanty, leaving a great part

Engineering.

Clothing.

⁵³ *Luden*, book iii. c. 2. p. 444.

⁵⁴ *Tac. Germ.* c. 45. "Glesum...ipsis (Barbaris) in nullo usu; rude legitur; informe perfertur; donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen." *Pliny*, *Hist. Nat. lib.* xxvii. c. 3.

⁵⁵ *Tac. Germ.* c. 5.

⁵⁶ *Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib.* i. p. 132.

⁵⁷ *Pliny*, *Hist. Nat. lib.* xix. c. 1.—*Tac. Germ.* c. 17. Woollen cloth, probably a mere blanket.

of their persons exposed even during the severities of winter. The rich wore dresses fitted close to the body, and made so as to display its proportions to advantage; in winter they used the thicker and more costly kinds of fur. The dresses of both sexes differed very little either in shape or material: the women, however, always left the arms bare from the shoulder to the wrist; they were fond of ornament, and delighted in vivid colours, particularly the scarlet dye of the Romans.⁵⁸

SECTION II.

Social, Political, and Military Customs of the Germans.

THE Germans did not encourage premature marriages. Matrimony was Marriage. not, therefore, contracted till nature had fully fitted the young couple for the performance of its duties. The marriage¹ rite was performed in the presence and with the assent of the relatives on both sides. Polygamy Polygamy permitted only to kings and chiefs. was unusual, and permitted only to kings and chiefs, by way of distinction or for strengthening political alliances. Contrary to the custom of other nations, the husband conferred a dowry upon the wife; the articles bestowed were figurative of her future condition; they consisted of a yoke of oxen, a bridled charger, a shield, a sword, and a javelin; implying that she was thenceforth to regard herself as her husband's companion and assistant in toil and in danger, in the labours of peace and in the vicissitudes of war, ready to risk all and to endure all by his side.²

Adultery was a crime of rare occurrence. When detected, the hair of the offending female was cut off, and she was publicly driven from the house of the injured husband in the presence of those relations who had witnessed and sanctioned her vows. After this she was scourged through the village, and then consigned to obscurity and disgrace. The education of Its punishment. Education. the children consisted in little more than in enuring them to habits of endurance; teaching them to bear fatigue, cold, and hunger, and to despise hardships, dangers, and even death.³

In their persons the Germans were not cleanly. Poverty and sloth are Personal and domestic habits. inconsistent with attention to personal neatness. Their food was coarsely dressed, and consumed with inordinate voracity. Hunting, drinking, feasting, were the amusements; war, the occupation of the male popula-

⁵⁸ Tac. Germ. c. 17.

¹ Ibid. c. 18, 20.

² Tac. Germ. c. 18, 20.

³ Ibid. c. 19.—Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. c. 19.

Hospitality.

Vices:—gluttony, drunkenness.

tion. All the domestic duties, and probably many of the more laborious outdoor occupations, devolved upon the women. Hospitality was strictly observed; friend and stranger were alike secure of a welcome under their roofs. Among their vices gluttony and drunkenness are the heaviest charged against them by the Romans. They were fond of feasting, and addicted to immoderate drinking; and for the gratification of this propensity they paid dearly for the wines of Gaul and Italy. All public assemblies, all private meetings, the entertainment of guests, family festivals, afforded welcome occasions for carousings and drinking meetings. The Romans were not more struck with any peculiarity than the enormous draughts of wine they were capable of quaffing without apparent effect; and Tacitus confesses, that, if put to the test, the Germans would turn out as formidable antagonists at the board as they had already proved themselves to be in the field.⁴

Funereal customs.

The Germans burnt their dead. The warrior's arms were always consumed with his body; sometimes his war-horse. His only monument was a hillock of turf or stones heaped up over his remains by friends, relatives, or followers. Not many tears were shed over his ashes, but grief sank deep and lasted long. Lamentations were abandoned to the women; the men believed it their duty to cherish the memory of the deceased, and to perpetuate it by emulating his virtues.⁵

Slaves;

Slaves were not an unusual kind of property. This class consisted, it seems, partly of prisoners taken in war, and partly of natives, who voluntarily sold themselves into captivity. Such, we are told, was their love of gambling, that, when they had lost their all, they not unfrequently staked their persons, and, when the last throw was lost, calmly surrendered them-

their treatment and condition.

selves to bondage in discharge of the debt. Slaves were, in general, humanely treated; they were never used with wanton cruelty, and always allowed to enjoy an ample share of the fruits of their own labour.

Freedmen.

The freedmen were not much above the slaves in condition; and neither class enjoyed any political rights.

Internal territorial divisions among the nations of Germany.

We have already traced, as far as the defective information we possess would enable us, the great *national* divisions of Ancient Germany. The internal or social divisions of the nations among themselves claim a short notice. We have already observed that the land was regarded as common and national property, and that no one was allowed to settle permanently upon any particular spot of land. This arrangement, if it had extended to communities, and not to individuals and families merely, would have rendered any internal territorial division impossible. But the chain of

⁴ Tac. Germ. cc. 20—23, and 25.⁵ Ibid. c. 27.

evidence to the existence of such divisions from the earliest times is complete. The Romans call them *pagi* and *vici*, words which correspond accurately enough with the German *gäue* and *gemeinden*, signifying cantons and communes.⁶

A threefold distinction of ranks, founded partly upon birth and partly upon personal distinction, obtained among the primitive Germans. Tacitus distinguished them by the names of, 1. Kings or chiefs, 2. Nobles, and 3. Freemen. Slaves and freedmen were not regarded as citizens, and therefore not entitled to rank. The kings and chiefs, it is said, were chosen from among the birth-nobility; but the leaders in war were selected from men of any rank most renowned for their military ability and valour. This seems to point remotely to that distinction between the civil and military service of the state which formed the basis of administration under the Frankish kings, and during the earlier periods of the Germanic empire. A general equality of rights subsisted among the free population. Yet, while maintaining the existence of a birth-nobility, we may readily concede that *that* nobility consisted in the voluntary, or rather customary homage paid to renowned ancestry and superior wealth, or to both combined.⁷ There seems good reason to believe that the civil and

Distinction of ranks threefold.

Slaves and freedmen have no rank.
I. Kings and chiefs.

II. Nobles.

III. Freemen or commons.

⁶ Cæsar says that the Suevi had a hundred *pagi* or cantons. Comm. lib. vi. c. 22. The word *pagus* is indeed sometimes used to denote a village or open town, but more frequently it means a division or district of country: thus in Cæsar (Comm. lib. i. c. 2.) *Omnis civitas Helvetiæ in quatuor pagos divisa est.* In a like sense Amm. Marcellinus (lib. xxi. c. 3.) speaks of the *pagus* of king Vadiomarus. The later Roman historians and the Latin writers of the middle ages use the word in this sense only. Thus, in the Riparian laws, (tit. xxxi. § 3,) we meet with the terms *pagus Riparius*, and shortly afterwards, (tit. lxxxviii. § 5,) in the same sense, *provincia Ripuaria*. The word *gau* (pronounced gow, like cow) has always retained its signification throughout every age down to the present time. Thus we have to this day the *Turgau*, the *pagus Tigurinus* of Cæsar (Comm. i. c. 12.); the *Wormsgau* or *pagus Vormaceusis* of the middle ages; the *Aargau*, *Nordgau*, *Rheingau* (Nassau), *Hennegau* (Hainault), &c. of the later ages. The early Frankish kings divided the land, not after the example of the Romans, as *Lehman*, Chron. d. Stadt Speyer, p. 74, supposes, but, after the custom of their German ancestors, into *gäue* or cantons, over each of which they placed a *graf*, or civil governor and judge, whom the *Capitularies* always designate by the Latin names *Comes Pagi*, *Comes Pa-*
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gensium, and (the equivalent) *Comes Provinciae*.

⁷ Tacitus, Germ. c. 13. The distinction between the civil and military chiefs was expressed by the terms *könig*, *kong* (*king*), and *herzog*, *hertog* (*duke*). Dr. Pfister (vol. i. p. 145.) denies the existence of hereditary nobility. He affirms that the people consisted but of two classes, viz. *freemen* and *serfs*. All the freemen, he says, had equal votes in the assemblies of the people: there was, in fact, but *one estate*. (p. 150.) But he admits the preference voluntarily given to certain families, the "*insignis nobilitas*," and the "*magna patrûm merita*" of Tacitus. (Germ. c. 13.) I do not see how these terms can be reconciled with any other supposition than that of a birth-nobility. A *customary nobility attached to particular descents* is no other than an hereditary nobility. That which is settled by *custom* is also settled by law among nations who have no other law than custom. It was no doubt claimed and conceded as a matter of right, since it conferred a qualification for the chieftainship,* and implied a *disqualification* in the remaining rank. In addition to the distinct enumeration of three

* The *civil* chieftainship as distinguished from that of the *Dux* or military leader. See Tac. Germ. c. 7.

Civil and military offices;

mode of inauguration.

National assemblies.

Communication of civil rights.

Mode of proceeding in the national assemblies.

military offices were frequently united in the same persons. This appears from the mode of inauguration, which was the same in both cases and among all nations of Germanic origin. The person chosen was raised on a shield, his followers then carried him about upon their shoulders, and exhibited him to the assembled people as their chief.⁸

General councils of nations and tribes assembled every new and full moon, those periods being regarded as the most propitious. All freemen were entitled to attend them. Every man appeared in arms at the assemblies of the people: the sword, the shield, and the lance, were considered as the badges of personal freedom; nor were the freeborn youth of Germany permitted to assume them, until a public assembly of the gau had emancipated them from parental control, and adjudged them qualified to bear arms with honour to themselves and advantage to the state. When a youth was thus adopted into the community, he was publicly invested by the chief of the gau with a shield and a lance, and by that ceremony introduced to the assembly as a member of the commonwealth, and a partaker of all its civil and political rights.⁹

Thus assembled, the great council exhibited the appearance of a forest of spears, encircling a few of the most distinguished of the princes. The priests of the gau presided: the king was heard first; after him, in succession, the nobles, the elders, the experienced and the eloquent among the people. The orators used the language of persuasion, never that of command; and the multitude expressed their dissent by murmurs, their approbation by striking their spears against their hollow shields. The peace of the meeting was sometimes disturbed by private or party brawls; and on these occasions the national councils were interrupted by tumults and sullied by bloodshed. Matters affecting the whole community were discussed here: minor affairs (such is the unsatisfactory expression of Tacitus) were left to the princes and chiefs. These

classes, viz. *nobilis*, *ingenuus*, and *servus* by Tacitus, (Germ. c. 25.) the two first of which only were properly *estates*,* (the third having no political rights at all,) we find the same division of the people into *adalingus*, *ingenuus*, and *seruus*, retained in the Anglo-Saxon laws. The same in the Capitulary "de partibus Saxonie," where we find the division into *nobilis*, *ingenuus*, and *litus*, (*Edhilinge*, *Frilingi*, and *Lazzi* or *Lassi*). In the Salian law we have the same distinctions. *Grimm's Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, lib. i. pp. 226, 227. See also *Tacitus*, Germ. c. 44.—*Witichind Annales Saxonie*, lib. i.

* It ought to be noticed that the three *rankes* in the text are made up of the two first *classes* of Tacitus.

See also *Eichhorn Deutsche Staats und Rechts Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 50, note (*h*).

⁸ Thus Brenno, the chief of the Caninefates, was raised upon a shield and exhibited to the people as their king. *Tacitus*, Hist. lib. iv. c. 15. According to *Cassiodorus*, (*Variarum*, lib. x. Ep. 31. p. 157,) the same usage prevailed from time immemorial among the *Goths*. The elevation of Chlodwig or Chlovis (A.D. 509.) took place after the same fashion; as also that of Gundebald, (A.D. 584.) See *Gregorii Turo-nensis*, Hist. lib. ii. c. 40, and lib. vii. c. 10. In the later ages of the empire the Romans appear to have adopted or borrowed the same custom. *Cluv. Germ. Ant. i. c. 46. p. 309.*

⁹ *Tacitus*, Germ. c. 13.

assemblies elected the judges, or Gau-graves, and associated with them a given number¹⁰ of assessors, generally one hundred. These persons presided over the civil tribunals of the canton, and, probably, their jurisdiction¹¹ extended to all civil suits and offences, the cognizance of which was not especially reserved by custom for the assemblies of the people. These latter comprehended all offences against the state; treason, deserting the banner of the chief, going over to the enemy, and some other crimes of magnitude. Traitors and deserters were hanged or strangled; cowards and infamous persons were smothered in some remote bog, and the place of their burial kept secret, that the memory of themselves and their crimes might perish together. Minor offences, or such as were cognizable by the Gau-graff and the Zentgraff, were commutable by fines or weregelds, of greater or less amount, according to the reputed extent of the injury. Small trespasses might be atoned for by fines of cattle or horses, part to the injured person, and part to the king or state. Even murder might be compounded for by the payment of blood-money to the nearest relation of the deceased. Mutilations, maimings, thefts, robberies, homicide itself, were regarded rather as civil injuries than as offences against the public peace. This was natural in a community where every man was deemed competent to maintain his rights and avenge his quarrels with the sword. If he was the weaker, the community would charge itself with no higher duty than to procure compensation for the damage done. The power of punishing as crimes offences against person and property existed in no magistrate or public authority. There were no crimes but those against the commonwealth. Such a

They appoint the civil magistrates.

Matters cognizable by the national assemblies. Punishments.

Civil tribunals impose fines and weregelds, but have no power to punish capitally.

Offences against person and property regarded as civil injuries.

¹⁰ "Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt." Tac. Germ. c. 13.

¹¹ "Qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt." Germ. 12. These centumviri are supposed to be the germ of the petty tribunals known in various parts of Germany by the names of Zentgerichte, (courts of centumviri,) the presidents of which were called Zent-grafen or Zent-greven. Comes centenarius is the Latin term by which the office of Zent-graf is rendered in the barbaric codes. See, among others, *Leg. Longob. Aistulphi*, § 46, 47, 60, 61, &c. ap. *Canciani*, vol. i. p. 202. *Capitularies*, lib. iii. c. 10; and lib. iv. c. 23. ap. *Canciani*, vol. ii. p. 274. The comitatus, graffshaft, graveship, was divided into centenaries or hundreds; analogous to the division of the Anglo-Saxon counties attributed to king Alfred. The court of the graff, or count, is our primitive county court—the Zentgericht, our hundred court. The comes centenarius of Tacitus is therefore a distinct officer from the comes or gau-graff of the old Ger-

mans, the Earl of the Anglo-Saxons and the Graff of the Franks. He was no doubt the person who rendered justice *per vicos*, while the comes or princeps was the judge of the *pagus*. The vicus therefore may, without violence to the words of Tacitus, be regarded as synonymous with centenary. *Luden* (vol. i. p. 498) derives the word *graff* from *gräue* or grave, an aged person. Thus also the Anglo-Saxon, *earl* or *earlder-mann*, (elder, senior, senator,) whose office closely corresponds with that of the Teutonic graff. See the Laws of Edward the Confessor, cap. 55. Wilkins, LL. Anglo-Sax. p. 204. But *Grimm* (*Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 753.) thinks this derivation inadmissible. He ventures to suggest another etymology, from *Râro*, tectus, domus, and *garâvjo*, the same as *gisaljo*, geselle,—inmate, comrade. Professor *Eichhorn* (in his *Deutsche Staats und Rechts-Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 50, note f.) pronounces in favour of more generally received derivation.

state of the law could subsist no longer than while the nation stood at the lowest stage of civilization. And that even then its inconvenience was severely felt, is proved by a contrivance dangerous and evasive of the general law, yet the only one by which great offenders might be made to feel the weight of public indignation. Neither punishments, bonds, nor stripes, could, it is true, be inflicted upon freemen; but the priesthood were invested with the power of the scourge and the dungeon, not as of their own authority, or at the bidding of the magistrate, but as the organs of the divine will, and as if by the express command of the gods.¹²

Connexion and tendency of the civil and military institutions of the ancient Germans.

This state of the law, rude and barbarous as it was, presents the earliest rudiments of a system of legislation, which, when engrafted upon the remains of Roman jurisprudence, was found by no means unfavourable to the advance of civilization. The military institutions of the ancient Germans possess a similar prospective interest; and it is not venturing too much to affirm, that the combined influence of both prepared the way for that remarkable institution which imparts a peculiar and distinctive character to the history of the middle ages. It will be readily perceived that the relation of chief and follower, as it existed in those early times, might easily pass into that of lord and vassal; and that this primitive engagement, cemented, in the first instance only, by a sense of honour, might become compulsory as soon as the power of the chief enabled him to confer a permanent instead of a merely temporary obligation upon the follower. As their civil laws seem almost to pre-suppose a state of perpetual war, so their military institutions were no less calculated to countenance the same supposition. The youth of the canton collected round the most tried and bravest of the chiefs; not only were they not ashamed to be seen in his train, but vied with one another to obtain his good opinion, and to be rewarded with the first place in his esteem. It was the pride of the chief to have a numerous body of the bravest about him; it gave him consequence in peace and safety in war; it not only increased his influence among his own countrymen, but spread his renown among the neighbouring nations, brought him presents and embassies from other tribes, to solicit his assistance or deprecate his hostility; so that the mere terror of his name would often compass his ends without a blow. In battle, it was disgraceful to the chief to be surpassed in valour by his *comitatus* or *geleit*; it was equally so to the follower not to emulate the prowess of his chief. To survive him was irretrievable degradation. The *comitatus* was his defence and his strength; the glory of the

Military associations or companionships.
Geleite.
Reciprocal duties of the chief and his followers.

¹² Tac. Germ. c. 7, 11. I find no intimation who these priests were, or whether they were elective like those of the Romans;—this last seems probable.

associates was the glory of the chief; their deeds were his deeds; he fought for victory, they for him.¹³

War was the only occupation which could lead to riches or confer distinction; the German youth, therefore, were eager for opportunities of acquiring military fame. When a long interval of tranquillity intervened, they offered their services to their neighbours who were at war. The chiefs provided them with arms and accoutrements, and entertained them with feasts and banquets, always relying upon the booty in prospect for the means of defraying the expenses of the retinue.¹⁴ They were at all times readier to defy an enemy and to earn wounds, than to cultivate the ground, and await the slow returns of the seasons. They thought it showed a tame and dastard spirit to acquire by the sweat of the brow that which might be had for blood. But when no war was at hand, the German warrior, like his fellow of North America, either followed the chase, or abandoned himself to immoderate indulgence, eating and drinking and sleeping, or idling away the intervals of debauchery. Household cares devolved upon the women, the aged, and the infirm. In short, like other barbarians, they took delight in sudden transitions from a state of the highest excitement to the profoundest repose and sloth.¹⁵

The offensive weapons of the Germans were a long two-edged sword and the lance, or *framea*. A long curved shield¹⁶ was their only defensive

Military habits.

Delight in war;

addiction to sloth and debauchery in peace.

Love of violent excitement.

The arms of the ancient Germans: sword, shield,

¹³ Tac. Germ. c. 13, 14.

¹⁴ Cæs. Comm. lib. v. c. 55.—Tac. Germ. ub. sup. German antiquaries render the words *comes* and *comitatus* by the Teutonic *leud* or *leut* and the cumulative *geleut*, terms of perpetual occurrence in the laws of Franks, Saxons, Frisians, Angles, Jutes, &c. Originally the word *leud* or *leud* meant no more than *person* or *individual*; but when a man became a *leud* in the sense of those laws, he was no longer a *voluntary* follower of the chief,—his condition was already changed to that of a vassal. The *comes* of Tacitus was merely a voluntary or temporary associate of the chief, without prejudice to his liberty,—“*nec rubor inter comites aspici.*” As yet there existed no permanent legal bond between them; but it is easy to perceive how readily such new relation might be introduced, and how favourable to feudality such a state of things must have been. All benefits already flowed through the chief to the follower; the firmest ties of honour bound him to his person,—the utmost penalty attached to deserting or betraying him in the field; he was armed, fed, and clothed by him;—nothing seemed wanting to ripen the connexion into vassalage but some great permanent tie like that which the lands

and possessions of the conquered nations speedily afforded.

Eccard (ap. *Canciani* Barb. Leg. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 116.) derives the word *geleit* from the old Teutonic *leiten*, to lead or conduct. See also *Du Cange*, Gloss. voce *Leudes*.—*Luden*, vol. i. book iii. c. 6. n. 24. p. 735.—*Grimm's* Deutsch. Rechts-Alter. p. 652.

Eichhorn (Staats und Rechts-Gesch. vol. i. § 16. p. 55.) goes a step farther than I am inclined to follow him in supposing a formal vow of obedience and fidelity to pass from the free follower to the chief. It is probable that *custom* would define and limit the connexion sufficiently for the purposes of an association of a temporary nature like this. When it became permanent, the engagement was reduced into writing and settled by law. See the formulary of the oath, ap. *Marculf*. Formulariæ Baluz. vol. ii. 395.

¹⁵ Tac. Germ. c. 15. “*Quoties bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque.*”

¹⁶ *Pfister* (Gesch. d. Deutsch. vol. i. p. 145.) derives the *framea* of Tacitus from the verb *framen*, old Germ. to throw; or from *primen*, to run through, to perforate. Hence the modern Germ. subst. *Pfrieme*, a punch or bodkin.

and lance.
Military cloth-
ing.

armour. A few, however, wore coats of mail, or helmets. The clothing of the warrior was in general scanty; sometimes he went naked into battle. He adorned his shield with the choicest colours and devices; the loss of it was punished with the forfeiture of civil rights and exclusion from the religious communion of his canton.¹⁷

Order of battle.
Infantry and
cavalry.

The usual order of battle for the infantry was a deep wedge-shaped column or phalanx; the bravest warriors claimed the front ranks. The strength of the armies was deemed to consist in the infantry. The movements of the cavalry were simple and inartificial; it was usual to mix them with infantry; for which purpose a number of the most active young men were trained to run beside and keep pace with the horses, preserving the line without diminishing the impetus of the charge. These persons acted as the horsemen's assistants in the fight and their substitutes when slain.¹⁸

Mixed civil
and military
duties of the
Zent-Graf or
Centenarius.

We are told that the numbers of the cavalry were fixed, and that one hundred men were selected for that service from each gau or canton. "Their own people," says Tacitus,¹⁹ "called them *centeni*, or hundred men, and what was originally a mere number became a distinction and an honour." This remark is very obscure; but it seems to point to the *centenus* as the same officer with the Frankish *centenarius*, *zent-grav*, or *cent-grav*. Thus the duties of the cent-grav would be those of a judge in peace, and of leader of the cavalry of the hundred in war. We shall hereafter find those duties so constantly united among the descendants of this primitive race, as to authorize a retrospective inference that such was the custom among the ancient Germans themselves.²⁰

Emulation in
war excited by
the presence of
kinsfolk and
friends, and
sometimes of
wives and chil-
dren.

The members of every gau and hundred went to the field in one body, increasing each other's confidence by the ties of kindred; every man fighting under the eyes of those kinsfolk and friends, whose disapprobation he most dreaded, and whose applause he most coveted. In long and distant expeditions their wives and children followed them to the field, stimulating their valour by their cries and exhortations. "These," says Tacitus, "were the most sacred witnesses; *these* the most highly valued applauders of their deeds."²¹

¹⁷ Tac. Germ. c. 6.

¹⁸ Tac. ub. sup.—Cæs. Comm. lib. i. c. 48. and lib. iv. c. 2.

¹⁹ Tac. Germ. c. 6.

²⁰ This corresponds with Dr. Pfister's conjecture. Gesch. der Deut. vol. i. p. 145. *M. Luden* (Gesch. des deutsch. Volk. vol. i. p. 503, note 35.) places the *zent-grav* at the head of a subdivision which he calls a *zehent* or tithing, a division of his own, borrowed from that of the Anglo-Saxons. Indeed, by dint of great learning

and a profusion of conjecture, he has produced a system of territorial divisions and subdivisions of far too artificial a character for its own credit. It is a serious anachronism to confound the institutions of one period with those of another; it withdraws from our view the steps by which a nation advances from one stage of civilization to another, and becomes a fruitful source of groundless theories and idle conjecture.

²¹ Tac. Germ. c. 7.

SECTION III.

Moral Habits and Religion of the Ancient Germans.

ACCORDING to Cæsar the priesthood of the ancient Germans did not form a separate caste like the Druids of the Celtic nations. There was no class of persons among them set apart to superintend the worship of the gods, nor did they pay much attention¹ to sacrifices. They acknowledged no other divinities than those visible powers of nature from which they derived benefit. The Sun, Vulcanus, and the Moon, he assures us, were their favourite gods. With the rest they were not acquainted even by report.²

Priesthood.

Divinities :
sun, moon, and
fire.

The account of the religion of the Germans, which we derive from Tacitus, differs materially from that of Cæsar. He tells us, "that they honoured Mercury most among the gods. At certain seasons they even deemed it expedient to propitiate him with human victims : they sacrificed animals to Hercules and Mars ; and a portion of the Suevic nation were addicted to the worship of Isis."³

Mercury.

Hercules.
Mars.
Isis.

Without attempting to reconcile these discordant accounts, we may observe, that the absence of a priestly caste, so distinctly affirmed by Cæsar, is not impugned by Tacitus. The sequel of his description is the more remarkable, and the more credible, because it lies beyond the ordinary scope and play of Roman imagination, which rather delighted in identifying the divinities of every other nation with its own, than in casting about for a more philosophical origin. "In other respects," he proceeds, "they believe that the gods cannot be confined within walls ; nor, by reason of the vastness of their nature, be represented under the similitude of any human figure." Tacitus may, while he wrote this passage, have had in his mind the pure theism of the Persian magi ; and the absence of temples and images among the Germans may have appeared sufficient to justify the analogy without further evidence.⁴ But

Religion of the
ancient Ger-
mans.

¹ "Non multum sacrificiis student,"—they do not lay any great stress upon,—are not much addicted to sacrifices.

² Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. c. 21.

³ Tac. Germ. c. 9.

⁴ See a beautiful parallel passage in Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii. c. 10. § 26. . . . "Magi Persarum ; quibus auctoribus, Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quod parietibus inclu-

derent Deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus." Whether idolatry was of later growth, or whether the zeal of the early Christian missionaries misled them in this, as in some other particulars, to call things by wrong names, it is certain that they are loud and vehement in their charges of image-worship against the heathens of Germany.

though they erected no temples, nor, to our knowledge, set up any images of the divinity, yet they appointed certain spots, chiefly in the darkest and most mysterious recesses of their forests, for religious worship. To these sacred solitudes they gave the names of their gods, and approached them with awe and reverence⁵ as the visible dwelling-places of the deity. Here all sacrifices were performed, and auguries, and other religious rites were celebrated; and hither the people resorted to consult the resident god, and, by his assistance, to dive into the secrets of futurity.

Tuisto or Teut,
the great primæval
divinity
of the Germans.

Such is the scanty amount of the original and direct evidence we possess as to the religion of the ancient Germans. Some further particulars may be gathered from incidental notices, and from the religious practices of subsequent ages. The great primæval divinity of the Teutonic nations was the *Tuisto* or *Teut* of Tacitus; from him they derived their origin and their name. But whether he was the same with the Mercury, for whom they are said to have evinced so decided a preference, it is impossible to determine, without venturing too far into the regions of antiquarian conjecture.⁶

Woden, or
Odin, the Mer-
cury of Tacitus.

There appears to be better ground for believing that Tacitus meant to designate the god *Wodan*, or *Quodan*,⁷ under the name of Mercury. The name, indeed, occurs for the first time in the Lombard history of Paulus Diaconus, who wrote in the middle of the eighth century; but the direct⁸ testimony of that historian seems to place the proposition that Wodan was the deity whom Tacitus describes under the name of Mercury out of reasonable doubt. A second designation for the supreme divinity⁹ may be traced in the name of *Thor*, the god of thunder. When the Hermunduri, before

Thor.

⁵ *Tac. Germ. c. 9.*

⁶ Thus *Tuisto* or *Teut* is identified by many with the Theuth or Thoth of the Egyptians, whose attributes so closely resemble those of the Greek *Hermes* and the Roman *Mercury*. "But since"—such is the reasoning of *Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib. i. c. 22. p. 156.*—"the Germans were not in connexion either with Greeks or Romans, they could not have derived their Mercury from them. Inasmuch, therefore, as they worshipped him as the greatest among the gods,—in fact as the primal deity,—it is obvious that they, as well as the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, had derived him from one common source, viz. the *Great First Cause*, and that, in fact, the service of *Teut* or *Mercury* among the Teutonic races was a remnant of the pure monotheism of the primæval man, whom they symbolized under the name of *Mann*, the son of *Teuth*, thus making

the human race the immediate offspring of the Deity."

⁷ The *Odin* of the northern Teutones.

⁸ *Wodan* sanè, quem adjutâ literâ quidam Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur; et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus (Gode, Got) adoratur: qui non circa hæc tempora sed longè antè, nec in Germaniâ, sed in Græciâ fuisse perhibetur. *Paul. Diac. de Gestis Longob. lib. i. c. 9. Conf. note 76. Murat. Sss. Rr. Ital. vol. i. p. 411.*

⁹ *Luden* (vol. i. p. 560.) thinks that Wodan, Odin, Thor, Freya, and other deities of the Gothic and northern nations, were unknown to the ancient Germanic races. But this opinion arises from too obvious an inclination to represent their religion as more purely monotheistical than it really was.

the decisive battle with the Chatti in which the power of the latter nation was entirely broken, are said to have devoted the army of the enemy to Mars and Mercury, we may reasonably¹⁰ assume that Thor and Woden were the deities whom Tacitus had in view. *Odin* was but another name for the former of these divinities. We are, indeed, unable to distinguish their attributes with any certainty; probably no very definite difference existed in the conceptions of the worshippers themselves. In later ages, the poetical mythologists of the north¹¹ have introduced distinctions; but it is impossible to assign any very remote or authentic origin for them. At all events, it can admit of no doubt that the Teutonic nations worshipped a diversity of gods. Among a widely spread and barbarous race, a distinction of names (even upon the supposition that the being represented was originally one and the same) naturally draws after it a diversity of conception; it divides the primal notion into parts or attributes, and gives personality to each. Such, it may be generally assumed, was the origin of polytheism. There seems no¹² good reason for acquitting the barbarous Germans of this original weakness of human nature, or attributing to them purer conceptions of the nature of the deity than is consistent with the stage of civilization at which they stood.

The Teutonic
nations poly-
theists.

Though idolatry, or representative worship, may not have been familiar to the ancient Germans, we find among them those sanguinary rites peculiar to nations whose passion is war. Thus the victorious Hermunduri sacrificed their prisoners to Mars and Mercury. The various clans of the Suevi Semnones, who were¹³ in the habit of assembling once every year in a hallowed grove for the celebration of a national festival, commenced the horrid rite by the slaughter of a human victim; and the slaves¹⁴ who attended upon the car of the goddess Hertha during her periodical

Sanguinary
rites.

¹⁰ Tac. Ann. lib. xiii. c. 57.

¹¹ The Eddas, supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century. *Luden* (vol. i. p. 743. note 8.) quotes *Bede's* Genealogy of the Saxon princes Hengist and Horsa, who landed in Britain in the year 449: "Erant (Hengist et Horsa) filii *Victgils*, cujus pater *Vitta*, cujus pater *Vecta*, cujus pater *Voden*." Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 15. This, he says, traces Woden up to the middle of the third century, and no higher. Accordingly he denies that the gods of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians were ever those of the ancient Germans. The inference is very weak. We prefer Tacitus and Paul Warnefried. Pfister goes almost the whole length with *Luden* in regarding the ancient religion as a pure monotheism.

Gesch. der Deutschen, vol. i. p. 147.

¹² That this variety of names for a deified person is not without its dangers in a much more civilized age, may be gathered from the character of the Roman Catholic forms adopted in the worship of the Virgin, whose names and attributes are as numerous as the temples and shrines dedicated to her service; each image, in reality, representing a distinct object of worship. The loss of the scriptures, and the decay of civilization (if the suppositions be conceivable), would inevitably give rise to a host of goddesses as distinct in person as the various attributes now ascribed to her numerous images.

¹³ Tac. Ann. lib. xiii. c. 57.

¹⁴ Tac. Germ. c. 39.

manifestations, were drowned in a lake at the conclusion of her peregrinations.¹⁵

Hertha.

Her worship.

The superstitious practice just alluded to introduces to us another divinity in addition to those already mentioned. Seven tribes of the great Suevic race worshipped the goddess *Hertha*, or *Mother Earth*, whom they believed to possess great influence over the fortunes of individuals as well as of nations. Her worship was distinguished by a peculiar and a remarkable rite. "In an island in the ocean (the Baltic)," says Tacitus, "is a virgin grove, within which is a consecrated car, covered with a robe, which none but a single priest is permitted to touch. In this vehicle the goddess is supposed to be present, and thus, drawn by cows, she is escorted forth by her priest with great observance. The days of her arrival and sojourn are dedicated to joy and festivity; no war is entered upon; no arms are borne; every sword is sheathed: peace is then only known, then only cherished, till the priest reconducts the goddess back to her sanctuary, as if satiated with her converse among mortals: after which the car and the robe, and (if you think fit to believe it) the goddess herself are bathed in a mysterious lake. Slaves minister, whom the lake instantly swallows up. Hence the secret horror, the mysterious dread of that being whom none behold without perishing."

The Alces.

Mother of the gods.

Sortilege and practices of superstition.

The Naharvali, an obscure tribe, worshipped a divinity not represented by any image, whom they called Alces, or the twin-gods. The Aestyii¹⁶ honoured the mother of the gods: as the symbol of their superstition, her worshippers wore the figure of a boar about their persons as a talisman against the weapons of their enemies.¹⁷

Sortilege was much esteemed among the Germans as a mode of ascertaining the will of the gods, and fathoming the secrets of futurity. A favourite method of divination was the following:—a few twigs were cut from a fruit-tree; these were again divided into slips, and east at random upon a white robe. The positions of the several slips were then examined, and the prognostic was determined according to some known rule. If it turned out unfavourable, all consultation upon the matter in question was at an end for that day; if favourable, further confirmation

¹⁵ Tac. Germ. c. 40.

¹⁶ "*Romana interpretatione* Castorem et Pollicem memorant," h. e. under the name of Alces. Tacitus (Germ. c. 43.) adds emphatically, "*Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium, ut patres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur.*" This particularity in noting the absence of an image of the twin-gods of the Naharvali,

almost intimates that idols were not unknown to the other tribes. The *peregrina* superstitio should here be understood of the other tribes far and near, which strengthens the inference that their worship was not equally untainted with idolatry.

¹⁷ Tac. Germ. c. 45.

was sought in the cries and flight of birds. Another method, much in credit, consisted in harnessing certain horses, bred in the sacred groves, to a consecrated car, and leading them forth accompanied by the priest and the chief of the tribe whose duty it was to observe and expound the neighings of the animals. An ordinary device for determining the event of a projected war or military expedition was to match a prisoner of the hostile nation against a champion of their own. The event of the duel was regarded as a sure presage of the result of the intended enterprise.¹⁸ The Germans attributed certain prophetic powers to their women. The influence of the females seems to have been greater than is usual in the parallel condition of society elsewhere. They shared the dangers of war with their husbands, and acquired thereby the right to advise as well as to love and cherish; they cheered them to the battle,—they rewarded them in victory with their smiles and praises; and their reproaches in defeat have been known to arrest their flight and restore a doubtful battle. Such a position in society afforded considerable scope to women of strong and masculine tempers, while in others it would not fail to inflame the imagination, and foster a high tone of feeling in all. Cæsar mentions prophetesses in the army of Ariovistus. According to Plutarch¹⁹ these sibyls predicted future events from the whirlpools and eddies of rivers. This reputation for the prophetic faculty sometimes imparted great political power to their women. Aurinia, Velleda, and Ganna are distinguished by Tacitus for the great influence they exercised over the minds of their countrymen. The first of these was regarded almost as a divinity; the two latter enjoyed a high degree of reverence.²⁰

Divination by
the sacred
steeds.

By the combat.

Prophetesses.

Aurinia, Velleda,
and Ganna.

The form of oath usual in public compacts among the Germans consisted in stretching forth the sword or the lance, which were regarded as the proper symbols of the war-god, and pledging their faith upon them.²¹

Form of oath.

All the religious ceremonies of the Teutonic races had a reference to their ruling passion for war. Yet it must be admitted that their notions of the

¹⁸ Tac. Germ. c. 50.

¹⁹ Comm. lib. i. c. 50.—Plut. in Vita Cæsaris.

²⁰ Tac. Germ. c. 8.—Hist. lib. iv. c. 61.—Hist. lib. v. c. 24.

²¹ Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xvii. c. 12. p. 195. Admitting that this custom is noticed at a distance of two centuries and a half from the age of Tacitus, viz. the reign of Constantius, A.D. 358, yet there is strong testimony to its antiquity. Virgil was familiar with it, Æneid. lib. v. The Alani are said to have worshipped a sword,

Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi. c. 2; and this latter fact is mentioned in conjunction with the very ancient custom of vaticination by slips or saplings adverted to by Tacitus. See also note (i) ad Amm. Marcell. lib. xvii. c. 12. and lib. xxxi. c. 2. note (v) pp. 195, 673. Justin, lib. xliii. Pomp. Mela, lib. ii. c. 1, and a variety of authorities to the antiquity of the practice are there quoted, together with later testimonies to its continuance down to a much later period.

divine nature were purer, and their worship less sanguinary, than that of the Celtic nations. The catalogue of their divinities is remarkably small, and the modes of worship few and simple. Their religious notions were neither gross nor degrading. Living nearly in a state of nature, they regarded its phenomena with more attention than a people less exposed to its influences would have done. The god of the elements claimed the earliest shrine,—the deity of war the first place in their estimation. With dispositions thus prepared, and, as it were, attuned to the part they were destined to play in the great scheme of Providence, they entered into the mortal contest with the gigantic power of Rome; not in combination, nor by such concerted efforts as might have exposed them to annihilating reverses, but singly and individually; yet with such an intensity of purpose as no defeat could tame, no humiliation could subdue. In this state they were reserved for the decay of that withering despotism, and destined to become the destroyers of the old, and the founders of a new social system in Europe and the world.

CHAP. III.

DRUSUS, VARUS, AND GERMANICUS IN GERMANY.

AFTER the repulse of the barbarians who had defeated Lollius, the Rhine became the undisputed boundary of the empire to the eastward. The Danube formed an equally strong barrier to the northward; and from both lines the independent tribes were exposed to the overwhelming stress of Roman tactics and policy, and the still more formidable inroads of Roman vices. Though insensible of their danger, they were soon made to feel straitened and coerced,—to find themselves checked and curbed at all the old issues and outlets of their own country,—and compelled either to cultivate their native forests and fens with greater industry, or to exhaust themselves upon a strong and well-defended frontier.

Condition and posture of the Germanic nations at this period;

they feel themselves straitened and confined.

Though fretted and chafed by these new obstacles to their love of military roving, they were far from regarding *national union* as a possible, much less an effectual remedy for the irksomeness of their position. The structure of society was adverse to any kind of political union not founded upon some immediate necessity, some urgent danger, some common passion. Each tribe formed an independent state, divided from its neighbours by earthen mounds, or wooden palisades, or pathless forests and wastes. Their modes of warfare varied: one tribe fought on foot, another on horseback; a third led a seafaring life. Each had its feuds and its enmities with its next neighbour; some old grudge to resent, some ancient dispute to adjust, some recent injury to avenge. All were alike proud of their nationality, and jealous of each other. But there lay in the character of their institutions, and even of their prejudices, the seeds of a more congenial union than any treaties could, in so rude a state of society, have produced. Many of their independent tribes acknowledged the tie of a kindred origin. The members of the great Suevic family spread themselves from the Harz mountains southward, to the Mayne, the Upper Rhine, and the Danube, along the course of that river; and thence again northward through the heart of Central Germany

Obstacles to political union.

Military association the only form of confederacy known to the ancient Germans.

to the shores of the Baltic. Other great families of nations, supposed to have been indicated by Tacitus under the names of *Istævones* and *Ingævones*,¹ possessed the tract of country between the Elbe and the German Ocean, under the tribe names of Cherusci, Chauci, Angrivarii, Bructeri, Marsi, and Frisii. Among all these nations and septs, the principle of military association, adverted to in the last chapter,² was equally prevalent. Neither national enmities nor prejudices could neutralize this powerful inducement to union; and whenever a leader arose capable of awakening the old sympathies of kindred, and giving life to the indwelling spirit of adventure, there was no dearth of warriors ready to risk all, and endure all, under his banners.³

SECTION I.

Campaigns of Drusus in Germany.

Augustus reluctantly resolves to pursue the conquest of Germany.

He leaves Drusus in command of the army of the Rhine.

A. U. C. 741.
B. C. 12.
The Usipetes and Tenchteri make an inroad into the Lower Germany.

THE natural reluctance of the emperor Augustus to expose himself in his old age to the turmoils and cares of a war of conquest yielded to the necessities of his position¹ and the impulse of popular feeling. It was publicly known that Julius Cæsar had projected the conquest of Germany, and from him the views of the Roman army and people had received their direction.² But the extensive nature of Cæsar's scheme suited neither the age nor the temper of his successor;³ and it appears as if he had resolved rather to await for the attack of the Germans than to become himself the aggressor. At his departure from Gaul he left Drusus, his younger and favourite stepson, in command of the army of the Rhine, with all the advantages of a complete and well-defended frontier, besides many advanced posts on the right bank of the Rhine. The Usipetes and Tenchteri had again become tributary since their late defeat;⁴ but some fresh extortion of the Romans once more induced them to cross the Rhine and ravage a part of the Lower Germania. After this provocation, Drusus found little difficulty in obtaining from Augustus

¹ *Ost-wohner*, dwellers in the west; *Ingwohner*, or *Innwohner*, dwellers in the interior.

² Page 88, and note 14, p. 89.

³ The same feeling which gave rise to the great Cimbric and Teutonic associations, to the league of the Helvetic clans, and the great confederacy of the Suevic Ariovistus, was still in full operation. The ancient history of Germany is, in fact, based upon this principle of action, and becomes vague and unintelligible when it is lost

sight of.

¹ See pp. 69, 70.

² See ante Introd. to c. ii.—*Plut.* in *Vita Cæsaris*.—*Florus*, lib. iv. p. 122.—*Vell. Pat.* lib. ii.

³ Cæsar intended to have prefaced his operations against Germany by the subjugation of all the nations between the Caspian and the Adriatic, and to have penetrated into Germany by the Lower Danube. *Plut.* in *Vita Cæsaris*.

⁴ See ante, p. 45.

permission to deal with the Germans as his own ambition might dictate. The invaders were easily driven back, and preparations were made for the permanent establishment of the Roman power in that country.⁵

It appears to have been the plan of Drusus to sweep the right bank of the Rhine, from its mouths to its sources. With this view he crossed the river within the territory of the Batavi, a nation whom the Romans had gained by privileges and exemptions rarely conferred upon the subject-allies of the republic; they paid no tribute, and were privileged against the extortionate system of provincial administration;—they were regarded as a useful instrument of war; as a good sword whose temper might be injured by rough usage.⁶ In return for this honourable treatment, the Batavi freely opened their country, and lent their blood to the service of the republic. If the Roman government could have been made wiser by experience, the example of the Batavi might have led them to the right method of conquest in Germany. But from the privileges conferred upon that favoured nation, we rather learn to appreciate the oppressed condition of the rest than to admire the wisdom which dictated the exception. The efforts of Drusus were directed against the Usipetes, the Tenchteri, and the Sicambri in succession. But these tribes wisely avoided general actions, confining themselves to a desultory defensive warfare; and Drusus crossed the Lippe without molestation or difficulty. How far he penetrated into Germany is not known; he is said to have attacked the Chatti and to have fought with the Mark-mannen on the Mayne;⁷ but we hear of no permanent or even brilliant advantage gained by him in the course of these operations. The difficulty of marching large bodies over the desolate, marshy, and entangled districts of north-eastern Germany, and the advantages enjoyed by the enemy for defensive warfare, became apparent, and a change of system was resolved upon for the ensuing campaign.

Drusus' plan
of invasion.

He attacks the
Usipetes,
Tenchteri, and
Sicambri,
who avoid
battle.

The campaign
terminates
without de-
cisive result.

While Drusus was employed in Upper Germany, he sent directions to the Batavi to build a fleet and to hasten the preparations for embarking the army as soon as it should arrive. But the difficulties of navigating the low coasts of Holland induced him to abandon the plan of running out of the Waal or the Rhine. He therefore dug a ship canal from the former river into the latter, so as both to save distance and enable him to

A. U. C. 742.

B. C. 11.

Drusus re-
solves to in-
vade Germany
by sea.

He connects
the Rhine with
the Zuyder zee
by a ship-canal.

⁵ *Vell Pater*, lib. ii. c. 97.

⁶ Manet honos et antiquæ societatis insigne : nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit. Exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum præliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. *Tac. Germ.* c. 29.

⁷ *Flor.* lib. iv. c. 12.—*Orosius*, lib. vi. c. 21, p. 446.—*Mascou* conjectures that both *Florus* and *Orosius* drew their information from the lost books of *Livy's Hist. of the Germans*. Vol. i. p. 79 of the English translation.

transport his fleet by the Yssel into the lake of the Vlie, now called the Zuyder zee, and thence into the German Ocean by the Texel.⁸

He navigates
the Frisian
and Chaucic
coasts.

In the year of Rome 742, and the 11th before Christ, he embarked his army on board a numerous fleet, intending to attack the Frisii and the Chauci; but, at the very outset of the expedition, he became involved among the flats and shoals of that dangerous coast, and would probably never have reached the proposed point of disembarkation but for a seasonable treaty with the Frisii, who piloted his fleet into the Ems, and enabled him successfully to encounter the naval power of the Bructeri. He made himself master of a few islands lying at the mouth of that stream, where he erected and garrisoned a strong fort. Some stations were established near the junctions of the rivers Lippe and Roer with the Rhine, but no permanent footing was gained in the hostile territories: the fleet returned to the Rhine much shattered and damaged; and the army took up its winter-quarters, worn out with the unaccustomed toils of a naval campaign.⁹

He is again
compelled to
retreat to the
Rhine after
establishing
some military
posts on the
Ems, the
Lippe, and the
Rhine.

A. U. C. 743.
B. C. 10.
Third cam-
paign of Dru-
sus;

These insignificant results induced Drusus to revert to operations by land. In the following spring, therefore, he crossed the Rhine into the territory of the Usipetes, who retreated northward before him and formed a junction with their allies the Bructeri. Meanwhile the Sicambri, in the modern bishopric of Paderborn, were engaged in a war with the neighbouring cantons of the Chatti; their country was bared of warriors, and the rest of the inhabitants betook themselves to the hills and woods. Accordingly Drusus marched through it without obstruction to the banks of the Weser.¹⁰ But much time had already been consumed; the autumn with its storms and cold rains was approaching, and a scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the Roman camp. Meanwhile a sense of common danger appears to have put an end to internal discord among the Germans; the Suevi and the Chatti, the Cherusci and the Sicambri collected their forces in the rear of the Romans, and interrupted their communications with the Rhine. Drusus, aware of the impending danger, determined upon a timely retreat: an inauspicious swarm of bees served to account to the soldiery for this discouraging resolution. As the retreat proceeded, the enemy harassed the army on all sides, and

he advances to
the banks of
the Weser.
Scarcity in the
Roman camp;

the barbarians
coalesce and
interpose be-
tween the Ro-
mans and the
Rhine; they
surround and
harass the
army of Dru-
sus on its re-
treat;

⁸ The *Flevus lacus* of the Romans. Some critics have thought that he merely enlarged the opening of the Yssel into the Rhine below Doesburg. See the Jesuit *Schaten's* excellent History of Westphalia, p. 28. fol. ed. Munster, 1773.

⁹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. liv. c. 32. p. 762. fol. ed.

Hamb. 1750.—*Schaten's* Hist. Westph. p. 28.

¹⁰ According to *Dio Cassius* (lib. liv. c. 33. p. 763.) the Sicambri who remained in the country betook themselves to the Teutonic mountains, by which he probably intended to indicate the Harz.

at length succeeded in so completely surrounding and hemming it in among ravines, hollow ways, and forests, that little but patience and perseverance seemed wanting on the part of the assailants to accomplish the destruction of their enemies.¹¹ The Germans were so confident of success, that they divided out the spoils of the Romans by anticipation. The Cherusci claimed the horses, the Chatti the treasure, the Sicambri the captives.¹² But this overweening confidence proved fatal to their hopes. Instead of awaiting the gradual but infallible effects of hunger, toil, and harassing attack, they collected their forces to decide the fate of the legions, and secure their prey by one impetuous and tumultuous assault. The disadvantages of the Roman position were fully compensated by this rash conduct of their adversaries; the Germans were dispersed with great loss, and Drusus continued his march back to the Ems and the Lippe without impediment. At the confluence of the latter river with the Aliso or Else, he erected a strong fort, which he called Aliso, from the little river on which it was built. Further to the southward, in the land of the Chatti, he founded a second station, to facilitate the entrance into the Trans-Rhenane countries and keep the inhabitants in check.¹³ These, however, were the only results of a toilsome and expensive campaign. The army had, indeed, proclaimed Drusus "Imperator" upon the field, after the defeat of the confederated Germans; but Augustus did not confirm the title. Shortly afterwards the emperor came into Germany in person; and a long chain of more than fifty fortified posts was established along both banks of the Rhine, to protect the Roman frontiers, and serve as a secure basis for future operations against the independence of the Germanic nations of the interior.¹⁴ Many of these castles became the rudiments of those noble cities which still adorn the banks of that magnificent stream.

but lose all the advantages gained by a precipitate attack.

Drusus builds castles and military stations in Westphalia and Hessa.

Augustus builds fifty fortresses along the banks of the Rhine.

A.U.C. 744.

B. C. 9.

Fourth campaign of Drusus;

he advances to the Elbe; the Germans retreat or disperse on his approach; the spirits of the army depressed;

In the following year Drusus entered upon a fourth campaign with still more formidable forces. He advanced from the northern confine of the Ubii, through the land of the Chatti to the Weser. That river had been the limit of all former invasions; but Drusus now fearlessly passed it and reached the banks of the Elbe, where he found himself compelled to halt. The Germans, true to their plan of defensive warfare, retreated or dispersed before the advance of the Romans. No battle was fought, no victory was won, no spoil was gained; no enemy presented him-

¹¹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. liv. c. 33. p. 763.

¹² *Florus*, lib. iv. c. 12.

¹³ *Dio Cassius*, ubi supra.

¹⁴ *Florus* (lib. iv. c. 12.) attributes the line of forts on the Meuse and Rhine wholly to Drusus. *Luden* ascribes them to Augustus, but upon what

authority does not appear. See *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, vol. i. p. 188. *Dio Cassius* (lib. liv. c. 33. p. 763.) mentions only two forts erected by Drusus, Aliso was one; and a second on the banks of the Rhine, in the land of the Chatti.

a German prophetess crosses the path of Drusus and foretells his death.

He retreats. The Romans rendered superstitious by hardship and disappointment.

Death of Drusus.

Present deliverance of the Germans to be ascribed to the absence of cities and

self to triumph over, and the minds both of the chief and the soldiers seem to have yielded to the melancholy impressions, which the gloomy and lifeless wilderness in which they were wandering was so well adapted to produce. At this juncture, a woman of more than mortal stature is said to have suddenly stepped across the path of Drusus, exclaiming aloud, "Whither, O insatiable man, doth thy mad ambition lead thee! It is not given thee to see the accomplishment of thy designs. Begone, for the term of thy deeds and of thy life is at hand." The fact of such an apparition is not improbable. The enthusiastic temper of the German females, which acquired for them the reputation of the prophetic faculty,¹⁵ may have suggested this mode of striking terror into the minds of the Roman general and his troops. On the other hand, the latter by no means refused belief to pretensions of this nature. The suddenness of the motions of these sibyls, and the preternatural wildness of aspect they always affected, may have contributed to stupify the minds of the spectators, and prevent them from pursuing the intruder.¹⁶ Drusus immediately commenced his retreat upon a new line of country. Strange sights accompanied the march; wolves howled around the camp at night; two youths rode through the Roman army without resistance in broad day; the cry of female lamentations was heard in the air, and even the stars appeared, to the excited imaginations of the troops, to become mingled and confused in the heavens. The event confirmed the prediction of the prophetess. Drusus did not live to revisit the banks of the Rhine; he died of the consequences of a fall from his horse about a month after the accident, in the thirtieth year of his age.¹⁷

It was fortunate for Germany that she was without cities and towns, the possession of which must have fixed the grasp of Rome upon the land. It was equally fortunate that the habits and condition of the

¹⁵ See *Dio Cassius*, pp. 148, 149.

¹⁶ The class of apparitions to which this belongs is very numerous in the history of Rome. See several instances quoted in the note to a passage in *Dio Cassius*, lib. lv. § 1. vol. ii. p. 770. of the folio Hamburg edition. See also *Plinii Epist.* lib. vii. ep. 27. and *Tacitus*, Ann. lib. xi. c. 21. Likewise *Suetonius* in *Claudio*, c. 1. This superstition was congenial to the Roman imagination, to which the *genius loci* was a familiar divinity, appearing generally under a female form, warning, threatening, or encouraging.

¹⁷ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lv. § 1.—The body of Drusus was carried to Mainz, where a pyramidal monument was raised to his memory, the remains of which now go by the name of the *Eichelstein*, or Acorn-rock, from the elongated

oval form it has assumed in the course of decay. *Eutropius* (lib. vii. c. 8.) and *Dio Cassius* (lib. lv. § 2.) both mention this monument; the former, "*apud Maguntiacum*," the latter, "*apud Rhenum*." See also *Suetonius* in *Vit. Claud.* c. i. —"honorarium ei tumulum exercitus excitavit." —*Otho of Freisingen*, in the twelfth century, describes this monument (*Chron.* lib. iii. c. 4. p. 56.) Immediately after the death of Drusus, which probably occurred at the fortress of Aliso, the guards and legionaries erected an altar to him near that place. It was destroyed by the Germans after the defeat of Varus, and again restored by his son Germanicus. See *Struv.* *Syntagm. Hist. Germ. Diss.* iv. § 18. p. 104, 105, and *Schaten.* *Hist. Westph.* p. 33.

people so readily adapted themselves to the only safe system of resistance.¹⁸ A third circumstance, namely, the death of Drusus at this early period of his career, contributed to arrest the progress of Roman policy. His campaigns, though the immediate results were not decisive, were gradually leading to the right method of mastering the country; his military posts and colonies were fast encroaching upon the free territories; two bridges, strongly fortified, were thrown across the Rhine, one at Maintz, a city which acknowledges Drusus as its founder, and another at Bonn; a fleet of row boats kept a constant guard upon the river, protecting the navigation and watching the movements of the neighbouring tribes; the heights of Mount Taunus,¹⁹ in the territory of the Chatti, were strongly fortified, and formed one of the advanced posts of that long chain of fortresses which secured and connected the Roman conquests from Maintz to Aliso on the Lippe, in the heart of Westphalia. The natives began to enter into friendly intercourse with the military colonies by which they were garrisoned; the glitter of the Roman civilization was gradually producing its effect upon the German youth, and the love of indulgence, the desire of distinctions, honours, and rewards, had already induced many to prefer the splendid service of Rome to the privations of savage liberty. The misconduct of the government alone could have frustrated this wise policy, and torn the veil from the eyes of the dazzled barbarians.

towns, their desultory system of warfare, and the timely death of Drusus.

Continued dangers to the liberty of Germany: posts and colonies, bridges;

that on the Rhine:

barrier forts on Mount Taunus:

the Romans secure their footing on the right bank of the Rhine.

After the death of Drusus the command of the armies on the Rhine was intrusted to his brother Tiberius. In the following year Augustus himself went into Germany, and Tiberius crossed the Rhine with a powerful army. The Germans, it seems, now sued for peace; but the Sicambri declined sending envoys with the rest; and Augustus, regarding all the nations who had taken a part in the late wars as one confederate body, refused to treat separately with any. The Sicambri then thought proper to accede, and the envoys of most of the nations of Lower Germany, consisting of the chiefs of each tribe, appeared before the emperor. But far from granting the terms they sought, Augustus protracted the negotiations, and, in the end, consigned the duped and mortified envoys to custody in different towns of the province. The high-spirited princes, unable to brook this prodigious treachery, or to bear the tedium of imprisonment, fell by their own hands; thus, at a blow, ridding their country of all regard for their safety, and depriving the Romans of the fruits of their detestable policy.²⁰

A.U.C. 745.
B. C. 8.
Tiberius in command on the Rhine. Augustus negotiates with the Germans and treacherously imprisons their chiefs.

¹⁸ See sup. p. 97.

¹⁹ A chain of hills to the eastward of Mayence and northward of Frankfort on the Mayne.

²⁰ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lv. § 6. p. 776. Compare the conduct of Cæsar towards the Usipetes and Tenchteri, sup. p. 45.

A. U. C.
745 to 748.
B. C.
8 to 5
The country
between the
Elbe and the
Weser subdued
and garrisoned.
The Sicambri
transferred to
Gaul.

For the present, success seemed to attend the measures of Augustus ; the country between the Rhine and the Weser was subdued and garrisoned ; the gallant Sicambri were compelled to abandon their position upon the right bank ; forty thousand (or, as some critics read, ninety thousand) persons of that nation were transplanted to the Roman province of Germania Inferior, and the name was for a time erased from the list of the independent nations of Germany.²¹

SECTION II.

Establishment of the Marcomanni under Marbod in Bohemia—Insurrection in Illyricum—Defeat and Destruction of Three Roman Legions under Quintilius Varus in Germany.

Domitius
Ahenobarbus
in Germany.
Between the
years 6 and 1
B. C.

Tiberius again
assumes the
command.

He ingratiates
himself with
the Cherusci.
The refractory
tribes submit.

DURING the temporary retirement of Tiberius from public life,¹ Domitius Ahenobarbus was intrusted with the duty of strengthening the dependence of the submissive districts in north western Germany. Intercourse was encouraged, fortified posts were multiplied, and a road was completed from the Rhine to Aliso on the Lippe. When Tiberius returned from his voluntary exile at Rhodes to the command of the army in Germany, he despatched Sentius Saturninus against the Chatti, and undertook in person the subjugation of the Caninefates on the Batavian frontier, and of their northern neighbours the Attuarii and Bructeri. He enticed the Cherusci into an insidious connexion with Rome, and persuaded them to submit to the quartering of troops among them. The refractory Chauci, on the other hand, were subdued by the help of their hereditary enemies the Cherusci ; and the nations who still retained the semblance of independence seemed ready to lend themselves to their mutual destruction. The Romans had good cause to exult in the success of their arms and policy. “ All Germany”—says Velleius Paterculus, when summing up, in his rhetorical fashion, the results of the campaigns of Tiberius—“ has been explored by our arms : nations with names hitherto unknown have submitted : the gigantic youth of the Chauci, in vast numbers, have flung themselves at the foot of the imperial tribune : the power of the Longobardi, a nation of more than Teutonic ferocity, is broken : lastly, an event never before contemplated,

²¹ Suetonius in *August.* c. 21.—*Id.* in *Tiberio*, c. 9.—*Tac. Ann.* lib. xi. c. 39. At a subsequent period, however, they are mentioned by *Martial*, *Claudian*, and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, as the inde-

pendent inhabitants of the old tract. *Mascou*, *Hist. of the Germans*, vol. i. p. 86.—See also *Schalen*, *Hist. Westph.* p. 34.

¹ *Tac. Ann.* lib. i. c. 4.

much less attempted, has been accomplished ; a Roman army has penetrated upwards of four hundred miles into the interior of Germany, from the Rhine to the Elbe, where it divides the Semnones and the Hermunduri. Our fleet circumnavigates the bays of the ocean, traversing seas hitherto unheard of and unknown, to the very mouths of the Elbe, subduing whole nations by the way and conveying abundance to the camps of the Cæsar."²

But during this period of prosperity and triumph, events were in progress which dispelled these visions of ambition and suddenly called forth the whole strength of the empire to the defence of its own honour and integrity. During the absence of Tiberius from Germany, the Hermunduri, a numerous Suevic tribe, had entered into a close connexion with Rome. About the same time the Suevic Markmannen of the Mayne and Upper Danube had relinquished their frontier guard in that quarter under their chief Marobod or Marbod, and had established themselves permanently in the modern Bohemia, after expelling or subjugating the Boii, the ancient inhabitants. Their name of association now became the national appellation, and the military command of their chief was converted into a regal power. The Romans,³ meanwhile, disposed of the forsaken territory to the Hermunduri, who in return became the ever steady friends of the empire.

But the power of the Markmannen of Bohemia and the character of their chief gave the greatest uneasiness to the Romans of Pannonia and Noricum. Marbod, like many young German chieftains, had spent his youth in Rome,⁴ and become familiarly acquainted with the military discipline and policy of the empire. After making himself master of Bohemia, he applied his newly-acquired power to the extension of his influence among the surrounding nations. Several neighbouring tribes acknowledged his sovereignty, and he was at length enabled to collect a standing army of seventy thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, drilled and disciplined upon the Roman model. A period of ten or twelve years was afforded him to organize and to try his troops ; he exercised them in expeditions against distant nations, and spread the terror of his arms to the extremities of Germany. In his dealings with the Romans he sometimes used submissive and humble language ; at others, he spoke with greater boldness ; but by affording on several occasions a refuge to the disaffected subjects of Rome, he committed an offence which the policy of the republic most highly resented, and always visited with extreme seve-

The Marcomanni, under Marbod, occupy Bohemia and found a powerful kingdom. Circa A.5. B.C. according to the conjecture of Pfister, vol. i. p. 84. note 3.

Marbod extends his influence among the German tribes ;

organizes a standing army ;

offends the Romans by harbouring their disaffected subjects,

² *Vell. Pater.* lib. ii. p. 220.

³ *Velleius Paterculus* wishes it to be understood that Marbod was anxious to escape Roman observation. *Avocatâ procul a Romanis*

gente suâ, eo progredi, ubi, cum propter potentiora arma refugisset, sua fecerit potentissima. Lib. ii. p. 221.

⁴ *Strabo*, lib. vii. c. 1.

and becomes a dangerous neighbour to the empire. rity. Before him lay the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum, whose allegiance to the empire was already more than doubtful. He had surrounded himself by nations either intimidated or subdued by his arms: the frontier of Italy was scarcely two hundred miles distant from his dominions; Augustus perceived that, if permitted to rally the whole dormant strength of Germany around his standard, he might shortly contend for the seat of empire itself; and Tiberius himself afterwards admitted in the senate that Philip had never been more formidable to Athens or Pyrrhus to Rome.⁵

The armies under Sentius Saturninus and Tiberius sent against him.

A.U.C. 759.
A. D. 6.

The establishment of a Roman domination in Northern Germany, and the friendly disposition of the Hermunduri, afforded a good opportunity to crush so dangerous a neighbour. The command of the army of the Rhine was intrusted to Sentius Saturninus; Tiberius put himself at the head of the Illyrian legions; and, in the sixth year after the birth of Christ, a combined movement against the dominions of Marbod was concerted between the two leaders. Saturninus cut a road across the dense Hercynian forest, and advanced through the territory of the Chatti towards the Danube, while Tiberius marched from Carnuntum along the course of that stream to effect a junction with him on the frontiers of Noricum. This operation was successfully executed; the junction took place within the view of Marbod's advanced guard, and the two corps took up a position highly advantageous for the ensuing campaign.⁶

Marbod is saved by a general insurrection in Illyricum. Tiberius makes peace with him.

Insurrection in Pannonia and Dalmatia occasioned by the tyranny of the Roman governors.

Alarm in Italy and Rome.

In the interim, the discontent, which had been long fermenting in the Illyrian and Pannonian provinces, burst forth into one simultaneous insurrection, under the command of two chiefs named Bato and Pinnes. In this emergency Tiberius offered advantageous terms of peace to Marbod. Here the good fortune of Rome prevailed; Marbod accepted the terms offered, and the combined armies of Tiberius and Saturninus, thus opportunely set at liberty, hastened to the defence of Italy, which for a moment experienced a repetition of the terrors of the Cimbric invasion. The insurrection had spread like a conflagration along the whole Pannonian and Illyrian frontier as far as the confines of Macedonia and Thrace.⁷ Two hundred thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry rose in arms at the signal of the chiefs to avenge the wrongs of their oppressed and afflicted country. A deep sense of injury lent vigour to their blows, and acquaintance with Roman tactics imparted a formidable consistency to their military operations. Augustus declared in the senate, that unless immediate measures were taken to stop their progress, they might be at

⁵ *Felleius Patere*, lib. ii. pp. 221, 222.—*Lucden*, vol. i. book ii. c. 4.

⁶ *Fell. Pat.* lib. ii. p. 222.

⁷ *Sueton.* in *Tiberio*, c. 16.

the gates of Rome in ten days. Forced loans were raised for the service of the state; retired veterans were called out; slaves were emancipated and incorporated with the regular troops; even knights and senators were enrolled to strengthen the army destined to cover the capital. With the exception of the legions quartered in the more distant provinces, the whole force of the empire was poured into the insurgent districts, under the supreme command of Tiberius. But notwithstanding these prodigious efforts the war was protracted into the fourth year; and was terminated at length rather by prudent concessions on the part of the empire than by the mere vigour of her arms.⁸

The pacification of the Illyrian provinces was celebrated at Rome with extraordinary festivities and rejoicings. Honours were heaped upon Tiberius and upon Germanicus, the son of Drusus, whom Augustus had associated with Tiberius in command; and the unwarlike populace of Rome abandoned itself to a sense of security to which it had been a stranger for several years past. But at this moment of self-congratulation and triumph the news arrived of the total overthrow and destruction of three Roman legions, the death of the general, and the ruin of that dominion in the interior of Germany which had been won at the expense of an age of toil and of the noblest blood of Rome.⁹

At the departure of Sentius Saturninus to co-operate with Tiberius against Marbod, five complete legions, with several detached cohorts, and a body of cavalry, were left behind to guard the Roman conquests in Westphalia, under the command of Quinctilius Varus. The former governors had founded many new colonies, and established numerous stations among the several tribes between the Rhine and the Weser. Markets in imitation of the Roman *Nundinæ*¹⁰ had been introduced, and the people were becoming so gradually familiarized with the language and customs of their new masters, that, far from regretting, they scarcely seemed to perceive that they were no longer their own masters. Their liberties had not hitherto been infringed; their prejudices and feelings had been spared; their customs had not been violently broken in upon; another age of similar policy would infallibly have done more towards the

Tiberius takes the command against the insurgents, and brings the war to a close after a four years' resistance.

A. D. 10. The rejoicings of the Romans interrupted by intelligence of the total destruction of three legions by the Germans and the death of the general.

A. D. 6 or 7. Quinctilius Varus takes the command of the Roman conquests in Westphalia.

Judicious conduct of Saturninus and the preceding governors. Their liberties uninfringed,—their laws and customs respected.

⁸ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 16. When Bato, the Pannonian chief, surrendered to Tiberius, he was asked the cause of the late ferocious and treasonable rebellion of his countrymen. He replied, "It was the fault of you Romans, who, instead of shepherds and dogs, send wolves to guard your flocks." The Jesuit Schaten (*Hist. Westph.* p. 40.) observes that this was a fair description of the cruel and rapacious conduct of the Roman governors towards the subjects and associated

nations of the republic. For the events of this war see the inflated abridgment of *Vell. Paterc.* p. 224—229; and *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 11—17.

⁹ *Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. p. 229.—*Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 18.

¹⁰ Nine-day markets or assemblages, as well for the ordinary purposes of trade as for hearing the news, and receiving notices of public regulations and hearing the publication of new laws.

extinction of independence in Germany than could have been accomplished within the same period by the whole disposable military force of Rome.¹¹

Character of
the new go-
vernors Varus—
obstinate, pe-
dantic, and ra-
pacious.

He establishes
Roman law ;

supersedes the
courts of the
Gau-graff and
Zent-graff ;

and introduces
a swarm of Ro-
man lawyers,

assumes the
state of a mo-
narch,

and violates
their customs,
and shocks
their prejudices
by inflicting
Roman pu-
nishments.

The Germans
dissemble their
indignation.

Quinctilius Varus had been removed from the government of the old and settled province of Syria to that of the new acquisitions in Germany. He was mild in his manners, but of indolent bodily habits, obstinate, pedantic, and rapacious.¹² He became immediately intent upon introducing the routine of Syrian administration into the government of the half reclaimed barbarians of Germany ; he forcibly substituted Roman law in the place of the ancient customs of the country ; Roman habits of society for the rude freedom of barbaric manners ; he erected tribunals to supersede the native judgment-seats of the Gau-graff and Zent-graff ;¹³ the fiscal and criminal laws of Rome were enforced with all the pedantry of judicial form ; citations and processes were multiplied ; contempts were incurred, and a host of advocates and procurators settled like a swarm of locusts upon the land.¹⁴

Varus determined to superintend his improvements in person, and for that purpose he quitted the Rhine and took up his residence at Aliso on the Lippe,¹⁵ with three out of the five legions he commanded, leaving his uncle Luc. Asprenas with the other two behind him in the territory of the Ubii. In this new seat of government he went on building towns, colonies, and barracks ; he assumed the state of a sovereign prince, summoning the native chiefs around his tribunal, affecting to listen to their counsels, sitting in judgment upon their disputes, and gravely directing the execution of legal sentences and decrees equally incomprehensible to the suitors in reason and in form. Thus the free-born and high-spirited German might behold his chief, his kinsman, or his friend, scourged like a slave, or expiring under the axe of the lictor like a traitor or a coward.¹⁶ The German chiefs dissembled their resentment ; they affected the utmost deference for his decrees and admiration of his wisdom. Varus, who in the true spirit of an oriental ruler saw only with the eyes of others, hugged himself in the general satisfaction his

¹¹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 18.

¹² *Vell. Paterc.* thus describes his character :
“ Vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus, ut corpore
et animo immobilior : otio magis castrorum quam
bellicæ assuetus militiæ ; pecunie vero quam
non contemptor : ” so of his government of
Syria . . . “ quam pauper divitem ingressus,
dives pauperem reliquit.”

¹³ See p. 87, note f1.

¹⁴ *Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. p. 222.

¹⁵ See the proofs in *Cluv. Germ. Ant.* lib. iii.

c. 19. p. 580.

¹⁶ We may very fairly assume that such scenes were actually witnessed, from the speech attributed by Tacitus (*Ann.* lib. i. c. 59.) to Arminius after the treason of Segestes and the capture of his wife. . . . “ Quòd inter Albim et Rhenum virgas, et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani, *inexpertæ esse supplicia*, nescia tributa,” &c. See also to the same view, *Schaten*, *Hist. Westph.* p. 41., and *Luden*, vol. i. p. 229.

administration appeared to produce ; his taxes were easily collected, his lawyers prospered, and his bold scheme for accelerating the civilization of the new province seemed to rebuke the timid policy of his predecessors.

The Roman contempt for barbarians contributed to facilitate the extensive conspiracy which was now set on foot at the very head-quarters of Varus himself. Barbarians are acute observers of individual character. The governor seemed ready to run into their toils. At their suggestion the legions were weakened by detachments sent to the assistance of pretended allies, or to suppress pretended insurrections, or placed as garri-
Varus abandons himself to the conspirators ; they persuade him to disperse the army under various pretexts ; they surround his person and intercept intelligence.
 sons in the distant towns and villages, or marched out to clear the roads of robbers, and escort convoys of provisions. Meanwhile the conspirators surrounded his person, excluding information or garbling the intelligence received, while they took the promptest measures for instructing their own followers and preparing them for a general outbreak at a signal from themselves.¹⁷

Arminius, or Hermann, the son of Siegemir, a prince of the Cherusci, was at the head of this conspiracy. He was about twenty-five years old ; his person was strikingly handsome, and his countenance beamed with spirit and intelligence.¹⁸ He readily fathomed the character of the governor ; he attached himself to him, and became his intimate associate and table companion.¹⁹ Like the Suevian Marbod, he had served for a time in the Roman armies, and obtained the honours of citizenship and knighthood ; and Varus found in him a person whose conversation and manners partook of the barbarian frankness, softened down by the polish of Roman society. But Varus overlooked the lessons of craft and dissimulation which might be learnt in that school ; Arminius, however, had profited by them. At first he opened his scheme to a few only of the most trusty of his friends ; he instructed them to flatter the vanity and indulge the humours of the governor ; he pointed out the facility of overpowering the Roman legions in their present unsupported and dispersed position ; and concerted a plan for drawing Varus still further from his resources, and involving him in difficulties from which he possessed neither the necessary force of character nor the talent to extricate himself. In the meantime the Bructeri, Marsi, Angrivarii, and Chatti, entered into secret correspondence with the Cheruscan chiefs ; but so wide a conspiracy was ill-calculated for secrecy ; and Segestes, a man of great influence among the Cherusci, and fully informed of the plans of the conspirators, revealed them without reserve to Varus. Arminius had
Arminius, or Hermann, chief of the conspiracy, prepossesses the governor in his favour. His plan for the conspiracy ; to draw Varus away from his resources and overwhelm him at a distance inland. Segestes, his father-in-law, betrays him to Varus,

¹⁷ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 18, 19. *Schaten*, der Deut. vol. i. p. 89.) is relied upon for his age. Hist. West. p. 42.

¹⁹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. c. 19.

¹⁸ *Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. p. 230.—*Pfister* (Gesch.

offended him by the abduction of his daughter Thusnelda; but besides this cause of complaint, Segestes perceived that his influence among his countrymen was eclipsed by the more brilliant qualities of Arminius. This ill-feeling was known to Varus, who, accordingly, attributed the warnings of Segestes as much to resentment for former injuries as to his jealousy of the favour his son-in-law enjoyed at the court of the governor. Instead of examining into the truth of the intelligence, he refused even to listen to the charge brought against his favourite; and when urged to apprehend all the chiefs, that he might have an opportunity of distinguishing the traitors from the faithful, he reproached his advisers with vain apprehensions and groundless calumny.²⁰

but the latter
refuses to credit
the accusation.

Varus suffers
himself to be
drawn into the
interior upon
false reports of
a rising on the
Weser.

A. D. 10.
A. U. C. 763.

The Cherus-
can chiefs
loiter behind
and are now
joined by Se-
gestes himself.

Varus aban-
dons all pre-
caution.
The Germans
surprise and
slaughter the
detached
bodies of Ro-
mans.

They surround
the army of

This conduct of the governor placed Segestes and the Roman party at the mercy of the conspirators, whom Varus continued to trust and employ as before. Something might, perhaps, be allowed for the habitual contempt of the Romans for the capacity of the barbarians; something for a natural confidence in the superb army he commanded;²¹ but nothing short of that species of infatuation peculiar to the feeblest class of intellects could account for the total absence of caution his subsequent conduct betrayed. A sudden insurrection in a distant part of the province afforded a pretext for enticing Varus and his legions further into the interior. About the beginning of the month of September, in the tenth year of the Christian era, the Roman army moved from its quarters to suppress this remote disturbance. The Cheruscan chiefs were permitted to remain behind upon the pretext of assembling their forces for the service in hand. Little time, indeed, was required for that purpose; every man was already at his post; and among the rest Segestes himself. Varus proceeded along the Weser to the northward in the direction of the supposed insurrection. Each corps of his army marched separately and carelessly, little dreaming of the perils which were thickening round them. But soon rumours arose of commotions in his rear; Roman citizens, officers of the revenue and of the law, had been slain, the Roman posts assailed, and the detached bodies of legionaries surprised and slaughtered. Varus still felt, or pretended to feel, unbounded confidence in the terrors of Roman justice; he issued citations against the offenders in due form of law; and continued his march regardless of the snares now fast closing around him and his devoted legions. The German chiefs still continued to follow the army

²⁰ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. c. 19.—*Tacitus*, Ann. lib. i. c. 55.

²¹ "Exercitus omnium fortissimus, disciplinâ,

manu, experiëntiâque bellorum inter Romanos milites princeps."—*Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. p. 230.

as friends and allies, while detachments were sent forwards for the purpose of accumulating impediments in its way, by erecting stockades, and cutting through the trees along the line of march, so that the slightest gust of wind might fling them across the woodpaths, or cause them to fall upon and crush the passing soldiers.²² By this time all supplies from the rear were cut off; the weather became cold and tempestuous; torrents of rain rendered the miserable roads of the country almost impassable; the constant moisture relaxed the bow-strings, soaked the shields, and rusted the spears of the soldiery; sanguinary affrays arose between the troops and their treacherous allies; but these Varus affected to treat as mere camp quarrels, and dismissed the complainants with the severest admonitions. The army soon quitted the open country, and found itself involved in new difficulties. The numbers of the barbarians became more alarming, and their hostile disposition less equivocal. A sudden onset upon the outposts and stragglers of the army drove a multitude of defenceless women, children, and camp-followers, for refuge among the crowded ranks, and increased the dismay which the discovery of their condition had already begun to spread through the legions.²³

Varus now altered his direction; he closed in the different corps, destroyed all his heavy baggage, and succeeded in extricating the army for the moment from the trackless forests through which his line of march had hitherto conducted him. A strong camp was marked out and fortified, and discipline and confidence were partially restored. Still the dense forest of Teutburg, in the modern bishopric of Paderborn, lay in his retreat, and every danger he had so lately escaped was to be again encountered; the attacks of the Germans became hourly more and more distressing; as the strength and spirits of the Roman soldiers declined the audacity of the barbarians increased; the weather still continued stormy; and, at the approach of night, the army found itself involved in a labyrinth of mountain and forest and swamp, the issues of which were occupied by the enemy in such force as to render every attempt to force a passage hopeless. One chance still remained; an eminence in an open glade of the forest appeared to afford a secure position for the night; the exhausted troops pushed for it, and here the mortal struggle

Varus; block
up the roads

and cut off his
supplies.

Weather be-
comes tem-
pestuous; roads
impassable;
the Germans
throw off the
mask.

Attack the out-
posts and
stragglers of
the army.

Alarm of the
Romans;
Varus de-
stroys his bag-
gage in order
to disencumber
his army.
He enters the
forest of Teut-
burg;

incessant at-
tacks of the
Germans;
soldiery dispi-
rited and ex-
hausted.

He attempts
to encamp,
but is pre-
vented by noc-
turnal attacks.

²² *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 21, accounts the falling of the forest-trees as one of the most serious calamities which befel the Romans. He assigns no other cause for it than the stormy state of the weather. This, however, is obviously insufficient, and the supposition of *Luden* (vol. i. p. 235.) has been adopted without hesitation, that the Ger-

mans resorted to the obvious expedient of constructing abattis and sawing the trees half asunder, so that the autumnal gales might fling them upon the enemy, or, at all events, contribute to accumulate impediments in his path.

²³ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 21.

In the morning the Cherusicans close upon the Romans.

Varus is killed and his army slaughtered.

Strength of the army commanded by Varus.

The Roman civilians put to death without mercy; the trophies hung up in their sacred groves.

The Germans send the head of Varus to

commenced. The Romans took possession of the eminence, and attempted to surround themselves with their accustomed entrenchments; but the Germans granted them not one moment's respite throughout the night; and when morning dawned, they were found without defence. The Cherusicans and their allies closed in upon the disorderly and despairing masses; a simultaneous rush took place upon the front, flanks, and rear of the wearied and dispirited Romans; Varus himself was wounded; and, abandoning all hope, fell upon his own sword; with him perished all the generals of the army and the great body of the soldiery; few prisoners were made, and only one small body escaped to carry back the tidings of a disaster unequalled since the day that Crassus and his army were cut off in the deserts of Parthia.²⁴

The army commanded by Varus, when collected, would not have amounted to fewer than fifty thousand combatants. But probably not more than one half of this force²⁵ was present with him, and it may therefore be reasonably assumed that the numbers of the slain and prisoners did not greatly exceed twenty thousand. But the slaughter was not confined to²⁶ the field upon which Varus fell; the detachments which were cut off, and the number of civil officers, fiscals, advocates and procurators sacrificed to the fierce vengeance of the insulted and oppressed natives, may have doubled the number of the victims. The prisoners were dealt with according to the caprice of the captors or the customs of the several tribes.²⁷ A few were offered upon the altars of the god of war; the rest were divided out among the victors as slaves; the Roman lawyers²⁸ taken were put to death with scoffs and tortures; the booty in arms and treasure was equally apportioned; the choicest articles alone were reserved to be hung up as trophies in the sacred groves. The eagles of the vanquished legions were assigned to the Chatti, the Marsi, and the Bructeri.²⁹ The body of Varus was found in a half-consumed state;—in the midst of desolation and death the Roman soldiers had made a feeble attempt to pay the last honours to the body of their fallen leader. The Germans cut off the head and sent it as an acceptable present to Marbod; but that prince,

²⁴ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 21.—*Florus*, lib. iv. c. 12.—*Vell. Patere.* lib. ii. p. 230.

²⁵ It consisted of three complete legions; as many *alæ* or divisions of cavalry; six detached cohorts, and the proportionate number of auxiliaries, amounting to at least as many more in numbers.—*Laden*, vol. i. p. 228., and note 9. p. 658.

²⁶ This is the computation of *Schaten*, *Hist. Westph.* p. 44.

²⁷ *Tac. Ann.* lib. i. c. 61. "Quantum," says *Schaten*, (*Hist. Westph.* p. 44.) "sævitur in

Germanos a Druso, tantum vindictæ et crudelitatis repensum in Romanos."

²⁸ "Nihil," says *Florus* (lib. iv. c. 12. p. 123.), "insultatione barbarorum intolerabilius, præcipue tamen in causarum patronos; (quorum) aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant; unius os sutum, recisâ prius linguâ; quam in manu tenens barbarus: 'Tandem, inquit, vipera sibilare desiste'"

²⁹ *Struvii*, *Corp. Hist. Germ.* vol. i. p. 66. note 86.—*Pfister*, *Ges. der Deutsch.* vol. i. p. 91.

not for the moment disposed to retain so dangerous a trophy, sent it to Rome, where it was decently interred.³⁰

Marbod, who restores it to the Romans.

A small detachment of the Varian army was saved by the presence of mind of its commander Cæditius, who, in the hour of extreme danger, contrived to withdraw his division from the observation of the barbarians, who were too intent upon pillage to observe what was passing in a distant part of the field. He then caused the trumpets to sound, which induced the Germans to believe that Asprenas was at hand with succours from the Rhine, and thus obtained time to gain upon his pursuers. Asprenas, indeed, was no sooner informed of the disaster than he advanced cautiously to relieve and protect the fugitives. Judging, then, that his force was insufficient to check the progress of the triumphant barbarians, he hastily withdrew the remaining troops and garrisons to the left bank of the Rhine, as much with a view to their safety as to keep down the Cis-Rhenane Germans, who showed a disposition to follow the example of their countrymen; and thus at once abandoned the whole fruits of the toilsome and sanguinary campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius, and the reward of twenty years of incessant exertion and expense.³¹

Cæditius, with a small body, effects his escape.

The Roman troops in the territories of the allies retreat across the Rhine, and

abandon all their conquests.

³⁰ *Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 119.—*Tac. Ann.* vol. i. p. 71.—With respect to the date of the overthrow of Varus, both *Dio Cassius* and *Velleius Paterculus* refer it to the consulship of P. Corn. Dolabella and Caius Jul. Silanus, in the year of Rome 763. Tacitus says it occurred six years before the first expedition of Germanicus, which took place in the year 768. In another place he tells us that it occurred forty years before the great defeat of the Chatti in the year 803 (A. U. C.), which brings it to the same year, viz. 763 of Rome. All agree that the news was received almost at the same moment at which that of the pacification of Pannonia and Dalmatia was announced. Whether, therefore, this event occurred in the year 10 or 12 of the Christian era depends upon the debated question, whether the birth of Christ is to be placed in the year of Rome 753 or 751. The Jesuits appear to have adopted the latter era; see *Schaten*, *Hist. Westph.* p. 40. The Benedictines of St. Maur assume the former. See *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. i. p. 350.

The scene of the “clades Variana” is placed by all the authorities in the *Teuten-Wald* or *Saltus Teutoburgensis*. See *Tac. Ann.* lib. i. c. 60. and *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 21. with the criticism of *Luden*, vol. i. p. 236. In the map, attached to *Rink’s* edition of the *Monumenta Paderbornentia* (Norib. 1713. p. 2.), the *Saltus Teutoburgensis* separates the valley of the Weser from the sources of the Lippe and the Ems. Ac-

cording to the hypothesis adopted in that work, Varus must have been retreating from the Weser directly upon the fortress of *Aliso* or *Else* on the Lippe; and the spot where he perished is accordingly placed between the city of Paderborn and the town of Deutmold, or Dietmold, in the Teutenwald. Local tradition has retained a trace of this memorable event in the names of two brooks or becks which flow down from the Teutoburg hills into the Senne-moor, at their foot, called the *Roden* or *Rothen Beck*, the Red or Bloody Beck, and the *Knochenbeck*, or Brook of Bones, whereabout great quantities of human bones, arms, and coins (principally of Jul. Cæsar and Augustus) have been dug up. To this day the chain of forest hills retains the name of the *Teuteberg*; and the names of several villages, e. g. *Winntrup*, *Winnfeldt*, *Winnbeck*, from the old Teutonic *Wunnen*, or *Winnen*, (which *Schiller* in his *Glossary*, *Thes. Antiq. Teut.* vol. iii. ad verb., interprets by the Latin words *grassare*, *vulnerare*, *lædere*, *vincere*,) materially strengthen the body of traditional evidence to the identity of the spot. See a list of the critics and antiquaries who concur in placing the scene of the clades Variana at or near the town of Dietmold, in the *Monum. Paderb.* p. 21. § 2. See also several ingenious etymological deductions, and a comparison of narratives ap. *Cluver.* *Germ. Antiq.* lib. iii. c. 19. p. 580.

³¹ *Vell. Paterc.* lib. ii. c. 120.—*Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 22. “The victory of Arminius,” says

SECTION III.—A. D. 10—17.

Campaigns of Germanicus, the Son of Drusus, in Germany.

Extravagant
apprehensions
of the Romans.

Frantic grief
of Augustus.

He resorts to
extraordinary
means for re-
placing the
army of Varus.

But the Che-
ruscans and
their allies se-
parate after
their victory to
clear their ter-
ritories of the
Romans.

THE news of the destruction of Varus and his legions caused no less consternation at Rome than the Illyrian war had done four years before. "No one doubted," says Suetonius, "that if Illyricum had not precisely at that moment laid down its arms, the victorious Germans would have joined the Pannonian insurgents."¹ Augustus could hardly believe that a military force, capable of destroying the flower of the Roman armies at a blow, could be stopped in its career by a river; or that the weak remnant of the army of the Rhine, dwindled as it was by the draughts made upon it for the Illyrian war, and the total annihilation of three entire legions, could for any time withstand the onset of the victorious confederates, backed, as he fully expected they would be, by the Cis-Rhenane Germans.² His grief for the loss of the legions resembled phrensy; for several months he refused to permit his hair or his beard to be trimmed; he is even said to have struck his head against the walls, exclaiming in a paroxysm of grief, "Quinctilius Varus, give me back my legions!"³ At the same time the number of the Roman people fit to bear arms had been already so reduced by the exigencies of the Pannonian war that he was driven to the severest measures to complete the preparations necessary to meet the apprehended attack. All Germans and Gauls were sent away from Rome; forced levies were raised, the veterans were called out, and a multitude of slaves were enrolled. The army thus raised was sent forward to the Rhine; and Tiberius, without waiting to celebrate his triumph over the Illyrians, hastily took the command, and set off for the seat of war.⁴

But no sooner were the Cherusicans and their allies freed from the presence of their oppressors than the pressure which held the league together seems to have been removed;—the tribes separated; and each hastened to his own territory to wipe out all remaining marks of servitude,—to destroy

Florus, (lib. iv. c. 12. p. 123.) "once more threw back the limits of the empire from the ocean to the Rhine." *Mascou* (*Hist. of the Germ.* vol. i. p. 97.) observes that the Lower German province must have extended to the Weser, if not farther, and that it comprised, at all events, the

countries of the Chatti, Tenchteri, Bructeri, Chauci, and Cherusci.

¹ *Suetonius in Tiber.* c. 17.

² *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 23.

³ *Sueton.* in *Aug.* c. 23.

⁴ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 23. p. 822. Also *Suet.* in *Aug.* ubi supra.

the Roman forts, and to expel the garrisons.⁵ The object of the league seems not to have extended beyond the liberation of their own country from Roman thralldom. Tiberius therefore found the threatened frontier in a state of profound tranquillity. The Germans had not even approached the Rhine; and he accordingly contented himself with a short and indecisive incursion into the emancipated districts;—he restored the discipline of the army, which had suffered greatly by the defeat of Varus; and, in the following spring, he gave up the command to Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus, and returned to Rome.⁶

Their design confined to the liberation of their country. Tiberius takes A. D. 11. A. U. C. 764. the command; but soon transfers it to Germanicus.

The duty of avenging the death of Varus, and retrieving the honour of the Roman arms, now devolved upon one who possessed both the talent and the resolution to perform it to the utmost. Eight legions were stationed on the Rhine, which, together with cavalry and auxiliary troops, could hardly amount to less than a hundred thousand men. Four of these legions were cantoned among the Tribocci, Nemetes, and Vangiones, that is, from the confines of Alsace to the vicinity of Maintz: the other four were posted along the banks of the Lower Rhine, from the station at Bonn through Colonia Ubiorum and the Castra Vetera⁷ to the confines of Friesland. Detachments were thrown across the river to garrison the castles and outposts, built by Drusus for observing the motions of the Germans in Hessia and Westphalia.⁸ The army of the Upper Rhine was commanded by Caius Silius; that of the Lower Rhine by Aulus Cæcina; Germanicus assumed the supreme command of both.⁹

A. D. 12. A. U. C. 765.

100,000 Romans on the Rhine; four legions in Upper and four in Lower Germany.

Germanicus throws garrisons into the castles of Drusus.

In the year 14 after Christ, Tiberius succeeded to Augustus in the empire. Both the new emperor and his adopted son Germanicus were well known to the Rhenish armies. The soldiery had learned to contrast the popular manners of the latter with the dark and sullen temper of the former. Dislike to Tiberius had turned their views towards Germanicus as their future sovereign, and a disposition to exalt their favourite led at first to acts of insubordination, and afterwards to open mutiny. At some risk to himself, Germanicus declined the empire offered to him, and succeeded, after many painful efforts and much bloodshed, in subduing the rebellion.¹⁰ But to retain in obedience the disorderly and mutinous rabble with which, since the destruction of Varus's legions, the

Accession of Tiberius.

The Rhenish armies mutiny in favour of Germanicus, who refuses the empire, suppresses the mutiny, and takes the field.

⁵ Schaten, in his History of Westphalia, p. 50. infers, from a passage in *Dio Cassius*, lib. lvi. § 24. that several forts or præsidia upon the Ems and the Weser were still retained by the Romans, and that the possession of them afterwards facilitated the disembarkations of Germanicus in those rivers. But the words of *Dio*—καὶ αἱ Γερμανίαι ἐφρουρήθησαν—more pro-

bably mean that they were kept in check by the corps of observation under Asprenas.

⁶ *Vell. Patere.* lib. ii. c. 120.

⁷ *Santen*, near *Wesel*, on the Rhine.

⁸ *Schaten*, *Hist. Westph.* p. 48.

⁹ *Tac. Ann.* lib. i. c. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

First expedi-
tion of Ger-
manicus.

A. D. 14.
He surprises
and slaughters
the Marsi in
the night-time.

Roman armies on the Rhine had been recruited, it was necessary to lead them into immediate action.

He therefore assembled a body of twelve thousand legionaries, with eight squadrons of cavalry and twenty-six cohorts of auxiliary troops, at *Castra Vetera*, and advanced through the *Cæsia Sylva*¹¹ towards the country of the Marsi. As soon as he was clear of the woods, his spies brought him word that the Germans were to be engaged that night in a solemn banqueting and festivity. Germanicus, therefore, sent forward *Cæcina* with a body of light troops to surprise them, while he followed at his leisure with the legions. The Romans advanced quickly and silently through the forest, favoured by a bright star-light. The villages of the Marsi were surrounded, and the Roman soldiery, already reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens shed during their late rebellion, were in a temper well suited to the sanguinary task imposed upon them. Neither age nor sex was spared; the aged, the women, and the children were slaughtered without mercy; and the country, for fifty miles round, totally ruined. "All edifices, whether sacred or profane," says Tacitus, "and, among the rest, the most celebrated temple of those nations, which they call *Tanfana*,¹² were levelled with the earth. Our soldiers came off without a wound, seeing they had to deal with none but sleeping, unarmed, or scattered enemies." One of the three eagles belonging to the Varian legions was recaptured in the sacred grove of *Tanfana*, where the Marsi and the *Bructeri* had deposited¹³ the trophies of their victory.

One of the
Varian eagles
recaptured.

The Romans
attacked on
their retreat
by the confeder-
ates in the
Cæasian forest.

Their danger.
Germanicus in
person repels
the attack.
The Romans
effect their
retreat.

On their return to the Rhine, the Romans were obliged to repass the *Cæasian* forest; but here the *Bructeri*, *Tubantes*, and *Usipetes*, roused by resentment against the wanton murderers of their unarmed and unsuspecting allies, stepped across their path. They remained motionless until the whole Roman army had defiled into the forest. They then skirmished upon the flanks and rear of the enemy, to draw off their attention from the main design; suddenly the whole barbarian force made a rush upon the rear-guard, consisting of the twentieth legion and

¹¹ A forest lying between Wesel and Coesfeld, partly in the duchy of Cleves, and partly in that of Westphalia. *Schaten*, Hist. Westph. p. 51.—*Cluv.* Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 9.

¹² *Tacit.* Ann. i. c. 51.—*Fan* in the old Teutonic signified the supreme Power, or Deity. *Tan* singular, or *Teni* plural, according to *Sheringham*, *De Orig. Angl.* p. 335. signified a die or dice, a game of chance to which the Germans were much addicted. The divinity *Tan Fan* might therefore have been the God of Chances, and his temple the *Temple of Fortune*. The Germans

frequently made use of the die in their divinations, and *Tanfana* might thus signify the divinity who directed the fortunes of men. *Schiller*, *Thes. Antiq. Germ.* vol. iii. p. 283.—*Schaten*, in his Hist. of Westphalia, translates the syllable *Fan*, quasi το παν; he conjectures that the goddess may have been identical with the *Hertha* or *Terra Mater* of Tacitus; since the earth, in the language of most other nations, is symbolical of the procreative and originating power. Hist. Westph. p. 51.

¹³ *Schaten*, Hist. Westph. p. 51.

the auxiliaries. The light cohorts were thrown into confusion by the dense masses of the Germans; but the promptness of Germanicus restored the fortune of the battle;—he reminded the soldiers “that the time was come to wash out the remembrance of their late rebellion, and to impart a grace to their repentance,” and putting himself at the head of the twentieth legion, charged with such vigour that he drove the enemy from the woods into the open grounds, and slew many of them there. Meanwhile the main body had emerged from the forest and fortified their camp; the whole army took up a safe position for the night, and, on the following day, continued its retreat to the Rhine without molestation.¹⁴

The recapture of two of the three eagles of the Varian legions, and the indiscriminate slaughter of a multitude of unarmed and defenceless enemies, may have appeared to Germanicus a sufficient reward for the toils of a first campaign. That of the following year seemed to promise more solid advantages. Since the expulsion of the Romans, the old feuds between Arminius and his father-in-law Segestes had broken out afresh. Germanicus was well inclined to profit by the civil broils of the enemy; but the party of Segestes was already pushed to extremity by Arminius; and the Chatti showed a disposition to join the latter. He therefore directed Cæcina with four legions, five thousand auxiliaries and a multitude of irregulars, levied among the Cis-Rhenane Germans, to fall upon the Cherusci and Marsi, while he himself, with four other legions and double the number of auxiliaries, proceeded against the Chatti. He burned Mattiacum,¹⁵ their principal village, restored the fortifications of Drusus upon Mount Taunus, and, after a merciless pillage of the open country, and slaughter of its defenceless and unwarlike inhabitants, returned, laden with booty, to his head-quarters at Moguntiacum. Cæcina, meanwhile, attacked and defeated the Marsi, and prevented the Cherusci from affording assistance to the distressed Chatti. But all these measures seem scarcely to have checked the resistance of the native tribes; there appeared no relaxation of hostility,—no disposition to approach or treat with their former masters; Germanicus therefore was doubly gratified by the arrival of messengers from Segestes, imploring instant assistance against the enemies by whom he was beset; and against Arminius in particular, whose undaunted

Second expedition of Germanicus.

A. D. 15.

Segestes is attacked by Arminius.

Cæcina marches against the Cherusci and Marsi.

Germanicus attacks the Chatti and delivers Segestes,

¹⁴ *Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 51.*

¹⁵ Some persons imagine Mattiacum to have been identical with the modern town of Marsburg in Hessa. *Cluver. Germ. Ant. lib. iii. p. 532.*—*Pfister* (vol. i. p. 93.) following *Barthe*,

Vol. I.

(*Urgeschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 533.) places it on the site of the town of Maden or Metz, on the river Mazze, between Maintz and Cassel.

spirit stimulated the warlike ardour of his countrymen, and kept alive the vindictive feelings with which they regarded the late oppressors of their country, and the recent butchers of their defenceless wives, children, and relatives.¹⁶

who delivers up
his daughter
Thusnelda, the
wife of Armi-
nius, to the
Romans.

Surrender of
Siegismund,
Sithiacus, and
several other
persons of
distinction.

Base conduct
of the Romans
towards Thus-
nelda.

All these cap-
tives, except
Segestes, re-
served for the
public triumph
of Germanicus.

Though Segestes might palliate the part he had taken against Varus, he could neither disguise nor deny it. The Romans, indeed, were not well inclined to admit his excuses. But the renewal of the connexion at the present moment promised advantages which, for want of more solid trophies, Germanicus did not choose to forego. By some unknown fatality, Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, had fallen into her father's power: Siegismund, the son of Segestes, had been guilty of deserting the service of the Ubian altar to which the Romans had attached him, and going over to the destroyers of Varus: Sithiacus, the son of Siegimir and nephew of Segestes, with many other persons of distinction among his retinue, were all alike guilty of the blood of the legions. Germanicus was anxious to make himself master of the persons of these important culprits; and with that view he insisted that Siegismund should become the bearer of his father's message: upon this condition the strongest assurances of pardon were held out to him, and he was at length persuaded to put his trust in the promises of Rome, and to place himself in the hands of Germanicus. He was civilly received; and the Romans hastened without delay to extricate Segestes from his perilous condition, and to conduct their new clients to the Rhine. Thusnelda was treated, without disguise, as a prisoner of war. "She was a woman," says Tacitus, "rather after her husband's than her father's heart." She stood tearless and undaunted before her enemy, striving only to conceal the appearances of pregnancy which might have added a zest to the contemptible lust of triumph which glanced in the eyes of her exulting captors. Her father, with almost incredible baseness, abandoned his child without the appearance of reluctance to the public ignominy and mockery of a triumph, leaving it to the Roman to determine "whether she should be treated as the daughter of a friend or as the wife of an enemy."¹⁷

But upon this matter Germanicus had already decided. Thusnelda and her brother Siegismund were placed in secure custody, and reserved for the degrading exhibition. The chief himself was allowed to continue at large, and even rewarded with a grant of territory near *Castra Vetera*,

¹⁶ Thus the German interpretation of the passage in *Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 57.* would run: "*Legati a Segeste venerunt, auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium a quibus circumsedebatur; validiore apud eos Arminio, quando bellum suadebat.*"

Arminius could not be ignorant that peace with Rome was but another name for subjection.

¹⁷ *Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 57.—Strabo, Geogr. lib. vii.*

under Roman superintendence ; but no attempt was made to make use of him as an instrument for re-establishing a Roman party among his own countrymen. The time for *that* seems to have gone by ; and, fortunately for the Germans, conquest better suited the warlike disposition of Germanicus than the corrupting policy of Augustus or Tiberius.¹⁸

Segestes sinks into insignificance.

The indignation of Arminius at the capture of his wife, and the slavery of his yet unborn offspring, vented itself in passionate appeals to his countrymen and fervid exhortations to resistance against the sanguinary enemy, and vengeance upon the faithless traitor who had brought these foul wrongs upon his country and himself. “ O honourable father ! ” he exclaimed, “ O great emperor ! O gallant army ! whose achievements are all summed up in the abduction of one poor woman ! while I have swept away three whole legions and as many generals ; and *that* not by treachery, but man to man in open battle. The trophies of my deed may be seen to this day suspended in the native groves of Germany in honour of the national gods ! Let Segestes cultivate the enslaved shores of the Rhine,—let him get back the priesthood for his son ; but let the people of Germany never forget that through him and such as he, they had been condemned to witness the rod, and the axe, and the toga of Rome between the Elbe and the Rhine. Nations at a distance may be ignorant of Roman government,—unacquainted with the death-stroke of the lictor,—strange to the extortions of the publican ; but when they have once felt, and shaken them off, neither the deified Augustus nor the famed Tiberius will they dread more, far less a raw youth at the head of a mutinous army.”¹⁹

Arminius appeals to his countrymen for vengeance against his traitorous father-in-law and the Romans.

A powerful chief, named Inguiomar, the paternal uncle of Arminius, who had in former times been well disposed towards the Romans, together with all the neighbouring tribes, now acceded to the coalition of which Arminius was acknowledged head. Germanicus saw the storm gathering, and felt the necessity of dispersing the threatening elements before they should become formidable by union. Cæcina, with forty cohorts of infantry, marched directly upon the Ems ; Pedo, with the cavalry, proceeded through the land of the Frisii towards the same point ; while Germanicus himself, with four legions, embarked on the Rhine, and, sailing through the canal of Drusus and the Zuyder-Zee, reached the mouth of the Ems by sea. The Chauci, the hereditary enemies of the Cherusci, entered into terms of accommodation with the Romans. Luc. Stertinius, with a detachment of light troops, fell sud-

The Germanic confederacy extended and strengthened under the lead of Arminius and Inguiomar.

A. D. 15. Third expedition of Germanicus. Cæcina and Pedo march by land to the Ems. Germanicus proceeds thither by sea.

The Chauci make terms with the Romans.

¹⁸ *Strabo*, lib. xvii. p. 292.—*Tac. Ann.* lib. i. c. 58.

¹⁹ *Tac. Ann.* lib. i. c. 59.

The Bructeri surprised.

denly upon the Bructeri, and, among the spoil, recovered the eagle of the unfortunate thirty-first legion.

Germanicus advances to the forest of Tentoburg,

After ravaging the entire district between the Ems and the Lippe, Germanicus sent forward Cæcina in the direction of the fatal forest of Tentoburg, with instructions to scour the woods, to survey the country, and to construct practicable roads over the swamps. When this service was accomplished, the whole army entered the ill-omened forest in silence and in sorrow. The spot where Varus and his legions had fallen a sacrifice to the violated liberty and honour of a high-spirited people was marked by heaps of whitening bones; some half-ruinous mounds showed where the last encampment had been attempted, and hillocks of unburied remains indicated the places where the greatest carnage had taken place. The rites of sepulture were performed amid the loud lamentations of the whole army; "no one knew," says Tacitus, "whether he was burying the bones of relative or stranger, yet every relic was as dear to him as the nearest kindred could have made it."²⁰

and performs the obsequies of the Varian legions.

He marches against Arminius.

With eyes overflowing with tears, and hearts burning with the desire of vengeance, Germanicus led his army in pursuit of the retiring Germans.²¹ Arminius knew that the strength of his country lay in her woods and marshes; he therefore retreated to a position, apparently open in front, but in reality covered by hidden swamps; his flanks and rear were protected by dense forests, in which the greater part of his infantry was posted. Upon the open ground in front he showed only such numbers as he thought might allure the Romans to the attack. Germanicus gave into the snare; he directed the cavalry and light infantry to charge the front of the German position. In this operation the assailants found themselves in turn attacked on both flanks by the German warriors, who issued suddenly and in great numbers from the woods, and put the cavalry to flight. The auxiliary cohorts next gave way, and the confused and mingled mass of horse and foot were pushed back upon the unsolid and swampy ground behind them. Here multitudes perished, and the remainder was barely saved from destruction by the advance of the legionaries led by Germanicus in person.²²

His troops are repulsed.

He retreats to the Ems, and embarks. Cæcina retreats by

After this engagement Germanicus immediately retreated to the Ems, where he embarked his own corps, directing Cæcina to proceed by the direct road to his quarters at *Castra Vetera*. With a view to lighten

²⁰ *Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 60, 61.*

²¹ *Ibid. c. 62.*

²² Such I think a fair summary of Tacitus's account of this engagement. The Romans suf-

fered a severe repulse. Certainly, in modern warfare, we should not think the phrase "*et manibus æquis abscissum*," applicable. *Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 63.*

the ships over the flats at the mouth of the Ems, two legions, under Vitellius, were ordered to march by the coast-road to a point where the fleet was to take them on board. The ignorance of the Romans, and the activity of the enemy, contributed to render the retreat of both these divisions exceedingly disastrous. Arminius adhered rigidly to the mode of warfare which had already proved so well adapted to the habits of his countrymen, and so fatal to their enemies. The line of march of Cæcina lay in part along an ancient and decayed causeway, originally laid down by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus,²³ and constructed of beams and wood-work, over a marshy tract of about ten miles in length. The soil on either side consisted of slippery bog or tenacious slime, skirted at some distance by gentle eminences, covered with impenetrable forests. Arminius, with his light-armed followers, leaving behind them every thing which might impede their motions, hastened through the well-known by-ways and forest paths to gain the advance of the Romans, who marched slowly towards the same point, encumbered with baggage and unprovided with light troops capable of coping with those of the Germans. Cæcina found the causeway (now the only practicable issue from his actual position) in so rotten and decayed a state, that it became necessary rather to reconstruct than to repair it. He was by this time completely surrounded by the enemy, who occupied the causeway and the forests on either side. He therefore pitched a strong camp upon the firmest ground he could find, and having driven the Germans from the causeway, distributed his troops in working parties along it, with stations at intervals for their protection, while he kept his reserves in hand to hasten to the assistance of any part of the line which might be hardly pressed. The Germans turned the advantages they possessed to good account; they broke through the long line of the Romans at several points; the workmen, immersed in bog and ooze, were incapable of resistance; the stations were surrounded and harassed on every side. The Cherusicans, accustomed to use their long spears with effect, even on the most slippery ground, and at extraordinary distances, avoided close combat. The Roman soldier required a firm footing to hurl his javelin with advantage; he was besides encumbered with armour, and perplexed by a position in which it was obvious that nothing but superior physical strength,

land; Vitellius, with the cavalry, by the sea-coast.

Cæcina attacked by Arminius; he attempts to pass along the causeway of Ahenobarbus;

he finds it in ruins and occupied by the Germans,

but drives them from it.

He commences repairing the causeway, but

is surrounded and harassed by the Germans;

distress of the Romans.

²³ In the year A. U. C. 754, therefore in the second year of the Christian era. *Cluver* (Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 542.) holds the remains of beams and woodwork in his times dug up in the sands and bogs of the Moor of Bretansch (Bre-

tansch-Haide), in the line of the towns of Ham, Alem, and Lurighausen, in Westphalia, to be the remnants of the causeway of Domitius. See also *Schaten*, Hist. Westph. p. 55, who concurs.

hardihood, and endurance could place him upon an equality with the enemy. But Cæcina was not a Varus;²⁴ throughout the first day the soldiers continued the unequal struggle with admirable perseverance. Yet darkness brought them scarcely any respite from their labours and sufferings. The active enemy were upon the alert all night. They had, it seems, contrived to dam up the waters upon the high grounds; and, opening the sluices, flooded the stations and drowned the works of the Romans, whose labours were thus rendered doubly exhausting.

Night attacks;
the Germans
flood the works
of the Romans.

They become
dejected; but
by great ex-
ertion Cæcina
clears the
marsh

Dejection was fast spreading among their ranks. In such a position Cæcina knew that inaction must be fatal; he therefore made a powerful effort to clear the woods on his flanks; he formed one legion on the right and a second on the left of the causeway, with a strong advanced guard on the half-finished road, and a third legion to protect the rear. A narrow space of firm ground, lying between the forest and the fen, enabled him to make these dispositions. The baggage was sent forward along the very skirts of the woods. After a day of incessant fighting, great bloodshed, and fatigue, he succeeded in reaching the extremity of the marsh, and encamped for the night upon stronger ground.

and encamps
for the night.
Nocturnal
alarms.

This night, like the first, was spent in watchfulness and incessant alarms; the woods resounded with the festivities and triumphant yells of the barbarians. The fires of the Romans burnt dimly and ominously; and their very voices were broken into hoarse whispers as they lay down dejectedly beneath the intrenchments, or wandered in restless anxiety from tent to tent. The contagion of superstitious alarm assailed even the stout heart of Cæcina; the boding silence of the camp, the similarity of his own position, the exulting cries of the barbarians around him, brought to his mind the last night of Varus in the forest of Teutoburg, and conjured up the bleeding and mutilated form of that unfortunate leader to his terrified imagination. The dawn of day brought no better prospects along with it. The line of march was repeatedly broken through by the Germans; the troops, crowding together for mutual support, became confused and disordered; the baggage sunk immoveably in the deep soil. Arminius was seen cheering on his countrymen to the battle. "Behold!" he exclaimed, "Varus and his legions again! let the same fate overtake these new invaders."

Cæcina quits
his encamp-
ment and sa-
crifices his
baggage.

The Romans were falling fast beneath the spears of their enemies: the cavalry slid about upon a soil slippery with slaughter: the horse of Cæcina was killed under him, and he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. The rapacity of the barbarians once more proved

Rapacity of
the barbarians.

²⁴ Schaten, Hist. Westph. c. 56.

the salvation of the army; a part of the baggage was abandoned to them; and while they were intent upon plunder, the Romans gained time to surround themselves with intrenchments strong enough to afford an asylum for another night. But the loss of the greater part of their trenching tools rendered the work toilsome and inefficient; the tents of the army, the dressings for the wounded, had all been abandoned to the enemy. In this destitute condition the soldiery divided out their last remaining meal, soiled as it was with mud and gore: the stoutest hearts burst into loud lamentations that the light of another day should see the death of so many thousands. A false alarm in the night had nearly precipitated the destruction to which all now looked forward as a certain consummation: a horse broke loose from its tether, and the shouts of the pursuers spread a panic through the camp: the whole army rushed towards the gate opposite to that at which the disturbance had arisen: Cæcina was the first to perceive the error; he ran towards the gate, and finding exhortations and assurances vain, he threw himself prostrate across the aperture, that the soldiers might pass over the body of their commander if they persevered in their shameful flight. This appeal to their compassion and sense of honour succeeded; order and discipline were restored, but hope came not along with them.

In this desperate condition the military collectedness and experience of Cæcina suggested an expedient which had been rarely known to fail against a barbarian enemy elated by success. He directed the troops to lie close within their intrenchments, trusting that the enemy, emboldened by the dreadful losses the army had already sustained, and the appearance of dejection which their inactivity would carry with it, might make one of those heedless attacks from which the Romans had on many occasions derived such signal advantages.

With this view, the legions, reduced and worn out as they were, took their stations in silent expectation of the issue. Meanwhile the exulting Germans, who now regarded the destruction of Cæcina as certain, pressed their commanders to lead them to the assault of the camp and end the war at a blow: Arminius dissuaded: he advised his countrymen to permit the Romans to put themselves once more in march, and then to surround and harass them by those incessant attacks which had already reduced them to extremity. Inguiomar, on the contrary, urged that a general storm upon the Roman camp could not now fail of success, and that the victory thus decided would throw more captives into their hands, and preserve the booty in better condition for them. This advice suited the greedy and confident temper of barbarians. Accordingly, at break of day, the Roman lines were fiercely assaulted.

Melancholy prospects of the Romans.

Cæcina resolves to await the attack of the Germans within his intrenchments.

The elated Germans determine to attack him contrary to the advice of Arminius.

The assault is repelled with great loss; and the Romans effect their retreat to the Rhine without further difficulty.

The besieged troops allowed the enemy to fill up the ditches, to raise mounds against the intrenchments, and even to mount the walls; few soldiers were seen on the rampart; and those who were seemed motionless with terror. When the entire barbarian host had thus committed itself in one tumultuous assault, the anxiously expected signal was given. The ground around the camp was open and unencumbered—a fair field for Roman tactics and valour; the Germans had flung away all order and caution; and the Roman cohorts found little difficulty in inflicting upon them a severe and well-merited defeat. Inguiomar escaped wounded; Arminius was unharmed; but an opportunity was lost of striking a blow which would have lamed the nerve even of Roman vanity, and finally stamped the forests and swamps of Germany as doomed and unapproachable ground. But now the charm which the Varian overthrow had thrown around it was dissolved; and the soldier became convinced that, as long as he did not desert himself, the discipline and tactics of Rome would bear him safely through every contingency of barbarian warfare.²⁵

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, prevents the breaking down of the bridges, and succours the distressed legions.

No impediment stood in the way of an unmolested retreat to the Rhine. There all was confusion and terror. A report prevailed that the legions of Cæcina had been cut off like those of Varus, and that the victorious Germans were in full march to invade Gaul. The garrison troops were in the act of breaking down the bridges and destroying or abandoning their posts, when the wife of Germanicus, the heroic Agrippina, by her presence of mind, and the influence her great qualities had acquired for her both in the army and the state, interfered to save them from the disgrace of flight, and the exhausted troops of Cæcina from utter famine and destitution. Her presence and activity shed consolation and comfort among their wearied ranks, she supplied them with provisions, and with her own hands served out dressings for the wounded.

Retreat of Vitellius. He loses his baggage by the sea-floods.

The retreat of Germanicus by sea was attended with many dangers. The two legions of Vitellius, in consequence of their ignorance of the tides and the sudden setting in of the autumnal gales, lost their entire baggage and camp equipage, besides many soldiers drowned, before they reached the place of embarkation. When the army was collected in winter-quarters, it was found so much reduced, that the entire resources of Gaul, Spain, and Italy were put in requisition to supply its

²⁵ *Tac. Ann. c. 63—69.* The conduct of Cæcina was a skillful repetition of the stratagem of Cæsar upon his advance to the relief of Cicero when besieged by the Nervii (*Comm. lib. v.*

c. 50); and of that of Labienus against the Treviri of Induciomarus.—*Comm. lib. v. c. 57 and 58, and lib. vi. c. 7 and 8.* The uniform success of this species of stratagem is remarkable.

losses in horses, arms, equipage, and treasure.²⁶ The expedition, though skilfully planned and executed, was extremely disastrous to the army engaged in it. The departure from the circumspect policy of Augustus was in itself an error to which the crafty and cautious Tiberius could not long remain insensible; and whatever praise may have been due to Germanicus as a soldier, the failure of three successive campaigns must have greatly shaken his credit as a statesman, and increased the emperor's anxiety to revert to sounder views. To the Germans, on the other hand, decisive success was rendered unattainable, not by any errors of their leader, but by the ordinary presumption and insubordination characteristic of barbarian warfare. Arminius alone stands forth, in the narrative of Tacitus, superior to reproach, at once the wisest of his country's counsellors and the ablest of her generals.²⁷

Campaign disastrous to the Romans, and indecisive as to the Germans; errors of both parties.

Germanicus, though aware that his removal from the command was at hand, still clung to the hope of recovering the conquests of his father in Germany.²⁸ Tiberius, we are told, envied him his barren victories, and was jealous of his extraordinary influence over the army; yet he did not oppose the recruiting and re-equipment of the Rhenish corps; Germanicus was permitted to denude Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and to lavish his private fortune upon preparations for a fourth campaign.

Germanicus prepares for another campaign.

By this time, however, the neighbouring Gallic provinces were found incapable of supplying the necessary horses, stores, and baggage-carts for these distant and expensive land campaigns; and Germanicus was now fully convinced of the dangers of a long retreat through a country without practicable roads, and intersected with deep rivers, forests, and swamps. Accordingly he determined to build a fleet of ships numerous enough to embark and provision the entire army for the season. It was to consist of better and more manageable sea-boats than his former vessels were, and to be furnished with a proper number of flat-bottomed craft to enable him to navigate the flats and shoals of the

A. D. 16.
Fourth expedition of Germanicus.

He fits out a fleet.

²⁶ "Cæterum ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italia; quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum, offerentes: quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propriâ pecuniâ militem juvat utque *cladis memoriam* etiam leniret," &c. —*Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 71.* This is *de facto* a confession of disappointment and defeat.

²⁷ That prejudice and vanity which so seriously impairs the credit of every other Roman historian, hardly finds a resting place in the candid and generous spirit of Tacitus when he has the means of ascertaining the truth. Arminius, and not Germanicus, is the hero of his

narrative, from the 55th to the 72d chapter of the 1st book of his *Annals*. In proof of this, we may refer the reader by anticipation to the philosophical eulogium upon Arminius, inserted in the concluding chapter of the second *Annals*.

²⁸ *Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 5.* It is by no means clear that the reasons which afterwards induced Tiberius to remove Germanicus from the command in Germany were of so purely selfish a nature as Tacitus suggests. There was more of brilliancy than solidity in his achievements; they were exceedingly expensive both in men and money, and added nothing to the substantial power of the empire.

Silius attacks
the Chatti;

Germanicus
relieves the
castle of Aliso,

and embarks.

He marches to
the Weser.
Interview be-
tween Armi-
nius and his
brother Fla-
vius.

Westphalian rivers.²⁹ While this fleet was fitting out, he despatched the legate Silius upon an expedition against the Chatti, and hastened himself with six legions to the relief of the castle of Aliso, which was besieged by the Cheruscan confederates. Impeded by the stormy state of the weather, Silius collected only a little booty, and carried off the wife and daughter of a chief of the Chatti. At the approach of Germanicus the Cherusicans abandoned the siege of Aliso; and the Romans found the funeral mound erected to the memory of the Varian legions demolished by the Germans. He restored the altar on the Weser in honour of Drusus, which had suffered the same fate; and secured the communication of the fortress of Aliso with the Rhine by a new series of fortified posts and military roads. Germanicus then retired to the territory of the Batavi, and embarked his army on board a fleet of one thousand ships, with which he sailed into the North Sea,³⁰ and landed at the mouth of the Ems.

After chastising the Angrivarii, who had rebelled, he marched directly towards the Weser, where Arminius had taken up a position with the intention of giving battle. Both Arminius and his brother, to whom Tacitus gives the name of Flavins, had received their military education in Gaul and Italy among the German auxiliary troops in the pay of Rome. Many of the persons thus engaged had by this time grown grey in foreign service; their honours and distinctions, even their military prejudices, were Roman. Flavins was one of this class; and now, without scruple, bore arms against his country. When the Romans came in sight of the enemy, Arminius sent to request an interview with his relative. Flavins obtained Cæsar's permission, and the brothers met on the opposite banks of the Weser which flowed between the hostile encampments. Flavins had lost an eye in the service of Rome; Arminius inquired,—“Where he had received his hurt?” The other named the place and the occasion:—“And what was the reward?” again inquired Arminius.—“Increase of pay, a chain of honour, a crown, and other military distinctions.” Arminius laughed to scorn these poor wages of servitude. Flavins in turn enlarged upon the greatness of Rome, the power of Cæsar, and the severe chastisement inflicted upon the conquered; he extolled the ever-ready clemency of the empire towards repentant rebels, and assured him that if he returned to his allegiance, neither his wife nor his child would be any longer regarded as enemies. Arminius, without replying to considerations so purely

²⁹ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 5 and 6.

³⁰ By the canal of Drusus and the Zuyder-Zee.—Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 6.

selfish, addressed himself to the better feelings of Flavius:—"Your country," he said, "claims you; the ancient liberties, the household gods of Germany call upon you; the mother that bore us both joins her voice with theirs, and implores you to take your natural place as a chief of your people, rather than remain an alien and a traitor to country, kindred, and friends." But these attempts at mutual persuasion were succeeded by angry remonstrances, reproaches, and menaces; the interposing river alone prevented the hostile brothers from imbruing their hands in each other's blood. Flavius, in a phrenzy of passion, called for horse and arms to pursue the insolent rebel; and Arminius retired challenging the traitor to the field.³¹

Ends in mutual reproaches and defiance.

On the following day the Germans appeared inclined to dispute the passage of the river; Germanicus, therefore, sent Stertinius and Æmilius across with the cavalry at a distant ford to sweep the ground in front and to clear the opposite bank of the enemy, for the purpose of constructing and fortifying a proper bridge to secure the retreat of the army in case of mishap. Meanwhile, Cariovalda, general of the Batavi, led his troops, consisting of expert swimmers, over the river where the current was most rapid. The Germans feigned flight, and drew the Batavians into an ambush among the woods. Cariovalda fell, and with him many of the most distinguished of his officers; the Roman cavalry who had crossed by the ford with difficulty extricated the remainder. The Germans then retired into the woods, and suffered the enemy to complete their bridge and cross the river unmolested.³²

The Romans attempt to cross the river.

The Batavians, under Cariovalda, swim across, are drawn into an ambush, and defeated; Cariovalda is killed; but the Romans complete their bridge and cross the river.

We now approach another of those ambiguous conflicts from which the Romans claim so much honour, yet reaped so little real advantage. Germanicus had received information, confirmed by the sounds issuing from the forests in his front, the neighing of horses, and the glimmering of watchfires through the foliage, that Arminius had taken his final stand a short distance off, in a grove sacred to the German Hercules, and that he intended to make a nocturnal attack upon the camp. The conduct of Germanicus at this juncture deserves notice: whether he doubted the spirit of his troops after the last year's reverses, or whether he felt insecure of the fidelity and zeal of his officers on the eve of a decisive engagement, we are told that he passed in disguise through the army in the dead of night, listening to the conversation of the soldiers in their tents and at their meals. All he heard convinced him that the confidence of the army in their leader was unimpaired, and that their hatred of the enemy had suffered no diminution. The expected

Position of Arminius.

Anxiety of Germanicus respecting the disposition of his troops.

³¹ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 8, 9, 10.

³² Ibid. c. 11.

attack did not take place, and he retired with a lightened heart to his tent, and propitious dreams confirmed his confidence in the issue of the approaching battle.³³

Both leaders harangue the armies.

According to Roman custom on the eve of a general engagement, Germanicus called a meeting of the army, and addressed such topics to the troops as seemed best calculated to stimulate their courage; and, perhaps, to alleviate apprehension. Disparagement of his adversaries formed the substance of his speech:—"The Germans," he assured them, "were but indifferently armed; and though their onset might be formidable, yet they were impatient of wounds and insensible to the disgrace of deserting their leaders; though in success they were ferocious and cruel, yet in distress they were but skulkers and cowards." On the other side, Arminius is made to urge topics too false and extravagant even for barbarian credulity to have listened to. "These Romans," he is made to say, "were but the refuse of the Varian army, who, to avoid the service, had mutinied against their officers:—men with scars on their backs, and limbs disabled by the buffeting of winds and waves—dastards who had come by sea to escape facing an enemy by land, and secure a shameful retreat if beaten. But in vain shall they rely for safety upon winds and oars when compelled to fight hand to hand." The concluding exhortation is natural:—"Remember," he exclaimed, "their rapacity, their cruelty, their pride: bear in mind that you have now no resource but to maintain your liberty, or to die."³⁴

Battle of Idistavisa.

The German army was strongly posted upon a plain to which Tacitus gives the name of *Idistavisa*,³⁵ between the river Weser and a line of irregular hills. The main body, as usual, rested upon an open forest, the greater part of them concealed within its recesses. The wings, consisting of the Cheruscan warriors, were thrown forward and posted upon the high grounds in advance of the position, ready to flank the Roman attack. While Germanicus was making his dispositions for the battle, and before any part of his army was committed to the assault, the Cherusicans rashly abandoned the defensive system upon which the order of battle was founded; they rushed impetuously upon the Roman skirmishers; the cavalry instantly charged them in flank and rear at once, and dispersed them with great slaughter. After this the main body withdrew into the woods; some detached corps were pushed into the river; Arminius was

The Cherusicans abandon their defensive position and rashly attack the Romans; they are dispersed with slaughter. Arminius wounded.

³³ Ibid. c. 13.—*Luden* (vol. i. p. 293.) makes more of the matter than there is any reason for.

³⁴ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 15. But how so, if the enemy were indeed so contemptible?

³⁵ *M. Pfister*, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 97,

note 1, suggests an etymology. A Roman is supposed to point to the plain and inquire its name: the barbarian replies—"It ist a visa," it is a meadow. Modern German—*Es ist eine wiese*.

wounded, and Inguiomar is said to have escaped only by cutting his way through the enemy. Thus much of the account of Tacitus³⁶ is, at least, consistent. The sequel of his narrative, however, throws a doubt upon the whole. He adds, that the rout of the Germans was total and decisive; that the slaughter lasted from an early hour in the morning till nightfall, and that the country, to a distance of ten miles from the field of battle, was covered with their slain; that the Romans then erected a mound in token of victory, with the names of the vanquished nations inscribed upon it; and that the barbarians were so exasperated by this insult, that, abandoning their resolution of retiring beyond the Elbe, and forgetful of wounds, and sorrow, and defeat, they again flew to arms; that they made a sudden and well-concerted onset upon the Romans, and threw them into disorder.³⁷

The result of this attack is not mentioned; but on the following day the routed army is again found in position between the river and the woods, inclosed by deep swamps, and by a vallum or mound, which formed the boundary between the Cheruscan and Angrivarian territory. The front was accessible only through thick woods; their cavalry was kept out of sight, ready to fall upon the legions as soon as they should be involved in the intricate and difficult approaches to their position. Germanicus, after surveying the enemy's line, directed Tubero with the cavalry to penetrate to the front of the Germans posted in the plain. One division of infantry was ordered to assail the wood, and another to attack the mound on the opposite wing. Germanicus led the latter column in person. The assault here was repelled, and the soldiers were withdrawn till the machines for casting stones and missiles could be brought up to dislodge the defenders. Against this species of artillery the naked Germans could offer no effectual resistance; their warriors were swept from the rampart, and the Romans entered the forests in that direction, while the infantry on the opposite quarter, and the cavalry in front, found little difficulty in establishing themselves on the open front of the German position. But here the Romans found themselves inclosed between the river and the line of forest-hills occupied by the enemy; while, on the other hand, the retreat of the latter was cut off by impassable marshes in their rear: both parties seemed tied to the stake, with little chance of safety but in victory. Accordingly the contest was obstinate and sanguinary; Arminius was disabled by his recent wound from taking an active share in the engagement; but the lion-hearted Inguiomar

The Germans rally on the following day, and take up a new position.

Germanicus again attacks them.

The Germans dislodged from a part of their position.

Desperate conflict.

³⁶ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 17.

³⁷ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 19.

flew from one part of the line to the other, encouraging all by his example and presence. On the opposite side, Germanicus exposed himself in the front of the battle. In order to render his person the more conspicuous, he rode without his helmet, calling to his soldiers to slay on and spare none, for nothing but the extirpation of the vanquished would put an end to the war.

The issue of the battle doubtful.

Germanicus master of the field of battle; he erects a trophy,

The issue of the battle is, upon the account of Tacitus, left altogether doubtful. At a late period of the day, it is said Germanicus withdrew a legion from his line of battle to fortify a camp; to which, at nightfall, when satiated with slaughter, the whole army retired. The cavalry, he adds, fought with doubtful success; which could not have been with propriety said of them if the victory had been decisive, since, at the close of a successful battle, they are the principal and almost indispensable agents in completing the destruction and dispersion of an enemy. In this case, moreover, we hear of no booty taken, excepting a quantity of arms picked up on the field, of which the Cæsar reared a trophy with one of those vaunting legends so common during the decline of Roman greatness, purporting that—"the army of Tiberius Cæsar, after vanquishing all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, had erected that monument to Mars, to Jupiter, and to Augustus."³⁸

and retreats before the season for military operations is half consumed. He embarks on the Ems.

But, in fact, the Romans, under Germanicus, had never reached the Elbe, and had not even come in contact with all the nations between the Rhine and that river; the season for military operations was not yet half consumed; yet, in the month of July, Germanicus withdrew his army to the mouth of the Ems, embarked the main body on board his fleet lying there, and sent the remainder by land to their quarters on the Rhine.³⁹

Wreck and dispersion of the Roman fleet on its homeward voyage.

Shortly after the fleet had quitted the river, it was overtaken by one of those northern gales against which the row-boats of the Romans were but ill provided. Many of them foundered at sea, others were wrecked on the coasts of the Chauci and Angrivarii; others again were driven into the wide ocean, and obliged to take refuge in the ports of the barbarian Britons;—many horses and cattle perished; a great quantity of arms and stores was lost or spoiled; and, when the gale subsided, Germanicus was enabled to collect but a small squadron of the stoutest ships; but with these, regardless of the perils he had just escaped, he gallantly proceeded in search of his wrecked and scattered companions. By degrees many stragglers dropped in from the British coasts, or from the more distant shores and islands of the North Sea;—nor did the im-

³⁸ *Debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus, exercitum Tiberii Cæsaris ea monumenta*

Marti et Jovi et Augusto sacravisse.—Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 23.

³⁹ *Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 24.*

mense amount of the loss become apparent till all who could be reasonably supposed to have survived the tempest were collected.

The report of the destruction of the fleet was not slow in reaching the Germans. With heroic and, in this instance, politic promptitude, Germanicus resolved, by a sudden incursion upon the Chatti, to impress the enemy with the conviction that a power which, after such incalculable losses, could, with unsubdued spirit and unimpaired means, fall upon its enemies, must be beyond the reach of Fortune herself.⁴⁰ But no other advantage resulted from this expedition than the recapture of the last of the missing eagles of the Varian legions. The troops were then placed in winter-quarters. The entire campaign had been a series of disasters, partially disguised by a few brilliant but barren deeds of arms. Not a foot of ground was gained; the fall of Varus was unavenged; in spite of domestic enemies, public discord and treason, a severe wound, and the loss of two well-contested and bloody battles, the power of Arminius, the capital enemy, whose destruction was the loudly proclaimed object of the expedition, remained unbroken,—his influence undiminished,—his country free.⁴¹

Germanicus employs the remainder of the season in an incursion against the Chatti,

and places his troops in winter-quarters. Losses of the Romans; their victories barren.

The real amount and value of the much-vaunted successes of Germanicus could not escape the observation of the sagacious Tiberius. The former, with a spirit unsubdued by experience, still regarded the conquest of Germany as the sure reward of another campaign. Tiberius judged otherwise. "There had been," he said, "enough of achievements, enough of calamity, enough of victory;—he had, he declared, himself effected greater things in that country by adroit management than had ever yet been accomplished by arms; nor did he doubt that the Cherusci and the other rebellious nations might, after consulting the vengeance due to Rome, be safely left to the effects of internal discord." The hesitation of Germanicus brought a repetition of the command, with the sarcastic observation, that if the war was still to be continued, he ought not to grudge his brother Drusus the only opportunity afforded him to earn his laurels, and to acquire the title of Emperor, since there was not at the moment a single enemy in arms against the empire excepting the Germans. The Cæsar obeyed, and went to Rome to celebrate a triumph over an unconquered people.⁴²

Tiberius resolves to recall Germanicus,

who gives up the command.

On the 26th of May, in the seventeenth year of the Christian era, Germanicus triumphed over the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angrivarii, and all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe. Pictures of the mountains and

May 26th, A. U. C. 770. A. D. 17. Triumph of Germanicus.

⁴⁰ "Nullis casibus superabiles." *Tac. Ann.* lib. ii. c. 25.

⁴¹ *Pfister*, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 101.

⁴² *Tac. Ann.* lib. ii. c. 26.

Siegismund,
Sithiacus,
Libys, Theu-
derich,

Thusnelda, and
her son Thu-
melicus, led in
triumph.

rivers which had been crossed, and of the battles fought, were exhibited to the wondering gaze of the populace. Siegismund and Sithiacus, sons of Segestes and Siegemir, the friends of the Roman people, and even the wife of the latter, figured among the captives. Libys, a priest, and Theuderich, a chief of the Sicambri, with captives of various ranks and long standing, followed in the procession. But the great ornaments of this mean and disgraceful exhibition were the noble Thusnelda and her infant son Thumelicus, then in the third year of his age. Segestes himself was present as a spectator of the degrading scene,—a becoming recompense for his infatuation and treason.⁴³

⁴³ *Strabo*, lib. vii. gives a detailed account of this worthless triumph. Tacitus sneers at it,—“*Bellumque, quia conficere prohibitum erat, pro confecto accipiebatur*,” i. e. by the ignorant and cheated crowd. *Tac. Ann.* lib. ii. c. 41. A coin of an equally veracious character was struck upon the occasion, with an inscription on the reverse, “*Signis receptis: devictis Germanis*.” *Mascou*, vol. i. book iv. § 17.

Germanicus died two years afterwards, in Syria, not without suspicion of poison. Thusnelda was transferred to Ravenna; her son Thumelicus, according to Tacitus, grew up there an object of mockery and contempt to the wretchedly demoralized Italians. “*Educatus Ravennæ puer, mox ludibrio conflictatus*.” *Ann.* lib. i. c. 58.

CHAP. IV.

ROME ABANDONS HER SCHEME OF CONQUEST, FOMENTS DISCORD IN GERMANY, AND SUPPRESSES A GREAT INSURRECTION OF THE BATAVIANS.

SEC. I. A. D. 19.

Wars between Arminius and Marbod—Defeat of the latter—Policy of Tiberius—Marbod expelled by Catualda—Death of Arminius.

NOT long after the expulsion of Germanicus, the propriety of the policy recommended by Tiberius was proved by the event. As soon as the pressure of the Roman arms was removed, the Suevic Markmannen under Marbod, and the Cherusci under Arminius, became embroiled with one another. The causes of this war are not satisfactorily assigned. The natural restlessness of the Germans, their love of war, their jealousy of their neighbours, the popular character of the power of Arminius, the obnoxious form of Marbod's authority,—one or all these causes together seem to have led to the rupture, without any specific grievance on either side.¹ The several members of the Cheruscan and Markmannic confederacies appear to have taken the part which seemed best to them. The Longobardi and the Semnones, two Suevic tribes, went over to Arminius; while Inguiomar deserted to Marbod, for no better reason, known to Tacitus, than that he thought it derogatory to serve under a nephew, his junior in years and station.² A great battle was fought, less interesting in its detail than its consequences. The right wings of both armies were routed with great slaughter, and the fortune of the day was so nearly balanced, that both parties looked forward with confidence to a renewal of the contest on the morrow. But Marbod, not choosing to risk all upon one engagement, and mistaking the true nature of his situation, withdrew his army to stronger ground. This was regarded as a confession of defeat; his partizans deserted him; he was

War between
Arminius and
Marbod.

Marbod is de-
feated.

¹ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 44.

² Ann. lib. ii. c. 45. The speeches Tacitus

puts into the mouths of the German heroes are much too Roman. See lib. ii. cc. 45 and 46.

obliged to retire hastily into the territories of his Markmannen, and, in the end, to apply to Tiberius for assistance. The emperor replied, that he knew of no claim he could have upon Rome against the Cheruskans, seeing that, when the Romans were at war with that people, he had not stirred to their assistance. He, however, sent his son Drusus in the assumed character of a mediator, but with instructions to do his best in fomenting discord among the German nations, and to accomplish the downfall of the tottering power of Marbod.

Marbod throws himself upon the protection of Tiberius,

under a verbal pledge for his personal liberty :

A proper instrument for this insidious purpose speedily presented itself. Catualda, a young chief of the Gothones, a nation subject to the Markmanic kingdom, had been driven into exile by Marbod. The precarious state of the Suevic king's affairs now encouraged him to seek redress and vengeance for the wrongs he had suffered. He collected a considerable body of adherents, and, at the instigation of the Romans, invaded the lands of the Markmannen, broke into their capital town, stormed the adjacent castle, and possessed himself of all the treasures of Marbod, besides the accumulated stores of the Roman merchants and suttlers who had fixed themselves there for the purposes of traffic.³ After this disaster, Marbod, forsaken by all, determined to throw himself upon the protection of Tiberius. He passed the Danube into Noricum, and wrote to the emperor in confident language, reminding him of the preference he had always manifested for the alliance of Rome over that of the many nations who had courted his friendship while he was yet a powerful king.⁴ Tiberius replied, "that he might rely upon a safe and honourable retreat in Italy if he chose to reside there; and that if his affairs conducted him elsewhere, he might depart as freely as he came." But while he held this friendly language to Marbod in private, he declared publicly in the senate that Philip of Macedon had not been a more dangerous enemy to Athens, nor Pyrrhus nor Antiochus to Rome, than this very Marbod; he enlarged at the same time upon the distinguished talents of the individual, the fierce and warlike character of the nations whom he once ruled over, their dangerous proximity to the empire, and his own good

* The words of Tacitus (Ann. lib. ii. c. 62.) deserve to be noticed:—"Veteres illie Suevorum prædæ, et nostris e provinciis lixæ ac negotiatores reperti, quos jus commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriæ, suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulit." The words "hostilis ager" were not applicable to the dominions of Marbod, who was actually at peace with the Romans; yet so narrow were the notions of Roman patriotism, that their own merchants, settled in a foreign

land for the legitimate purposes of commerce, were not regarded as under the protection of the state.

⁴ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 63. It can hardly be questioned that Marbod alluded to the advantageous treaty concluded with Tiberius at the breaking out of the great Illyrian and Pannonian rebellion in the sixth year of Christ, (see p. 106) and that the preference for which he gives himself credit consisted in his rejection of the overtures of the insurgents.

management in effecting the downfall of so formidable a power. The unfortunate prince, relying upon the solemn pledge of safety and freedom he had received, came into Italy; and, as may be readily conceived, was never allowed to quit that country more. He was detained for eighteen years in custody at Ravenna, with a view of putting him forward in case the Suevi should again turn restive.⁵ But no occasion presented itself for making such a use of the prisoner. Marbod grew grey in captivity, and incurred the contempt of his jailers for awaiting the natural termination of his existence in the degraded condition to which their own treachery had reduced him.⁶

but is detained at Ravenna till his death, eighteen years afterwards.

The story of Catualda, the new sovereign of the Suevic Markmannen whom the Romans had set up in the place of Marbod, is still more brief.⁷ After a short reign, the Hermunduri, the close allies of the empire, were let loose upon him under a leader named Vibilius. Catualda was defeated and expelled. Like his late rival, he took refuge under the insidious protection of Rome, and was detained at Forum Julium,⁸ in the Narbonensian Gaul. The trains or Geleits, both of Marbod and Catualda, had followed their leaders to the frontiers, but were not allowed to proceed farther lest they should disturb the tranquillity of the provinces. A district, however, was assigned to them on the left bank of the Danube, near its confluence with the Marosch or Marsch, in the modern kingdom of Hungary, where they were allowed to settle under the sovereignty of a Quadian prince named Vannius.

Catualda is shortly afterwards expelled by the Hermunduri at the secret instigation of Rome;

he flies to the empire, and is detained at Forum Julium in Gaul.

Their followers are settled on the river Marosch in modern Hungary. A. D. 19.

Thus far the statesman-like views of Tiberius expressed in his letters of recall to Germanicus⁹ had been amply justified. It was sufficiently proved that the turbulent barbarians might be abandoned, with some small aid from Roman craft, to the destructive operation of their own violent passions. The same views were about to receive further confirmation in the fall of one before whom the stoutest hearts of Rome had more than once been made to quail. "I find," says Tacitus, "among the writers of those times, that letters from Adgandestrius, a prince of the Chatti, were read in the senate, proposing to put Arminius to death if poison were sent him for that purpose. The answer returned was, that the Romans were not in the habit of revenging themselves upon

The proposal of Adgandestrius, a prince of the Chatti, to poison Arminius, is rejected by Tiberius;

⁵ "Si quando insolescerent Suevi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur." *Tac. Ann.* lib. ii. c. 63.

⁶ Comp. *Tac.* (ubi sup.) with *Sueton.* in *Tib.* c. 37. and *Eutrop.* lib. vii. c. 6. "Consenuit," says Tacitus, "multum imminutâ claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupiditatem." c. 63.

⁷ The expression of Tacitus, (*Ann.* lib. ii. c. 63.) "Idem Catualdæ casus, &c." seems to authorize the inference that he was overthrown by the same practices as those which had proved so successful against Marbod.

⁸ The modern Frejus.

⁹ See *Tac. Ann.* ii. c. 26. and p. 131 of this history.

but becoming unpopular by aiming at the sovereignty, Arminius is killed by his own kinsfolk. His character.

their enemies by secret assassination, but by fair and open warfare; for which dignified reply Tiberius took credit to himself as placing him upon a level with those ancient imperators who discountenanced and revealed the plot for poisoning king Pyrrhus. But be this as it may, after the departure of the Romans and the expulsion of Marbod, Arminius became unpopular by aiming at sovereign power. Then, having had recourse to arms, and fought for some time with various success, he at length fell by the treachery of his kinsfolk. He was, beyond all doubt, the liberator of Germany; one who shook the dominion of the Roman people, not in the weakness of infancy as other princes and leaders had done before him, but in the pride and maturity of its power; of questionable success in the field, yet in war unconquered. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of its power. His memory lives in the songs of his barbarian countrymen: unknown indeed to the annals of the Greeks, who notice none but their own worthies; and of moderate fame among us Romans, who, while we extol the past, neglect the excellent of more recent times."¹⁰

SECTION II. A.D. 19—68.

Frisian War—Change of Political Connexions in Germany—Corbulo and Gannascus—Verrit and Malorich—Vangio and Sido—Battle of the Cherusicans and Hermunduri.

The Roman allies—Batavi, Caninefates, and Frisii—are treated with forbearance and good faith by Augustus and Tiberius.

For a period of nearly fifty years after the death of Arminius the history of Germany consists of little more than disjointed notices of single tribes, principally those whom vicinity to the frontiers of the empire or ancient connexion with Rome brought under the notice of the Roman writers. The free border-tribes began to attract more attention as the system of provincial administration became more oppressive and corrupt. The subject allies of the empire to the northward of the Rhine, Batavi, Caninefates, and Frisii were, during the reign of Augustus and a part of that of Tiberius, treated with forbearance and good faith. There were indeed Roman residents among them, and fortified stations here and there; but while their neighbours, the provincial Gauls, were a prey to the extortion, pride, and avarice of the Roman governors, the tributes imposed upon these favoured allies seem to have been almost nominal, and the services demanded purely military, or such as suited the habits and prejudices of the people.

A. U. C. 774.
A. D. 21.

Two years after the death of Germanicus, dangerous insurrections broke out among the Treviri and Ædui, which spread rapidly to the interior

¹⁰ Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 88.

provinces of Gaul; and serious fears were entertained at Rome that the rebels would find ready assistants in the free Germanic tribes beyond the Rhine.¹ But these apprehensions were groundless. Since the fall of Arminius and Marbod, the Cherusci and Markmannen had been so deeply immersed in wars and broils that Tiberius did not think it necessary to do more than nourish the flame of discord which he believed would waste their strength and subdue their ferocity. But the fire burned without consuming; war and turmoil were the element in which these energetic and fierce barbarians lived and thrived; their history, indeed, if the whole lay before us, would probably exhibit little else;² and Tiberius was in error if he believed that the causes which operate so destructively upon highly civilized and complicated polities would produce the same effects upon the inartificial frame of barbaric society.³ Yet his policy had the immediate effect of diverting their attention from the empire; and nothing is recorded of them in Roman history for a period of twenty-eight years.⁴

The border tribes of Germany are distracted by mutual wars,

which divert their attention from the empire.

It has been observed, that the fiscal extortions of Rome had not yet penetrated to the allies north of the Rhine. Drusus, we are told, had, in consideration of their poverty, imposed a light tribute upon the Frisii, consisting of neats' hides for the use of the army. Little attention had been paid to the strength or quality of the hides, till Olennius, the captain of the district, chose to demand that they should be of the extraordinary toughness and size of the skin of the Urus or wild bull. These the natives found it impossible to procure; for though their woods might furnish a certain quantity, the greater portion were produced from their domestic cattle, which were mostly small, and not numerous. Upon the first failure of payment their herds were seized,—at the next their lands were sequestered; and, lastly, their wives and children were taken and sold as slaves. Their complaints were not attended to. The whole population flew to arms; and the soldiers employed in collecting the tribute were seized and hanged upon the spot. Olennius took refuge in the castle of Flevus, where he was invested by the Frisii. Lucius Apronius, the proprætor of Lower Germany, hastened to his relief. At his approach the Frisii raised the siege, and took up a position on the coast, protected by tide-flats and low, flooded lands. Apronius attempted

Olennius, the Roman governor of the Frisii, exacts the tribute imposed on them with violence and cruelty.

A. D. 28.
A. U. C. 781.
The people rise in arms and defeat the proprætor L. Apronius,

¹ *Tac. Ann.* iii. c. 44.

² Compare pp. 88 and 89; and generally chap. ii. sect. 2. of this history.

³ The Roman maxim, "Divide et impera," applied with little force to a state of things like that which prevailed in Germany. The principle of union was as rapid and sudden in its

operation as the causes of discord. See p. 97 of this history.

⁴ From the year 19, when Vannius with the remnant of Marbod's and Catualda's followers was settled in Hungary, (see p. 135) down to the year 47, when Italus was made king of the Cherusci. See p. 139.

with great
loss.

The Frisians
are emanci-
pated for the
present.

A.D. 41.
A.U.C. 794.
A war with the
Marsi and
Chatti in the
reign of Clau-
dius.

A.D. 43.

to force the position in front by artificial approaches, and at the same time to out-flank it by the right. But the distances were too great; and the movements were ill-timed and ill-executed. The flank attack failed; the several corps of which it consisted were met and defeated in detail by the Frisii; a part only were saved by the timely advance of the main body to their assistance. The Frisians renewed the attack, and at length compelled the whole Roman army to quit the field with the loss of many distinguished officers and men, and the disgrace of leaving their dead unburied upon the field of battle. So ill-connected were the movements which led to this disaster, or so complete the overthrow, that two bodies, one of nine hundred and the other of four hundred men, were cut off: the former were found wandering in the woods, and were destroyed by the infuriated enemy; the latter made their way to a fortified villa belonging to one Eruptorich,⁵ a retired officer of mercenaries in the Roman service. Their reception there was not such as to encourage them to hope for his protection, and they took refuge from surrender and dishonour in voluntary death. This deep disgrace to the Roman arms was not avenged. Tiberius, absorbed in his own dark and tortuous policy, chose to dissemble the loss so sustained rather than entrust a war to any one.⁶ The Frisians were emancipated from the yoke of Rome, and maintained their liberty thenceforward with firmness, though not always with the desired success.⁷

During the reign of Caligula, whose follies and atrocities incurred a well-deserved fate, no notice of moment occurs relative to the Germanic tribes. But in the beginning of that of his successor, Claudius, we learn incidentally from Dio Cassius that Sulpicius Galba defeated the Chatti, and Publius Gabinius the Marsi. These notices merely indicate that the hostilities between the Romans and the border tribes of the Rhine had not ceased entirely. The same historian remarks, that the third eagle of the Varian legions was recovered upon the former of these occasions.⁸

⁵ The Gronovius edit. of *Tac.* reads "Cruptorich" quasi Chrodorich, or Roderich. *Ann.* lib. iv. c. 73.

⁶ The words of Tacitus are, "Dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permetteret," expressions which leave it doubtful whether he acted from jealousy, or in pursuance of the peaceful but insidious policy he had adopted in his dealings with the Teutonic borderers.

⁷ *Tac. Ann.* lib. iv. c. 72, 73. Compare *Mascon*, *Hist. of the Germ.* vol. i. book iv. c. 23. *Luden*, vol. i. p. 334—337.

⁸ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lx. § 8.—See also *Suet.* in *Claud.* c. 24. This writer attributes a victory

over the Chauci to Gabinius, who thence acquired the surname of *Chaucicus*. The capture of the last of the missing eagles is, as we have seen, attributed by Tacitus to Germanicus (*Ann.* lib. ii. c. 25.), who found it buried in one of the sacred groves of the Chatti. This good fortune will remind the reader of the finding of the true cross, and of many a precious relic during the Holy Wars. The veneration of the legionaries for their eagles was not, perhaps, less profound than that of the soldiers of the cross for the emblem of the faith. It was imperative upon the Roman leaders to recover the three eagles; they were not likely to be unsuccessful.

The Germans, he further tells us, were highly valued by the Romans as auxiliary troops; that Caligula committed his person to a guard of German mercenaries; and that, in the reign of Claudius, the auxiliaries from the right bank of the Rhine, particularly the Batavi, distinguished themselves against the Britons of Essex, and took an important part in the capture of their capital, Camelodunum.⁹

In the absence of connected history, single incidents sometimes throw a singularly strong light upon the internal condition of nations. Of this nature is an event mentioned by Tacitus to have occurred in the reign of Claudius. It appears that, ever since the death of Arminius, the Cherusicans had suffered the extremes of anarchy and civil distraction. Most of their nobles had perished, and of all their chiefs a single scion alone remained, and *he* was the son of a traitor and dwelt at Rome. But weary of mutual slaughter, it appears that, with the thoughtlessness of barbarians, who rarely have more than one object in view at a time, and as rarely know more than one way of arriving at it, a large party was found willing to overlook the important considerations that Italus, the son of Flavius, the traitor-brother to the heroic Arminius, was a Roman by hereditary prejudice, by birth, and by education. There remained, however, no one else to represent that ancient line of princes to which the Cheruscan nation was so strongly attached. An embassy was therefore sent to Rome to offer the chieftainship to Italus: Claudius readily consented; he furnished the prince with money and a body of stipendiary troops, and dismissed him with an intimation, that though he was now raised to the proud station of a sovereign prince, no elevation could absolve him from his allegiance to the country of his birth, or from his duties as a Roman citizen.

A.D. 47.
Cherusicans
distracted by
civil wars.

Solicit Italus,
son of Flavius,
the brother of
Arminius,
from the Ro-
mans for their
chief or king;

Claudius con-
sents.

Italus appears to have possessed popular talents, and for a time both parties were pleased with each other. It is not known how long this unusual concord lasted; but, after a time, the more restless spirits began to discover that he was too much of a Roman for them; they regarded his continuance in power as dangerous to German liberty, and exasperated the neighbouring tribes by imputing to him all the unpatriotic sentiments and offences of his father Flavius. But his friends still formed the majority in numbers and influence; they defended him by setting off the merits of his ancestors against the demerits of his parent; they excused the latter upon the ground that he was not to be blamed for maintaining inviolate that faith which he had contracted with the full sanction of his country; and that the objections set up against his son

Italus is popu-
lar among his
new subjects
at first; but
an adverse
party brings
him into sus-
picion among
the neighbour-
ing tribes.

⁹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lx. § 20, 21. Camelodunum, the present borough of Maldon.

were mere pretexts to serve the turn of a few turbulent and ambitious persons. In the civil wars which ensued Italus was probably successful, but, as the conclusion of the narrative of Tacitus implies, without advantage to his country or singular credit to himself.¹⁰

In the meantime the Chauci had either become weary of their connexion with Rome, or, more probably, they had begun to perceive the advantages which the many harbours, æstuaries, and intricacies of their coast presented for maritime adventure. Gannascus, a Caninefate, and formerly a mercenary in the Roman service, had for some time past infested the rich and unwarlike coasts of Gaul with a light piratical squadron. At his instigation, the Chauci were induced to make an incursion into the Roman province of Lower Germany, at a period when, by the death of the governor, Sanguinius Maximus, the legions were deprived of their leader. But Maximus was shortly afterwards succeeded by Domitius Corbulo, a good soldier, who restored the languid discipline of the legions, and rendered them once more formidable to the barbarians. The fleets on the Rhine and on the Batavian coasts were repaired and collected; and running out of the harbours against the light sea-boats of the Chauci, they sank many of them, and pursued Gannascus from the coasts into the interior of the Chaucian territory.

The Frisians, who since the defeat of Apronius had renounced all connexion with Rome, were once more compelled to give hostages, accept Roman garrisons, and receive the magistrates whom Corbulo thought fit to place in office among them. At the same time, under colour of negotiating with the Chauci, he sent assassins with his envoys to murder the restless Gannascus, a proceeding not regarded derogatory to the honour of the empire or of the agents themselves—"Since stratagem," says Tacitus, "was neither unjust nor dishonourable when put in practice against traitors and rebels."¹¹ Accordingly, at Rome, the act of Corbulo was estimated rather by its consequences than its moral merits. The murder of Gannascus broke off the negotiations with the Chauci; the people flew to arms to avenge the death of their leader; but Corbulo, prompt in anticipating the consequences of his own act, advanced with

A civil war ensues.

The Chauci, at the instigation of Gannascus, a Caninefate pirate,

invade the province of Lower Germany. They are repelled by Domitius Corbulo both by land and sea;
A.D. 47.

he compels the Frisians to give hostages and accept Roman garrisons.

He causes Gannascus to be assassinated.

The Chauci rise to avenge their leader; Corbulo advances into their territory;

¹⁰ The story breaks short off with the observation—"Per læta, per adversa res Cheruscas afflictabat." *Tac. Ann. lib. xi. c. 17.*

¹¹ *Ann. xi. c. 19.* Gannascus was regarded as an outlaw, amenable to death wherever he should be found. The Romans made no difference between a hired mercenary and a citizen, as far as respected the obligations of allegiance. If such an one at any time afterwards set up for himself,

or served an unfriendly power, he became, *ipso facto*, a "transfuga," and a "violator fidei," with whom no faith was to be kept. Thus, trivial connexions with Rome, conferring no rights, might still involve men in all the consequences and penalties of treason. The *empire* of Rome, like her genuine successor the *church* of Rome, spread wide the net of allegiance so as to lose no power for want of claiming it.

his legions into the heart of the country. The Roman court, however, inquired, "Why he should have made a new enemy without necessity, and why he exposed the state to dangers?" It was objected by all parties that if success instead of failure had attended the policy of Corbulo, so able a leader as he was must be dangerous to the public peace under so indolent a prince as Claudius; and an imperative order was transmitted to him to withdraw the Roman troops and garrisons to the Cis-Rhenane province. Corbulo, with praiseworthy forbearance, obeyed, though he knew that his compliance exposed the arms of Rome to the mockery of the barbarians and the contempt of her allies.¹²

but is recalled
by Claudius.

In the north of Germany, therefore, we find a reversal of political connexions to have taken place. Within a very few years the Cherusci, once the champions of German liberty, whom the true interests of their country should have kept aloof from all connexion with Rome, had accepted a sovereign at her hands. At the same time the Chauci, the hereditary enemies of the Cherusci, and once the faithful adherents of the empire, had been irretrievably alienated by the foul policy of Corbulo. On the other hand, the conduct of the Chatti, at all times the most numerous and powerful of the Rhenish borderers, exhibited a much greater degree of consistency: they perseveringly nourished their ancient jealousy of the versatile Cherusians; they continued the sworn enemies of Rome; and as soon as the Roman faction became the dominant among the Cherusians, their animosity seems to have broken out into active hostility.¹³

The Cherusci
attach them-
selves to
Rome.

The Chauci
are alienated
by the treach-
ery of Corbulo.

The Chatti
alone are con-
sistent in their
hatred to
Rome and all
connected with
her.

While this disposition existed among the Teutonic nations of the north, Rome had little to fear. A hostile union was not within the scope of possibility, as long as she confined herself to *political* interference merely, or to the repression and punishment of isolated outrages committed on her frontier. This kind of policy, as it happened, suited the temper of the reigning emperor, Claudius. Schemes of conquest were laid aside, and Corbulo wisely occupied his army in a work of utility consistent with the energetic and substantial character of the man; he cut a wide and deep watercourse, a distance of twenty-three miles, connecting the Maas to the Rhine, for draining a part of the Batavian island peculiarly exposed to casual inundations from high winds and tide.¹⁴ About the same time Agrippina, the ambitious and crafty consort of Claudius, added lustre to the ancient Colonia Ubiorum,

But Claudius
declined mili-
tary inter-
ference.

Corbulo and
his army are
employed in
works of pub-
lic utility.

A.D. 50.

¹² Tac. Ann. lib. xi. c. 19, 20.

¹³ See Pfister's remarks, Gesch. der Deutsch. vol. i. p. 113.

¹⁴ Tac. Ann. lib. xi. c. 20. This great work Vol. I.

still forms a principal drain of the province of Holland between the city of Leyden and the village of Sluys on the Maas.—See Cluver, Germ. Antiq. lib. ii. c. 32. p. 462.

A.D. 55.
Pompeius Paul-
linus executes
embankments
on the Lower
Rhine, while
L. Vetus pro-
jects the union
of the Moselle
and the Saone.

the place of her birth, by settling a colony of veterans there, and giving it her name.¹⁵ A few years afterwards, Pompeius Paullinus, the governor of Lower Germany, carried into execution a work projected by Drusus sixty-three years before, for confining the waters of the Rhine within its banks; while Lucius Vetus, in Upper Germany, laid down the levels for a canal intended to join the Saone and the Moselle, and thus complete the water communication between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean.¹⁶

Between the
years
47 and 68.

A.D. 50.
No incidents
of importance
occur between
the years 47
and 68.

A period of twenty years, reckoning from the conclusion of the Chaucian war to the great Batavian insurrection, elapsed, in which but few incidents connected with the history of the northern Germanic nations remain to be noticed. In the year 50 the Chatti made a sudden irruption into Lower Germany. Lucius Pomponius, the legate of the province, repulsed them with the auxiliary troops of the Vangiones and Nemetes alone. Intimidated by defeat, strongly coerced by the forts upon Mount Taunus,¹⁷ and threatened by the Cherusicans in their rear, they hastened to make peace. They sent envoys to Rome, and gave hostages, and Pomponius obtained triumphal honours for this success.¹⁸

A.D. 57.

The Frisians,
under Verrit
and Malorich,
occupy certain
vacant lands
on the Lower
Rhine.

Seven years after this humiliation of the Chatti, the low districts between the river Ems and the Rhine became the scene of a sanguinary border warfare. Dubius Avitus had succeeded Paullinus in the government of Lower Germany. Shortly after he took the command, two Frisian princes, named Verrit and Malorich, put themselves in possession of a vacant district, consisting, probably, of marsh and pasture, on the right bank of the Rhine. This territory, evacuated, as some suppose,¹⁹ by the gradual retreat of the weaker border tribes, had been appropriated by the Romans to the use of the legions.²⁰ The policy of Claudius, and the unusual inactivity of the armies, which resulted from it, had given rise to a report among the barbarians that the governors had been divested of the power of directing military operations. Verrit and

¹⁵ Tac. Ann. lib. xii. c. 26.

¹⁶ Ibid. lib. xiii. c. 53. It should seem that several of the most extensive and useful works for draining and fencing out the tides and river-floods in the Batavian territory must be ascribed to the Romans.

¹⁷ See chap. iii. sect. 1. of this History.

¹⁸ Tac. Ann. lib. xii. c. 27, 28. Tacitus tells us, that upon this occasion the soldiers delivered several prisoners belonging to the Varian legions who had been forty years in captivity.

¹⁹ In particular *Luden*, vol. i. p. 348.

²⁰ Tacitus (Ann. lib. xiii. c. 54.) calls them

"Agros vacuos, et militum usui sepositos."

It seems, however, improbable that districts so extensive as to be deemed capable of affording subsistence to whole tribes should have been set apart either as cattle pastures or as mere exercising ground for the use of the soldiers. The Romans were naturally anxious to interpose as wide an interval as possible between their own stations and the formidable border-tribes, and had therefore determined that the lands in question should continue vacant. Incidentally, no doubt, they used them as cattle pastures.

Malorich, it was thought, had availed themselves of this impression to persuade their countrymen that they might occupy the vacant territory without apprehension of disturbance from the Romans. They therefore took possession, built houses, and began to cultivate the lands. But in the midst of these peaceful occupations, a message from Avitus threatened them with the resentment of the republic unless they either returned to their ancient settlements, or obtained Cæsar's permission to acquire new ones. The two chiefs took him at his word, and proceeded to Rome to obtain a grant from the emperor Nero. Here they were entertained as public guests; and among other usual attentions they were conducted to the Pompeian theatre, with the view of surprising them by the aspect of the enormous concourse which those stupendous edifices presented on public occasions. The princes, observing a marked distinction in the distribution of the seats, inquired why certain persons were placed in the pit-row in preference to the rest.²¹ Being told that those were the seats of honour, reserved for the senators, they were led to notice certain persons dressed in foreign costume placed on the same seats. These, they were told, were the ambassadors of foreign nations, distinguished for valour and good faith towards the Roman people. The sturdy barbarians exclaimed aloud, "No men on earth surpass the Germans in valour and good faith," and descended without hesitation into the seats of the senators as their natural and rightful places. This prompt display of self-respect was regarded by the audience with applause, as the honest impulse of conscious worth; and Nero himself distinguished the two princes by presenting them with the citizenship of Rome.

They are warned off by the governor, Dubius Avitus,

and go to Rome to obtain permission to settle from the emperor Nero.

They are publicly entertained,

and boldly claim the seats of honour in the Pompeian theatre, as due to the valour and virtues of their nation.

Here the personal story of Verrit and Malorich breaks off abruptly. Their names are not even mentioned in the sequel. A peremptory order was sent to the Frisians to evacuate the waste lands: upon their refusal, the auxiliary cavalry was suddenly sent against them, and those who resisted were killed or carried into captivity.²²

But their embassy fails, and the Frisians are expelled from the vacant lands.

The Frisian settlers had hardly yielded to the power of Rome, when a more numerous tribe appeared to claim wastes which, in the honest apprehension of the barbarians, seemed intended by nature rather for the maintenance of the human race than to serve the ends of a jealous state policy. The internal distractions of Germany, however, had so frequently exposed the Roman frontiers to danger and invasion, that the

A.D. 58. But a few years later the Ansibarii appear to claim the same lands.

²¹ The *cavea*, or pit, the seats around the orchestra, the place of honour in a Roman theatre.

²² *Luden* thinks it difficult to avoid suspecting that the surprise of the Frisian settlers took

place before the return of the two princes from Rome, and that they had been referred thither merely with the view of depriving the people of their leaders.—*Gesch. der Deutsch.* vol. i. p. 350.

governors became anxious to prevent any numerous tribe from fixing themselves in situations so favourable to predatory incursions, or where they might form a point of union and support to the remoter enemies of the empire. In the progress of those internal commotions the Ansibarii, a numerous clan inhabiting the banks of the Ems, had been forcibly expelled from their seats by the more powerful Chauci. Impelled by poverty and distress, they took possession of the vacant border-lands, and sent their aged chief Bojokal to obtain the permission of the Romans to settle there. He presented himself to the governor as an ancient friend and servant of the empire. "He had," he said, "been thrown into bonds fifty years before, by order of Arminius, for his attachment to the republic during the great Cheruscan war; he had served faithfully under Tiberius and Germanicus, and was now come to crown a life of honourable services by voluntarily placing himself and his people under the protection of the empire." It should seem that Avitus hesitated to give a direct refusal: then, as if in reply to the governor's objections, Bojokal inquired,—“How much land was necessary for the pasture of the cattle, and how much they would insist upon keeping vacant? Will you prefer,” he exclaimed, “your cattle to the cries of a faithful and famishing people? These districts have often changed masters, why should they not do so now? As the heavens are given to the gods, so is the earth appointed unto mortal man: that which is occupied by no one is the right of all.” Then addressing the sun and the heavenly bodies,—“Will ye,” he exclaimed, “continue to shine upon a worthless desert? Will ye not rather pour out your great floods upon the robbers of the earth?” This passionate appeal stung the governor; he answered insultingly, that it was the duty of supplicants to accommodate themselves to the resolution of their betters. “It is the pleasure of the very gods you invoke to place the power of granting or refusing what to them shall seem best in the hands of the Romans; nor will they acknowledge any other arbiter than their own will.” Such was the public answer to the application of the Ansibarii. In private, however, Avitus offered lands to Bojokal, as an acknowledgment of past services. The old man indignantly repudiated the boon as the price of treason to his people, adding, that though a space to live might be denied them, a field to die could not be withheld.

Their chief, Bojokal, applies to Avitus for permission to settle;

but the latter rejects his suit with insult.

The Ansibarii soon disappear from the frontier.

With this defiance Bojokal took his departure. A short-lived and feeble league with the Tenchteri and Bructeri at first promised some support to the wretched Ansibarii. But the prompt measures of Avitus, and the internal distractions of the northern Germans, soon bereft them of this last hope. Forsaken by every ally, they wandered first to the

Usipetes, then to the Chatti, and, lastly, to the Cherusicans, as guests, as suppliants, or as foes ; till, reduced by famine and the sword, the remnant abandoned themselves to slavery, and vanished from the scene²³ as suddenly as they had made their appearance there.

With the exception, then, of the short invasion of the Chatti in the year 50, the transactions with Verrius and Malorich, and the attempt of the Ansibarii a few years later, the Romans enjoyed a longer period of tranquillity in this quarter than any hitherto on record. The policy of Tiberius had been tried and found to be not merely adequate to every purpose of defence, but to lead to a certain though gradual extension of the Roman influence among the distracted nations of Germany.

Adverting next to the transactions in the eastern regions of that vast country during the same period, a similar result will be perceived. Vannius, the sovereign whom Tiberius had placed over the feeble remains of the powers of Marbod and Catualda, had greatly enlarged his influence among the nations on the Pannonian frontier north of the Danube. But the jealousy of his neighbours, the Hermunduri, and the domestic broils fomented by them, in conjunction with two of his relatives, Vangio and Sido, in the end brought about his expulsion. During the protracted wars which arose out of these cabals, Claudius declined assisting either party, though Vannius, as the creature of Rome, claimed a right to her protection. A strong army was assembled on the frontier to intimidate both parties, and Vannius was informed that, in case of defeat, he must expect no more than an asylum in the Roman territories. These precautions were not needless. In the progress of the contest a numerous host of Suevic Lygians were attracted by the vast treasures which Vannius was reported to have amassed during a reign of more than thirty years. After keeping these powerful enemies at bay for some time, he was at length driven, by the impatience of his Jazygian auxiliary cavalry, to a general engagement, in which he suffered a total defeat ; and availing himself of the promised refuge, he and his followers settled upon a grant of lands in Pannonia. Vangio and Sido divided his kingdom between them. The vicinity of the expelled monarch served as a check upon their ambition ; “ they maintained,” says Tacitus, “ a remarkable degree of attachment towards Rome, the rather from apprehension of their own fickle and turbulent subjects than from a sense of obligation towards the republic.”²⁴

The policy of Tiberius and Claudius leads to a certain though gradual extension of the Roman influence in Germany. Affairs of the east of Germany.

A. D. 19.

Vannius, prince of the Suevi, on the Danube,

A. D. 19

to

A. D. 50.

is defeated and expelled by his relatives Vangio and Sido, and takes refuge in Pannonia.

²³ Tac. Ann. lib. xiii. c. 56. Upon this remarkable story Luden observes, “ that the Ansibarii are never before mentioned by any Roman writer, and that it is exceedingly difficult to make room for them in any scheme of geogra-

phy.” Such anomalies are, however, common enough to convince us of the extreme frailness of the materials of which the map of ancient Germany is constructed. See *Luden*, vol. i. p. 352.

²⁴ Tac. Ann. lib. xii. c. 30.

Paramount influence of Rome in the east of Germany.

The Chatti are defeated in a great battle by the Hermunduri.

The influence of Rome among the Danubian nations was by this time paramount. The kingdoms of Vangio and Sido were dependent or tributary; the hostile Markmannen vanish for a period; and the power of the allied Hermunduri seems to have extended itself over several adjacent clans. A war, which arose between these and the Chatti, contributed to enlarge their territory still more. This war is reported by Tacitus to have arisen out of a quarrel about the possession of a certain saline river or spring, which separated the two countries. Besides the natural disposition to determine all disputes by the sword, a religious prejudice appears, in this instance, to have stimulated their animosity. They believed that the spots where salt was produced were the favourite resorts of the gods, where the prayers of mortals found a more ready access to their ears. The battle was, probably, fought in the vicinity of the woods where the salt was manufactured; it was decided against the Chatti; and was the more destructive to them, since, in pursuance of the vow by which both parties had bound themselves prior to the action, the Hermunduri sacrificed prisoners, horses, and the entire spoils of the field to the local divinities, represented in Roman mythology by the names of Mars and Mercury.²⁵

SECTION III. A. D. 50.

Insurrection of Civilis, and of the Tributary Nations of the Lower Rhine.

Death of Nero. THE death of Nero put an end to that series of adoptive successions by which the empire had been for a long period continued in the family and kindred of the first Cæsar. The monstrous tyranny of the last of the line had rendered the Roman government odious and contemptible in every province. In Gaul, Julius Vindex, a distinguished noble, stood forth to vindicate the cause of his oppressed countrymen; but he was inadequately supported, and Virginius Rufus, the governor of Upper Germany, defeated him at Besançon, and reduced him to self-destruction.¹

A. D. 68.
He is succeeded by Galba.

After the murder of Nero, Sulpitius Galba was, by common consent,

²⁵ Tac. Ann. lib. xiii. c. 57. Probably *Woden* and *Tuisco*. The place where this battle was fought has been the subject of a good deal of dispute. Some contend for the Saxon, others for the Franconian Saale; unless, indeed, the whole story rest upon Roman misunderstanding, and the extraordinary desire of their writers to

account for every thing; a failing from which even Tacitus is not exempt. See *Luden*, vol. i. p. 353, and *Pfister*, vol. i. p. 116. *Mascon*, *Struvius*, and *Schaten*, as before quoted, have been occasionally consulted throughout this section.

¹ *Plut.* in Galbâ.—*Tac. Hist.* lib. i. c. 51.

raised to the empire.² Galba had enjoyed the government scarcely ten months when he was supplanted and murdered by Salvius Otho. But at the very moment of Otho's elevation the legions on the Lower Rhine invested their favourite Aulus Vitellius with the purple.³ Vitellius was a jovial, supine, good-tempered sensualist, possessing few good qualities save that of attaching the common folk and the soldiery to his person; while all men of rank, good sense, or character, had already turned their views to a third candidate, in the person of Titus Flavius Vespasianus, then employed in Syria and Judæa.⁴ For the moment, however, Vitellius was successful. At the head of the Rhenish legions he encountered and defeated the army of Otho, who killed himself after a reign of ninety days only.⁵

A. D. 69.
Galba is supplanted by Otho.

Otho is defeated by Vitellius, and kills himself. Vespasian appears in the field;

Within three months of the recognition of Vitellius, Vespasian was in the field. His claim rested solely upon his well-known talents and virtues, and the contemptible incapacity of his adversary.⁶ He possessed the entire confidence of the Syrian and Illyrian legions; and though the soldiery of Gaul and Germany were attached to Vitellius, the party of Vespasian was numerous even in the provinces most devoted to his competitor; and almost all the generals and commanders of the Rhenish legions stood in correspondence with him. This predilection did not long remain concealed from the subordinate officers and privates; and a strong disposition to mutiny and even outrage against the obnoxious commanders soon became apparent.

the soldiery of Gaul and the Germanies attached to Vitellius; the superior officers to Vespasian.

It might be readily anticipated that, amidst the distraction and uncertainty affecting the supreme power in the state, the German auxiliaries, who, without any national attachment, had acquired the discipline and confidence of Roman soldiers, should begin to feel an interest distinct from that of the service in which they were engaged; and, as usually occurs where a unanimous feeling exists, a leader arose in every way fitted to put them in mind of the power which the juncture threw into their hands, and to point out the best method of using it. The auxiliary troops attached to the armies of the Rhine were drawn principally from the allied tribes of the Batavi, Caninefates, Ubii, and Treviri. The Batavian cavalry excelled every other in the service of Rome. The infantry of the Caninefates and Ubii were superior in bodily strength, and not inferior to the legionaries themselves in discipline.⁷

The German auxiliaries attached to the Rhenish armies became alienated from the service.

The allied tribes, Batavi, Caninefates, Ubii, and Treviri,

² *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxiii. § 23, 29.

³ *Tac. Hist.* lib. i. c. 57. — *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxv. § 2, 7.

⁴ "Haud dubie," says Tacitus, "gregarius miles Vitellio fidus; splendidissimus quisque in

Vespasianum proni." *Hist.* iv. c. 27.

⁵ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxiv. § 10—15.

⁶ *Tac. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 74, 80.—*Hist.* lib. i. c. 50.

⁷ *Tac. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 12. and *passim*.

These troops were commanded by their own native princes and chiefs, who had changed their national habits and even their names in honour of the brilliant service to which they had pledged themselves, originally rather from inclination than compulsion. They were allowed to flatter themselves with the title of Allies of the empire; and for some time they served Rome with strict fidelity. But, by little and little, the system of fiscal extortion was extended to them; their nominal tributes were gradually aggravated into imposts; and their easy and honourable dependence was converted into subjection and servitude.⁸

are reduced by degrees to the condition of the provincials.

They are plundered by tax-gatherers and governors.

Claudius Civilis, a Batavian chief,

assembles his countrymen, and excites them to avenge their wrongs and resume their independence.

The exactions of the Roman collectors and tax-gatherers had already, as we have seen, driven the Frisii to revolt. The civil wars, by taking away responsibility, gave free scope to the rapacious dispositions of the revenue officers and local authorities both civil and military. The expenses of the state, by which the provinces were drained, now weighed with an equal pressure upon the allied nations; and the Batavi, the most attached and faithful of the dependents of Rome, were the first to resent the ill-treatment and injustice with which their services were requited.

Claudius Civilis, a Batavian prince of illustrious descent and distinguished talents, took advantage of the present temper of the people to avenge certain personal injuries he had to complain of against the Roman government, and to emancipate his nation from a yoke which was every year becoming more galling and degrading. According to the general custom of the Germanic nations, all public assemblies were held in the sacred grove of the tribe or its precincts, and were uniformly accompanied with banquets and carousals, which frequently lasted till deep in the night. To such a banquet Civilis now summoned the chiefs of the Batavi, and a number of the boldest spirits of the tribe. As soon as they were warmed with good cheer, and found themselves screened from observation by the darkness of night and the solitude of the place, Civilis addressed them in a speech, every topic of which was judiciously directed to some individual or general grievance. The dishonour many of them had sustained in their persons or families from the brutal lechery of the Roman governors and their subordinates,—the insult and violence they had endured from their haughty masters,—the corrupt and oppressive modes of collecting the public tribute,—the faithless breach of their ancient treaties with the empire, whereby from honourable allies they had been degraded into subjects of Rome,—the place,—the hour,—the stirring eloquence of Civilis, recalled the full tide of ancient national recollections and religious associations. A solemn sacrifice, according to

⁸ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 14.

the custom of their fathers, was performed upon the spot; and the assembled chiefs and people bound themselves to their leader and to one another under the sanction of those barbaric rites which had been discontinued after they became connected with Rome. The Caninefates and Frisians promptly acceded to the resolution of the Batavi, and Civilis lost no time in bringing their united forces into action.⁹

The Caninefates and Frisians accede to the league of the Batavi.

Civilis declares nominally for Vespasian.

At this period the contest between Vespasian and Vitellius was as yet undecided. It suited the policy of Civilis ostensibly to espouse that party which afforded an immediate pretence for hostilities against the Romans. In public, therefore, he declared for Vespasian. Though neither side was deceived by this declaration, the partizans of Vespasian, including all the superior officers of the Roman armies on the Rhine, expected to derive advantage from it as a pretext for withdrawing the legions to the suppression of the rebellion, and thus weakening the field-force of Vitellius. Meanwhile Civilis, either by force or stratagem, soon cleared the Batavian territory of the Roman troops quartered there. He defeated their fleet and captured almost every vessel; while the army, hastily collected to oppose his progress, was totally routed, with the loss of all its standards. In the battle, the Tungrian and other auxiliaries of the Romans went over to him in a body; and, shortly afterwards, envoys arrived from the Trans-Rhenane tribes with offers of immediate fellowship and assistance. Civilis held himself forth as the champion of liberty, not merely to his own countrymen but to Gaul and Germany. He dismissed all the Gallic prisoners taken in the late engagement free of ransom, exhorting them, in return for the precious gift of liberty he had conferred upon them, to study to impart it to their enslaved fellow-countrymen. He urged them without delay to throw off the yoke of Rome, and pointed out to them how easy it would be to avail themselves of the distracted state of the empire to expel their tyrants, and how difficult to recall the opportunity if they once allowed it to pass by unimproved.¹⁰

He clears the Batavian territory of the Roman troops quartered there; captures their fleet; and is strengthened by the accession of the Tungrian auxiliaries.

Hordeonius Flaccus, the Roman legate of Lower Germany, who was in the interest of Vespasian, and had secretly connived at and encouraged the enterprize of Civilis, became alarmed at the rapidity of his progress and the ill-disguised tendency of his policy. The legate Luper-
cus was hastily detached with a force consisting of two entire legions and a large body of Ubian, Treviran, and Batavian auxiliaries to arrest his advance. Civilis hastened to meet them: all the auxiliaries, as might have been foreseen, went over to him in a mass, and the legate was glad

The legate Luper-
cus is dispatched against him with two legions and a body of Treviran, Ubian, and Batavian auxiliaries.

⁹ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 14.

¹⁰ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 16, 17.

The latter desert to Civilis; and Lupercus shuts himself up in *Castra Vetera*, where he is besieged by the confederates.

The Trans-Rhenane Germans join the standard of Civilis, who

besieges *Vetera*,

but is foiled by the superior science of the Romans,

and converts the siege into a blockade.

to find a refuge with his two legions in the strong station at *Castra Vetera* on the Rhine,¹¹ where he was immediately besieged by the confederates. About the same time eight veteran cohorts of Batavian and Caninefate auxiliaries, who were attached to the fourteenth legion¹² then on its march to support the cause of Vitellius in Italy, as soon as they heard of the insurrection of their countrymen, seceded from the army; and, after cutting their way through the opposing legionaries stationed at Bonn, succeeded in joining their victorious countrymen before *Vetera*.¹³

Meanwhile the messengers of Civilis had met with the most promising reception among the Trans-Rhenane Germans; the Bructeri and Tench-teri joined the confederate army with all their forces, while others were preparing to follow them, to share the glories of their countrymen and the plunder of the Gauls.¹⁴ On the other hand, *Vetera* was but indifferently fortified, and the legions shut up there were ill supplied with provisions. The legates Lupercus and Rufus nevertheless returned a scornful and menacing reply to the summons sent them by Civilis in the name of Vespasian. They knew that they could depend upon the fidelity of the soldiery; and, whichever way their private inclinations may have bent, the hollowness of the professions of Civilis did not admit of a doubt. The confederates, thus defied, commenced the siege with the vigour and impetuosity characteristic of Germanic warfare. A smattering of Roman science had taught them how to set up battering engines, to raise mounds, and erect towers for commanding the works; but their chief reliance was upon their own reckless valour. Thus they squandered their lives in desperate and incessant assaults upon the Roman entrenchments, by which the physical strength and endurance of the disciplined and scientific adversaries were indeed severely tried; but the Roman methods of defence baffled the utmost efforts of barbarian skill and courage, and the chiefs were at length compelled to convert the siege into a blockade, in the hope that the scanty supplies of the garrison would soon be exhausted, and that the place must then fall into their hands without further loss.¹⁵

The delay occasioned by the indifferent success of the operations against *Vetera* did not operate materially to the disadvantage of the con-

¹¹ It seems agreed that the *Castra Vetera* of the Romans is the modern town of *Santen*, in the Duchy of Cleves, situated a few miles below the confluence of the Lippe with the Rhine. Great quantities of Roman remains have at different times been dug out on that spot. See *Cluver*, *Germ. Ant.* lib. ii. c. 18. p. 412.

¹² See *Tac. Hist.* lib. i. c. 59, and lib. ii. c. 27 and 66.

¹³ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 12, 16, 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 21.—“*Ad prædam famam-que.*”

¹⁵ See a detailed account of this siege, ap. *Tac. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 23.

federates. The feeble character and the infirm health of Hordeonius Flaccus, the governor of Lower Germany, totally unfitted him for the difficult and perplexing situation in which he was placed. Every cohort of the Roman armies on the Rhine was infected with a spirit of jealousy and dislike towards their superior officers, which broke out in frequent disorders and mutinies upon the most trivial occasions. To this cause, rather than to the superior military strength or conduct of the confederates, the failure of every attempt on the part of Flaccus to relieve Vetera must be attributed. Civilis continued to watch the blockaded legions with the severest vigilance, in order to prevent communication with their friends, and the introduction of provisions. Meanwhile the Batavi and their allies received such an extraordinary accession of numbers and promises of advantageous diversions from the Trans-Rhenane nations as enabled them not only to continue the blockade, but to place a large force at the disposal of Civilis to meet the new dangers which threatened them in consequence of the defeat of Vitellius and his legions by Vespasian at Cremona.¹⁶

The mutinous state of the troops and infirm health prevent the Roman governor Hordeonius Flaccus from relieving Vetera.

This event compelled Civilis to drop the flimsy mask of attachment to the empire he had hitherto thought fit to wear. Vocola, the lieutenant of Vespasian, summoned him in the name of the new emperor to lay down his arms, and dismiss his forces. Instead of complying, Civilis pressed the siege of Vetera with renewed activity, and replied to the message of Vespasian by a mere repetition of ancient grievances.¹⁷ At the same time a large body of confederates, consisting of the veteran cohorts and all the German auxiliaries, was promptly sent under the command of Claudius Victor, the nephew of Civilis, against the Roman station at Gelduba,¹⁸ where Vocola himself commanded. The appearance of the Germans was so sudden that Vocola had no time to make the necessary dispositions. At the first onset the Nervian auxiliary cavalry took to flight and exposed the flanks of the legions. Thus deserted, the latter abandoned their ranks and fled in disorder to the camp, which Victor

But the defeat of Vitellius at Cremona compels Civilis to drop the mask of attachment to Vespasian's party.

Victor attacks the legate Vocola at Gelduba, and puts the Romans to flight ;

¹⁶ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 26, 27, 28.

¹⁷ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 32.

¹⁸ Gelduba has been thought by some geographers to be the modern Guelders. But this notion disagrees with the text of Tacitus as well as with the Itineraries. The little village of *Geldub*, contracted into *Gelb*, on the Rhine, answers every condition. Its position, about eleven miles below Novesium or Neuss, agrees with the narrative of Tacitus, who makes Vocola retreat from Gelduba to Novesium after his dis-

comfiture at the former place. This likewise brings it into harmony with the position of Gelduba according to the Itinerary of Antonine. The name seems almost of itself sufficient to reduce the two places to identity. See *Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 407.* Gelduba was the last town in the territory of the Ubii, and probably one of the fifty fortified stations established by Drusus. Cluver adds that many Roman remains have been at different times dug out at Gelb.

but they are saved from destruction by the arrival of succours, and the Germans return to Vetera with the captured standards and prisoners.

entered along with the fugitives. But the accidental arrival of several fresh cohorts saved the Roman army from total destruction. The confederates, ignorant of the number of the newly arrived succours, and exposed to an attack in the rear, abstained from further pursuit, and withdrew to their comrades before Vetera with the captured standards, prisoners, and other trophies of victory.

Civilis parades them before the garrison of Vetera.

Civilis, with a view to increase the discouragement of the distressed garrison, paraded his trophies in front of the entrenchments, and summoned them to yield to the conquerors of the only force to which they could now look for relief. But one of the prisoners, raising his voice to the utmost pitch, bade the garrison be of good cheer, for that not the Romans, but their enemies, were the vanquished. The speaker was immediately butchered by the Germans: the savage act accredited the assurances of the military martyr, and the garrison returned a courageous refusal to the summons of Civilis.¹⁹

They again reject his summons.

Vocula relieves them;

Notwithstanding his recent losses, Vocula advanced with his whole force to the assistance of Lupercus and Rufus, and for a moment succeeded in raising the siege, and throwing a short supply into the camp. But the mutinous state of the army rendered it impossible to keep the field in the face of an active and artful enemy, and Vocula was not only obliged to retreat upon Gelduba, but to abandon that station likewise to Civilis, who now reinvested Vetera with greater spirit and increased numbers.²⁰

but is obliged to retreat, and Civilis reinvests Vetera.

He advances into Gaul; but is arrested in his progress by the opposition of the Treviri;

At this period the Roman armies on the Rhine abandoned themselves to unheard-of excesses. Hordeonius Flaccus was assassinated by the furious soldiery: Vocula escaped in the disguise of a slave. At the same time Moguntiacum (the modern Maintz) was besieged by an auxiliary army of Chatti, Usipetes, and Mattiaci, in connexion with the Belgic confederates; and Civilis advanced to accomplish the conquest of the entire province of Germany. This was now to all appearance an easy task; but an evanescent feeling of shame, and the almost instinctive discipline of the Roman soldiery once more saved them from total ruin. Two of the revolted legions again placed themselves under the command of Vocula, who lost no time in relieving Maintz. The barbarians indeed gave him little trouble: as soon as they heard of his advance they collected their booty and retired into the interior. The Treviri at the same time opposed the advance of Civilis, who was hastening through their territory to affect a junction with his allies before

¹⁹ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 29—34.

²⁰ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 35—37. Vocula retired to

Novesium, the modern Neuss, about eleven miles up the stream. See note 18 of this section.

Maintz, and thus arrested his progress at a moment when scarcely any obstacle seemed to stand in the way of the accomplishment of his designs for the total emancipation of Gaul.²¹

But though saved from ruin for the moment, the Roman affairs in Lower Germany were not much improved by the interference of the Treviri. Ever since the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, Civilis had been in correspondence with two chiefs of that nation, who appear under the Latin names of Classicus and Tutor, both of them persons of the highest consideration among their countrymen. The strong city of Colonia Agrippina was indeed still in the hands of the Romans; but the helpless state of mutiny and disorganization of the Vitellian legions was increased about this period almost to dissolution by the news of the cruel death of that emperor at Rome. Classicus, Tutor, and a Lingonian chief, named Julius Sabinus, went hastily to Colonia, and found the disposition of the legions little altered even by the news of the death of Vitellius. With their knowledge and concurrence, the three chiefs, without any attempt at secrecy, concerted a scheme for the emancipation of Gaul. Vocula, who commanded in the city, had, notwithstanding their late repentance, so little influence over the legionary soldiers, that he was unable either to prevent the plot or to punish the conspirators.²² In order to commit the mutinous army beyond the reach of pardon, it was determined by the latter that they should be instigated to murder their officers; after which it was thought an easy matter to bring them into any measure they might deem most conducive to the establishment of the new order of things. At the same time emissaries were sent into Gaul to turn to account the disaffection which Roman misgovernment had excited in that country. Accordingly the Druids of Gaul, in conjunction with the conspirators of Cologne, strove to revive the recollections of ancient independence in the minds of their countrymen. The oppressed and suffering people listened with avidity to a scheme which promised relief from present misery, and the Roman power in every part of Gaul seemed tottering to its fall.

Vocula, though surrounded by dangers and difficulties, continued to labour with praiseworthy assiduity for the relief of the garrison of Vetera. With that view he marched out with the legions, accompanied by the Treviran and Lingonian auxiliaries, under Tutor, Classicus, and Sabinus. These chiefs no sooner found themselves freed from the trammels and observances of quarters than they withdrew the troops under their command into a separate camp. The legionaries began to

but gains the
Treviran chiefs,
Tutor and
Classicus,

and a Lingonian
prince, named Julius
Sabinus, who
brings over to
his party the
discontented
legions in Co-
lonia Agrip-
pina.

They instigate
the soldiery to
murder their
officers,

and foment dis-
affection
among the
Gallic pro-
vincials.

Vocula
marches to the
relief of Vetera
with his muti-
nous troops.

He is deserted
by the conspi-
rators,

²¹ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 37.

²² Ibid. lib. iv. c. 56.

and murdered
by his own
soldiers.

The garrison
of Vetera sur-
renders by ca-
pitulation ;

but are ruth-
lessly butcher-
ed by the bar-
barians.

Lupercus, the
legate, falls
alive into the
hands of the
Germans, and
is sent as a
prisoner to the
prophetess
Velleda,

with whom
Civilis had
established an
understanding.

desert Vocula and to join the standards of the rebels. The legate vainly strove to arrest the tide of desertion and treason. He fell by the hands of his own troops ; the officers were put in chains, and the whole army took an oath of fidelity to the new state, under the title of the *Empire of the Gauls*. All the Roman stations on the Rhine, with the exception of Mainz and Vindonissa,²³ were deserted and destroyed by the troops ; the officers were butchered, and the soldiers took the oath required of them. Worn out at length by misery and famine, the gallant remnant of the garrison of Vetera surrendered to the Batavians and Caninefates upon condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should take the oath to the new empire. But the infuriated barbarians disregarded the engagements of their chiefs, and massacred the garrison as they marched out of the fortress they had so gallantly defended. Civilis strove both by word and gesture to stay the slaughter ; but the work of blood, once begun, could not be arrested either by threat or remonstrance.²⁴ The camp was pillaged, and then set on fire.

This ferocious outrage was celebrated as a victory by the barbarians. The legate Lupercus, who had fallen alive into the hands of the confederates, was sent, together with a part of the spoils of the Roman camp, as a triumphal offering to the virgin prophetess Velleda, to whose powerful intercession with their deities the Germans attributed the promising state of their affairs. Velleda was a Bructeran woman of birth, who had kept herself for many years secluded in a lonely tower, upon the banks of the river Lippe. No one was allowed to approach or even to behold her. All questions were propounded to her, and her responses returned through a single attendant selected from among her own kindred. She belonged to that class of women who, according to an ancient belief of her countrymen, stood in direct communication with the gods. "The deference paid to these persons was such," says Tacitus, "that in the due progress of superstition, they came themselves to be regarded in the light of divinities."²⁵ Civilis had, from the earliest period of his enterprise, established an understanding with Velleda ; he had consulted her

²³ A place on the Rhine, between Winterthur and Basle, now called *Windisch*. *Chuv. Germ. Ant.* p. 349.

²⁴ *Tacitus* allows a doubt to rest upon the sincerity of the exertions of Civilis to arrest the slaughter, "Simulata an ea fuerint, an retinere sævientes nequiverit, parum affirmatur." But the breach of the capitulation could have answered no purpose but to exasperate and alarm the Roman troops who had just joined the standards of his allies. Needless cruelty was not in the character

of Civilis. On the other hand, a sudden outburst of barbarian fury at the sight of the men who had resisted so long and so obstinately readily accounts for the catastrophe. Civilis could neither remedy nor punish, and that circumstance, connected with the manifest policy of keeping faith with the garrison, seems to me sufficient to acquit him of the suspicion the historian has permitted to rest upon him. *Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 61.*

²⁵ See also c. ii. sec. 3. p. 95. of this History.

upon its success, and she had not only encouraged him by favourable responses, but had ventured to predict the fall of the legions at Vetera. The event raised the credit of her prophetic powers to an extravagant height, and she was rewarded by her grateful countrymen with the choicest portions of the Roman spoils.²⁶

Though Civilis was ready enough to avail himself of the advantages afforded him by the struggle of the Gauls for liberty, his own views were confined rather to the permanent emancipation of his own country, and, probably, the maintenance of his own power, than to the establishment of the new empire. In order therefore to keep his hands free to deal with his allies as his interests might require, he abstained from pledging himself to the scheme of Classicus, Tutor, and Sabinus. The Batavi and their allies were not permitted to swear to the empire of the Gauls; the different views of the insurgent chiefs promised little unity of proceeding, and the distracted condition of Gaul itself seemed to render it next to impossible to combine the different parties under one head, or to inspire them with one spirit. And, in fact, a short time after the defection of the legions, the Lingonian chief, Julius Sabinus, made a rash attempt to appropriate to himself the entire fruits of the conspiracy: he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of the Gauls; but perished a few weeks afterwards in a brawl with the Sequani, who opposed his designs.²⁷

Civilis does not enter into the schemes of Tutor and Classicus for the establishment of the proposed empire of Gaul.

Want of union among the confederates.

The rich and populous city of Colonia Agrippina had been deserted by the legions, and the citizens were left to make the best terms for themselves with the confederates. This flourishing colony had become, from its foundation, an object of jealousy and hatred to the surrounding barbarians. The Ubii, whom Roman policy had domesticated there, were regarded as the first betrayers of their country, and their city was hated as the stronghold of tyranny. The Trans-Rhenane Germans were, it seems, divided in opinion; some pressed for its demolition, while others wished to throw open the gates for the reception of all who might desire to settle there. The barbarian TENCHTERI, who were most severely affected by the restraints which the vicinity of this great colony imposed, sent envoys to the Council of Chiefs to call for its destruction. The fiercest of the party was made the spokesman;—he congratulated the meeting upon the recovery of their liberty, and exhorted them to take the promptest steps for securing it. “Hitherto,” he continued, “the lands, the waters, and, in some respects, even the heavens themselves have been closed against you by the Romans in order to prevent you from coming

Colonia Agrippina an object of hatred to the Trans-Rhenane Germans.

The TENCHTERI press for its destruction, as the stronghold of servitude.

²⁶ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 65.

²⁷ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 61, 62.

They call for the demolition of the walls, the slaughter of the Roman inhabitants, and the equal division of the property of the slain.

They exhort the confederates to put away Roman habits and return to the customs of their forefathers.

The confederates

evade the proposal of the barbarians, and grant favourable terms to the Agrippinensians.

to speech or council with us ; or, what is still more degrading to men bred to arms, to force us to converse together unarmed and almost naked, under restraint of guards, and after payment of tolls. We therefore require from you as the price of our friendship, that the walls of Colonia, those bulwarks of slavery, be thrown down and levelled with the ground : even wild animals, when they are shut up in cages, lose their natural courage. Let all Romans within your borders be put to death ; freemen and slave-masters cannot breathe the same air together. Let the lands and goods of the slain be equally divided among all, that no man may take aught to his separate use, or have an interest different from that of his fellows. Let all Germans have free access to both banks of the Rhine, and be allowed freely to choose their place of abode, as our ancestors did before us : as sun and light are common to all, so hath nature spread out the lands to be the inheritance of the brave. Go back to the institutions and religion of your fathers ;—put away those voluptuous habits whereby your Roman tyrants have made more subjects than by their arms ; for it is only by keeping yourselves unmixed with strangers,—unstained by the pollution of foreign servitude,—that you can hope to place yourselves upon an equality with us,—to maintain your influence over your own people, or to extend it over others.”²⁸

But these savage propositions did not suit the views of the confederate chiefs. They were no longer barbarians, and entertained none of that horror of innovation which might well have been assumed by the envoys to colour their vindictive passions and their love of plunder. The slaughter of the Romans of Colonia, with whom the inhabitants stood in the manifold relations of private intercourse, friendship, and family connexion, would have been a sorry beginning of the new empire, and a terrible earnest of the fruits of a connexion with the wild tribes in the interior of Germany. A direct refusal, however, might have been dangerous. It was agreed to refer the question to the prophetess Velleda herself ; and by her decision, influenced no doubt by the views of Civilis, the terms were reduced to the abolition of all tolls on the Rhine, and the free admission into the city of all the confederates in the day-time, and unarmed. The city retained its own magistracy, and was to be regarded as a member of the Gallic league.²⁹

²⁸ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 64, 65.

²⁹ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 63 and 65. The compressed style of Tacitus almost always leaves something to be supplied in dealing historically with his narrative. The terms finally agreed to must, in this instance, be collected from the answer of the

inhabitants of Colonia to the address of the Tenechteran envoys. The reference to Velleda is adverted to, but her decision is passed over to make room for an account of her habits and character. The story then proceeds,—“ Civilis societate Agrippinensium auctus,” &c. which

An active and enterprising Roman officer, named Claudius Labeo, still kept the standard of the empire floating among the Germano-Belgic tribes in Brabant and Flanders. Hitherto Civilis had been unable to pay them much attention; but after the surrender of Vetera and the accession of the Agrippinensians, he determined to march into their country, trusting that the terror of his arms, their love of freedom, and their dislike of Roman government would incline them to accept his assistance in shaking off the yoke. He directed his march towards the Meuse, and occupied the country of the Sunici,³⁰ and formed their young warriors into cohorts upon the Roman model. Meanwhile Labeo hastily collected a levy of Bethasii,³¹ Tungri, and Nervii, and occupied a bridge over the Meuse, which Civilis had to cross. The latter attacked the bridge, but without making much impression, till his Germans, swimming across the river, fell upon the rear of Labeo. From the sequel we might infer that he had already established an understanding with the Belgians in the army of his adversary. He no sooner perceived the flank manœuvre of his Germans to take effect, than he ran to the front of the battle, apparently regardless of personal danger, and called aloud to the Belgians, assuring them that neither the Batavi nor their allies wished to force them into an alliance; and that he came to offer himself to them either as their leader or their comrade in battle, as they might think best. All the Belgians who were within hearing instantly sheathed their swords and went over to Civilis in a body; Labeo made his escape from the field, and the whole country between the Scheldt and the Rhine acceded to the Batavian confederacy.³²

Civilis marches against Claudius Labeo, in Belgium.

He disciplines their youth.

He next attacks Labeo, who is posted upon the Meuse.

The Belgians desert to Civilis; Labeo escapes from the field; and Teutonic Belgium accedes to the Batavian league. A.D. 70.

Vespasian successful in Italy. Despatches seven legions into Gaul; the confederates alarmed,

While Civilis was engaged in the liberation of Belgium, the emperor Vespasian had achieved the total discomfiture of the Vitellian party in Italy. As soon as he felt himself securely seated, his attention was turned to the reconquest of Gaul. Seven legions were put in motion for that object; and the report of his preparations already spread dismay among the discordant members of the Gallic league.³³ Classicus remained inactive on the lower Rhine; and Tutor, who commanded in the

authorizes the inference that they were admitted to the league upon favourable terms, most probably upon those proposed by themselves. See Hist. iv. c. 65.

³⁰ This tribe appears to have occupied the angle formed by the junction of the rivers Rôhr and Meuse, between the territories of the Tungri (Liege) and the Ubii (Cologne).

³¹ Cluver mentions a place between the towns of Leewe and Halen, in Brabant, called *Beets*,

which he thinks may have been so called from the Bethasii of Tacitus. But whether this be so or not, he expresses his conviction that the Bethasii dwelt in the district lying between the towns of Leewe and Halen. He then proceeds to identify them with the Aduatici of Cæsar.—Gerin. Ant. p. 429.

³² Tac. Hist. c. 65, 66.

³³ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 68, 70.

upper province, neglected to secure the Alpine passes, by which the advance of the Romans might have been retarded, and the junction of the legions at least delayed.³⁴ An assembly of the Gallic states, which took place at Rheims, only served to expose their total want of unanimity or plan. The majority inclined for peace, or rather for submission to Rome: the old animosities between the two races revived;—they debated the questions,—Who was to be the leader in war?—What the laws and government of the new state were to be?—Where the seat of empire was to be fixed? With the enemy at their gates, they involved themselves in angry discussions upon speculative topics, while they neglected to appoint leaders or to agree upon a plan of defence. The advance of the Romans hastened the dissolution of the congress, and the deputies separated, in disgust and dismay, to seek safety in individual resistance or in submission to Rome.³⁵

Vespasian had appointed Petilius Cerialis, a resolute and dashing soldier,³⁶ to the command of the legions in Gaul. Cerialis fixed his head-quarters at Maintz, while Sextilius Felix marched through the Rhætian passes to Vindonissa, where he found the twenty-first legion. With this reinforcement he proceeded against Tutor, who commanded the confederated forces in Upper Germany. The army of Tutor consisted of the Treviran infantry, some new levies from the Vangiones, and Tribocci, and several bodies of veteran cavalry and infantry, made up of the mutinous legions and auxiliaries. This motley force was not capable of a protracted resistance;—the revolted legionaries fought at first with the courage of despair, and cut to pieces an advanced cohort of the army of Felix. But the Roman leaders wisely renounced all measures of severity against the mutineers. The result of this determination was the simultaneous return of the legionaries to their allegiance. At the approach of Felix they deserted Tutor and his Trevirans; and were followed by the new levies of the Tribocci and Vangiones. Tutor retired in haste, and, avoiding Maintz, took post at Bingen, on the Rhine, about fifteen miles below that city. Here he was overtaken and totally defeated by Felix. After this victory, the legions who, at the breaking out of the rebellion, had been removed from their stations at Bonn and Neuss³⁷ into the Treviran states, seceded from their new allies, and took the oath of allegiance to Vespasian.

Cerialis himself, collecting without delay all the troops within

³⁴ *Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 70.*

³⁵ *Ibid. lib. iv. c. 69.*

³⁶ "Ipse pugnæ avidus, et contemnendis

quam cavendis hostibus melior, ferociâ verborum militem accendebat," &c. *Tac. Hist. iv. c. 71.*

³⁷ Bonna and Novesium.

his reach, marched directly upon the capital of the Trevirans. He found the enemy's army, under the command of their gallant leader against the Trevirans. Tullius Valentinus, strongly posted upon the river Moselle, not far Battle of Rigodulum. from the city of Treves, at a place called Rigodulum.³⁸ But the Trevirans had neglected to take all the advantages their post was susceptible of. The Romans attacked them with impetuosity in front and flank at the same time. The Belgians sustained a severe defeat: The Trevirans are totally defeated. many of their leaders, and among the rest Valentinus himself, were taken prisoners. The next day the city of Treves fell into the hands Treves is taken. of the victors, and was with difficulty saved by Cerialis from the fury of the soldiery, who, heated by success, and animated with a feeling of the fiercest revenge against the countrymen of Tutor and Classicus, were anxious for its destruction. After the capture of Treves, the repentant Vitellian legionaries continued to flock in from the country The repentant Vitellians flock to the standard of Cerialis, and are received with forgiveness and benig- of the Mediomatrici, where they had been quartered, and were received by their comrades with silent reproof, and by the general with forgiveness;—"Such a rebellion," he declared, "was to be ascribed to fate, discord, and the delusions of the enemy, rather than to deliberate treason." They were then received into communion with the rest of the army, and all allusion to their late delinquency strictly prohibited.³⁹

The next care of Cerialis was to allay the apprehensions, and regain Cerialis convokes the Treviri and Lingones. the confidence of the Trevirans; he called a public assembly for that purpose. The speech which Tacitus ascribes to him possibly embodies the views which the Romans desired the conquered states to entertain of their government; at the same time it probably speaks the feeling which served to palliate the ambition of Rome in the eyes of the more upright and reflecting classes among the Romans themselves. "Though my habits," said he to the assembled Trevirans and Lingonians, "have ever been to maintain the authority of the Roman people rather by arms than by speeches, yet since words are in repute among you, and since right and wrong have of late been judged of less by their own nature than by the speeches of seducers and rebels, I too have determined to bestow a few words upon you, which, after overcoming you in war, it is more useful for you to hear than perhaps it is becoming in me to speak. The leaders and commanders of the Romans entered your country in times He extols the services rendered by the past, without any desire of aggrandizement, at the solicitation of your

³⁸ This spot is marked by an insignificant village on the Moselle, now called *Rigoll* or *Rioll*. *Hoffm. Lex. Univ. ad verb. Rigodulum.* *Amm. Marcell.* places a town called *Rigomagum* or (as some MSS. read, *Rigodulum*) where

Coblentz now stands. See the note of Lindenberg ad *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvi. c. 3. (y) Ed. Gronov. But the modern name seems decisive.

³⁹ *Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 72.*

Romans to the Gauls, in delivering them from internal discord and foreign invasion.

He describes the danger of the German connexion,

and exhorts them to bear patiently the burdens necessary for their protection and good government;

considering that it is vain to hope to shake off the Roman yoke; and that, even if it were not so,

ancestors, who were ruined and worn out by intestine discord, after having called in the Germans to their aid, who reduced to servitude allies and enemies without distinction. It is well known how many battles our armies fought, how much they underwent, and with what success they contended against the Teutones, Cimbri, and other Germans on your behalf. Neither did we fix ourselves on the Rhine to protect our own Italy, but rather to prevent another Ariovistus from making himself master of your country. Do you think that Civilis and the Batavi, and the Trans-Rhenane nations are better disposed towards you than their ancestors were towards your fathers? The Germans never had any other motives for invading Gaul than the love of wanton mischief and rapine, and perpetual wanderings from place to place. To be sure they cover up their real views with pretences about liberty and the like; but there never was any one who wished to enslave and domineer over others, who did not hold the same language. The form of government in Gaul was always tyrannical, and war the fate of the luckless subjects, until you yielded yourselves to our authority. We have imposed no other burdens upon you than such as were necessary to relieve you from all these evils, and preserve you in peace;—and it is obvious that there can be no tranquillity for nations without an army;—no army without pay,—no pay without taxes. Honours and employments are open to all; many among you have commands in our legions, and others have here and there the government of provinces entrusted to them: you are shut out from nothing. When a worthy emperor governs the state, you have the benefit of his virtues, though he acts at a distance. On the other hand, you are in less danger from bad princes, who usually fall upon those who are nearest them first. It is your duty to bear with the luxuries or covetousness of your governors as you would with too dry or too wet a season, or any other natural calamity: as long as there are human beings there will be vices; but neither do these last for ever, but are compensated by the intervention of better times. Surely you are not foolish enough to believe that you will be better off under the yoke of Tutor and Classicus, or that the armies they must have to keep off the Germans and the Britons can be kept on foot for nothing. Let us suppose for a moment that the Romans were driven out of the country, (which the Gods forbid!) what would they leave behind them but wars and discords of every nation against its neighbours? But the political structure, cemented by eight hundred years of good fortune and discipline, cannot be torn asunder without the destruction of those who are rash enough to assail it. All the hazard of such an undertaking is on your side; it is *your* money, *your* wealth that are at stake. Therefore

for the future attach yourselves to peace and to the state which opens its bosom to receive alike the conquerors and the conquered. You have made a trial of both states of existence, and the result admonishes you to prefer loyalty, coupled with security, to rebellion with ruin in its train.”⁴⁰

they could not gain by the exchange.

This adroit appeal to facts within the knowledge or experience of his hearers, and the dexterous construction put upon them, was calculated both to tranquillize and attach an audience, apprehensive of severer usage, and conscious that they were liable to be treated as vanquished rebels. Civilis, Tutor, and Classicus were in arms at their gates; and Cerialis, had he been less generously disposed, might have provided for his own safety by dispersing a hostile population, or selling them into slavery. He was now in no hurry to take the field; he remained inactive in Treves while the enemy were collecting their scattered forces, which he might have intercepted and destroyed in detail. His military operations were confined to fortifying his camp, which till now he had imprudently allowed to remain open and unguarded.⁴¹

The Trevirans are gained by the eloquence and sophistry of Cerialis.

While in this state of inactivity, Civilis and Classicus sent messengers to Cerialis with fictitious information, “that Vespasian was dead; that Rome and Italy were expending their strength in civil warfare; that Mucianus and Domitian were now but empty names.”—“If Cerialis,” they said, “aspire to the empire, their hostility should not stand in his way; they would content themselves with the territories then in their actual possession; but if he preferred battle they would not decline it.” Cerialis, without replying, sent the messengers to Domitian; but he himself remained inactive at Treves, while his army was left encamped on the heights on the opposite banks of the Moselle, in an isolated position, with no other communication with the city but an exposed and ill-protected bridge.

Civilis and Classicus attempt to deceive Cerialis by a false report of the death of Vespasian; but failing,

In this position, Tutor and Classicus were anxious to attack him. Civilis endeavoured to dissuade them from risking a general engagement till strengthened by the allies, then on their march to join them from the other side of the Rhine. Tutor deprecated delay as more advantageous to the Romans than to themselves. Large reinforcements, he said, were coming to them from Italy, Spain, and southern Gaul; whereas they themselves could place no dependence upon their German allies, who might be easily bribed by the Romans to lie by, and thus ensure all the advantage without any of the risk of the war. The opinions of Tutor

they resolve to attack him with all their forces.

⁴⁰ *Tac. Hist. lib. iv. § 73, 74.*

⁴¹ *Ibid. lib. iv. c. 75.*

and Classicus prevailed, and it was resolved to attack the army of Cerialis in its position.⁴²

The Romans
are surprised,

the bridge over
the Moselle
taken,

and the Roman
camp forced.

Cerialis re-
trieves his error
by personal
bravery.

The Romans
rally and repel
the confede-
rates.

The confederates distributed their forces in three columns; the right, consisting of the veteran Batavian cohorts, marched by a rapid movement upon the left of the Roman position, between the camp and the river, and established themselves on the bridge which formed the only communication with the rear. The centre column composed of the Ubian and Lingonian forces, attacked the camp in front, and were bravely seconded by the Tenchteri and Bructeri on their left. So rapid and well combined were these movements, and so complete the surprise, that Cerialis, who had taken up his quarters in the city, received the first intimation of his danger from his own fugitive troops. The legionaries in the camp, perceiving their retreat cut off, lost their ranks and yielded in confusion to the impetuosity of the assailants. The confederates forced the camp, and, as usual among uncivilized warriors, became more intent upon securing the plunder than completing the discomfiture of the enemy.

Cerialis now gallantly retrieved his error. Partly by threats and reproaches, but chiefly by setting the example of desperate valour, he succeeded in rallying the dismayed cohorts.⁴³ The bridge was recovered, and the Batavi were repulsed. The dispirited legions, re-animated by the presence of their leader, and the restoration of their communications, took up fresh ground and regained their ranks. The barbarians, who, in the confidence of victory and the thirst of plunder, had relaxed their efforts, were first surprised and then became alarmed at the new battle-array which unfolded itself, as if by magic, out of the apparent chaos of confused flight. The Romans, quick to perceive and to take advantage of this impression, increased the alarm of the enemy by a vigorous and now united attack. Anxious to secure the booty already obtained, the barbarians abandoned the camp. But their retreat was soon converted into a precipitate flight; their own camp and all that it contained fell into the hands of the Romans; and the event of the action bore decisive testimony to the elastic power of Roman discipline, and to the presence

⁴² Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 76.

⁴³ This facility of rallying under adverse circumstances is perhaps the best test of the military aptitude in the troops. To be awake to the errors which an elated and pursuing enemy is almost sure to commit is one of the highest moral effects of discipline. If the Romans had

not possessed this spirit in a high degree, their empire in Gaul could either never have been established or would have been soon overthrown. The battle between Cæsar and the Nervii, on the Sambre, would probably have crushed it in the germ.

of mind and daring resolution of the excellent soldier who commanded them.⁴⁴

The valour of the Roman armies was perhaps upon the decline, but the mind of Roman warfare was yet in its vigour; still the wars of Civilis prove that there was not wanting an aptitude in the barbarians for that discipline by which the power of Rome was upheld. Even at this early period, the balance more than once inclined in their favour. It is by such indications as this that our attention is directed to the steps which mark the decay of the ancient military system of Rome,—to the means by which the equilibrium was restored, and the enfeebled empire left to prolong a painful existence by a train of artifice and expedient which, in the decline of the moral and the growing perversion of the intellectual faculties, come to be regarded as the most consummate state policy.

While Cerialis was engaged with the Belgic confederates on the Moselle, the citizens of Colonia, anxious to atone for their defection, fell upon and slew the Germans, who resided among them without apprehension or suspicion. When, by the generous intervention of Civilis, they were admitted members of the league, and saved from political extinction and ruin, their benefactor had not hesitated to place his wife and sister in their hands as pledges for his faith. But, after murdering their late associates, they seized the Batavian princesses and delivered them up to the Romans, to whom the wives and daughters of their captive enemies were always a welcome acquisition. At the same time, information reached them that a body of Chauci and Frisians, upon their march through the Agrippinensian territory to join the confederates, had taken possession of the town of Tolbiac,⁴⁵ and that the barbarians had there abandoned themselves to feasting and drunkenness. In this state they were attacked by the Colonians, who threw firebrands into the houses, and destroyed them before they could recover from ebriety and surprise.

In order to secure the advantages these events promised, Cerialis directed his march northwards upon Colonia. Civilis, disappointed of his reinforcements by the sudden defection of the Agrippinensians, continued his retreat to the Rhine, and established himself with his Batavian cohorts at Castra Vetera, the scene of his earlier exploits. Meanwhile a Roman fleet, from Britain, under Fabius Priscus, landed an entire legion on the Belgic coast. These troops marched into the territory of the

Colonia Agrippina abandons the league and murders the Germans within her walls.

Civilis retreats to Castra Vetera. The Caninefates attack and destroy a Roman fleet from Britain.

⁴⁴ Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 77, 78.

⁴⁵ Zülrich, in the duchy of Juliers.

Classicus cuts his way through the Roman army and joins Civilis.

The confederates bear up against their late reverses.

Civilis improves his position by flooding the low-lands in front.

Cerialis attacks him, but is repulsed.

Nervii and Tungri,⁴⁶ and detached these tribes from the confederacy. The fleet, however, was attacked by the Caninefates, and every ship was taken or sunk. After this achievement, the conquerors hastened to chastise the Nervians for their defection, and easily dispersed their hasty levies. Classicus, who, after the battle of Treves, had retired in the same direction with Civilis, found his farther retreat cut off, near Neuss, on the Rhine,⁴⁷ by the cavalry of Cerialis. An engagement took place, in which the Roman horse were worsted, and the confederate forces were once more concentrated at Castra Vetera, in a position strong by nature and farther improved by embankments and artificial inundations.⁴⁸

The unfortunate issue of the great battles of Rigola and Treves had disabled the Trevirans, the most potential members of the league. Their territory was overrun and reduced by the Romans. The defection of the Colonians was another severe blow; and the addition of three fresh legions, which had since then arrived to reinforce the army of Cerialis, gave such a preponderance to the Romans as might have depressed the boldest hopes. Still the spirits of the confederates did not decline. The capture of the fleet from Britain; the dispersion of the recreant Nervians; the brilliant success of Classicus at Neuss, were regarded as pledges that victory had not yet deserted the standard of Civilis. Meanwhile that able leader rendered his post almost inaccessible by carrying out a long embankment into the Rhine obliquely to the stream, and thus turning off the impetuous current upon the low marshy lands in front of his position. The destruction of their fleet by the Caninefates deprived the Romans of the command of the river they had expected to obtain; while, in case of defeat or of his position being turned, Civilis was, by the assistance of the victorious fleet, sure of an unmolested retreat by water.

No sooner had Cerialis taken up his ground before the position of Castra Vetera, than with characteristic impetuosity he pushed forward his heavy-armed infantry upon the flooded lands against the light troops of the Batavi. The latter, availing themselves of the well-known shallows and firmer spots of ground, avoided the blows of the legionaries; or plunging fearlessly into the deeps, swam round to the flanks and rear of the enemy's detachments, and harassed them with their javelins till they lost their ranks, and were glad to abandon a kind of warfare to which neither their arms nor their military habits were adapted.

The loss sustained by the Romans was unimportant, and the advantage

⁴⁶ East Brabant and Liege.

Düsseldorf.

⁴⁷ *Novesium*, opposite the modern city of ⁴⁸ *Tac. Hist. lib. iv. 79. v. 14.*

to the confederates, in a merely military point of view, not great; the issue of this combat, indeed, served but to whet the appetite of both parties for the battle. Cerialis was incensed by the check he had received, while the confidence of Civilis in his fortune was strengthened by success. On the following morning, accordingly, the Roman general drew out his forces in three divisions in line. The advance was composed of the cavalry and the auxiliary cohorts; the second, of the heavy legions; the third, under his own command, constituted a reserve of chosen troops. Civilis adapted his order of battle to his position. His troops were drawn up in divisions of *cunei*, or wedge-shaped columns,⁴⁹ ready to defend the shallows and the weak points of his line. The Batavi and Gugerui⁵⁰ occupied the right, while the left was composed of the Bructeri and Trans-Rhenane auxiliaries. The front of his position was sufficiently secured by the marshes and flooded lands; the right by woods, and the left by the deep Rhine, and probably, also, by the fleet of the Caninefates.

Dispositions
for the battle.

Both leaders endeavoured to inspire their troops with the feelings of intense hostility which animated their own bosoms. Cerialis appealed to the ancient glories and the recent triumphs of the Roman arms: he described the approaching conflict as an execution to be done upon a band of self-condemned and intimidated rebels, as a measure for the extirpation of a race of hardened malefactors, rather than as a fair engagement with an honourable enemy. Civilis reminded his countrymen of the laurels they had gathered upon the very spot where they now stood. "Here," he exclaimed, "you tread upon the mouldering bones and dishonoured ashes of the legions of the oppressor. Whichever way your adversaries cast their eyes they encounter the memorials of captivity, suffering, and defeat. Be not cast down by the issue of the fight at Treves: *there* victory itself was your worst foe, since it seduced you to abandon your arms and load yourselves with spoil. From that period the fortune of war has turned altogether in your favour, and became adverse to your enemies." He then pointed out the strength of their position, and adjured them by their veneration for the sacred stream, the witness of their deeds, and for the gods of their fathers, by their love for their wives, their parents, and their country, to go forth with confidence to the battle which must either

Cerialis and
Civilis har-
rangue their
troops and en-
deavour to in-
spire them with
mutual hatred
and animosity.

⁴⁹ It seems that the Romans had not discarded the cuneus in the new discipline imparted to the allied and auxiliary troops. The Batavi of Civilis doubtless retained the military customs they had learnt from the Romans.

⁵⁰ The Gugerui inhabited adjacent portions of the duchies of Cleves, Gueldres, and Juliers.

Cluver affirms that the Gugerui were a colony of Sicambri transplanted thither from their original seats on the other bank of the Rhine, either by Augustus or Tiberius. He refers to *Suetonius* in *Aug.* c. 21., and in *Tiberio*, c. 9.—*Germ. Ant.* lib. ii. c. 18. But his proof, however ingenious and even probable, is not conclusive.

raise their renown high above that of their ancestors, or record their names with ignominy to posterity.⁵¹

The Roman legionaries are repulsed ;

The battle commenced on the centre and right of the Romans by the advance of the legionaries upon the flooded lands. But they soon found their ranks disordered and their march impeded by the deep and muddy soil they trod upon ; while to the lighter equipments and looser array of the Germans the ground presented no material obstacle. The first onset terminated to the disadvantage of the Romans ; the Bructeri, on the left of the confederates, plunged into the stream, and attacking the Roman right wing in flank while involved in the marshy lands, flung them back and threw them into disorder. It does not seem that the Germans pursued them to the firmer grounds beyond ; and before Civilis could take advantage of the existing confusion in their ranks, a Batavian deserter pointed out to Cerialis a tract of firm ground by which the right of the confederates might be turned. The Gugerni, who were posted there, were negligent or ignorant of this accessible point. The traitor conducted two squadrons of cavalry round by the ford, and appeared on the line of the Germans. At the same time Cerialis vigorously renewed the attack upon their front ; and Civilis was compelled to abandon a post which might, by the ordinary vigilance of good discipline, have baffled the utmost efforts of one of the most powerful armies Rome had ever sent into the field.

but the Gugerni guard their part of the line negligently. The Roman cavalry passes the marsh, and Civilis is compelled to abandon his post.

Civilis retreats to the island of the Batavi.

Having secured so considerable an advantage, Cerialis desisted from further attack. The non-arrival of the expected fleet, the showery and stormy state of the weather, and the approach of night, it is alleged, alone prevented the total destruction of the confederates. Civilis, finding his position no longer tenable, resolved to abandon the country southward of the Waal, and to retreat to the island of the Batavi. He appears to have executed this movement at his leisure, removing everything that could be of use to the enemy, and carrying off from the towns all that was of a portable nature. After effecting his retreat, he cut through the great dyke which Drusus had erected along the course of the Waal for the protection of the Belgic lowlands upon the banks of that river, in order to impede the advance of the enemy. Here a body of Chaucic auxiliaries joined him ; while Tutor, Classicus, and one hundred and thirteen Treviran senators, who still adhered to the cause of the confederates, hastened into the interior of Germany to hurry forward the levies promised by their Trans-Rhenane allies. In the interim the neighbouring Bructeri flocked to his standard. By this and other reinforce-

He cuts the great dyke of the Waal.

The Bructeri join him.

⁵¹ Tac. Hist. lib. v. cc. 14, 15.

ments his numbers were in a short time so increased as to enable him to assume the offensive.⁵²

Cerialis seems to have contented himself with watching the movements of his enemy in the Batavian island.⁵³ He stationed his troops for that purpose in four different encampments at Batavodunum, Grinnes, Vada, and Arenacum.⁵⁴ Civilis, who still kept the command of the river, determined to make a simultaneous attack upon all the four stations, rather, as it seems, with a view to prevent co-operation and to mask his principal design, than with a hope of mastering all of them at a blow.⁵⁵ He therefore divided his forces into four bodies; those of the extreme right and left were placed under the orders of Tutor and Verax, the nephew of Civilis; the centre bodies were commanded respectively by himself and Classicus. The Trans-Rhenane Germans crossed at Batavodunum, and attacked the bridge which the Romans were in the act of throwing across the river at that point, but without success. Here the night put an end to the combat. The corps on the extreme left, not more fortunate in its attack upon Arenacum, retired without having made any impression upon the Roman post. But the real struggle was to take place at Vada and Grinnes, where Civilis and Classicus commanded. At first, nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the German onset; the bravest on both sides were the earliest victims of mutual fury; among the chiefs who fell on the Roman side, the Batavian Briganticus, the commander of a body of Roman cavalry, was the most important; his zeal in the service was stimulated by that deadly animosity towards his maternal uncle Civilis, which, in civil wars and family broils, often increases in violence with the proximity of the relationship.⁵⁶ But in this in-

The stations of
Cerialis

attacked by
Civilis.

Attacks upon
Batavodunum
and Arenacum
repelled.

Attack upon
Vada and
Grinnes suc-
cessful at first.

But the arrival
of Cerialis with

⁵² *Tac. Hist. lib. v. cc. 18, 19.*—*Luden, Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes*, vol. i. p. 406.

⁵³ The insulated territory inclosed by the Rhine, the Waal, and the North Sea, extending from the town of Doornburg, where those two branches separate, to the coasts of Holland and Zealand. The more inland districts still go by the names of the *Ober* and *Neder-Betuwe*. It seems to me that, in the following narrative, Tacitus has obviously confounded the Rhine with the Waal.

⁵⁴ These places are supposed, by several respectable critics, to be represented by the modern towns of *Wyk de Deurstedde*, *Rhenen* (Grinnes quasi Rinnes, whence Rhenen), *Wageningen* and *Arnheim*. But if this representation were adopted, Cerialis must have already not only crossed the Waal into the *Insula Batavorum*, but the Rhine also, inasmuch as they are all situated on the northern bank of the latter river.

The Romans must have been upon the German shore while the Germans remained on the Gallic side. *Cluver* (lib. ii. c. 36.) strives to reconcile this hypothesis with the narrative of Tacitus, by supposing that the several places represented by the names of Arenacum, Vada, Grinnes, and Batavodunum, have been, in the course of time, transferred from the northern to the southern banks of the Rhine. Still the difficulty remains, that the Romans must have already reduced the *Insula Batavorum*, to have established themselves on *either* bank.

⁵⁵ “*Nec omnia patranda fiducia, sed multa ausis aliquâ in parte fortunam affore.*” *Tac. Hist. lib. v. c. 20.* Methinks Civilis rather desired to fix the fickle goddess to the spot where he commanded in person.

⁵⁶ *Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 70.* “*Ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt.*”

a fresh body of cavalry compels the Germans to make a hasty retreat.

stance fortune once more stood the friend of Cerialis. At the moment of extreme danger he arrived at Vada with a body of fresh cavalry, and drove the hitherto victorious Germans towards the river. Civilis, in his attempts to arrest the retreat, was recognized and pursued by the enemy; he threw himself from his horse, and plunging into the stream, reached the opposite shore in safety. Tutor and Classicus retired to their boats; and, in the absence of information to the contrary, we may confidently presume that the confederate armies made good their retreat without further loss.⁵⁷ The long-expected fleet of Cerialis, which was to have accomplished the ruin of the confederates at *Castra Vetera*, had not yet arrived; the rowers, it appears, were deterred by fear, or employed in other military duties; and Tacitus admits that he was saved from defeat and disgrace rather by that good fortune which accompanied him through life, than by any military merit of his own.⁵⁸

Comparative merits of Cerialis and Civilis.

In truth, Cerialis was quick at discerning and providing for the exigencies of the moment, but deficient in military combination, neglectful of precaution, rashly confident in the discipline of his troops and in his own headlong courage. The military conduct of his antagonist, as far as the unmilitary narrative of Tacitus enables us to judge, was distinguished by opposite qualities. His forces were a heterogeneous levy, half Roman, half barbarian in their habits of war. Though equally bold in action, he avoided battle wherever it was possible, because he could not, like his antagonist, trust to his troops to extricate him from the difficulties in which an error on his own part might involve him. He was therefore anxious to compensate the deficiency in the quality of his forces by their numbers, by the strength of his positions, by engaging their superstitions in his cause and their own, and by every device which might ward off disaster, and secure immediate or prospective advantage. By these means he was enabled to keep alive the hopes of his followers, to sustain their courage in the midst of defeat, to strike blows where they were least expected, and to balance the loss of a battle by the number of small yet important successes which his vigilance and activity enabled him to snatch from an over-confident enemy.

Cerialis inspects the winter-quarters at Neuss and Bonn.

After the actions at Grinnes and Vada, Cerialis ascended the Rhine, to Neuss and Bonn, to inspect the winter-camp of the legions stationed there. It appears that he had collected a fleet at these stations, and was

⁵⁷ Tacitus brings a heavy charge against Cerialis as a general, as it seems to me, deservedly. The dispersion of his troops, and the neglect to provide a fleet of boats to give him some command of a stream so wide, and affording such fa-

cilities for cutting off supplies, and for attacks upon his long and necessarily weak defensive line, cannot be palliated.

⁵⁸ *Tac. Hist. lib. v. c. 21.*

⁵⁹ *Novesium*; see note 20. p. 152.

proceeding, on his return to the army, with the same contempt of order and precaution which so often signalized his other movements: the ships were allowed to straggle; no sufficient look-out was kept. The Germans observed and promptly improved the opportunity his negligence afforded. Choosing a dark and cloudy night, a detachment of light vessels moved silently along the shores and reached the naval camp of the Romans without giving the alarm. One division landed and entered the camp, cutting the tent-ropes and overwhelming the sleeping soldiers beneath the heavy hides and frames of which their tents were composed. The other division grappled the Roman ships and captured several of them; among the rest, the prætorian trireme, where the Germans expected to have found the general himself. But chance, or the attractions of a Ubian lady, Claudia Sacrata, to whom he was attached, had engaged him to spend the night elsewhere, and he thus escaped the toils of the enemy. The Germans sent the admiral galley as a trophy to the prophetess Velleda up the river Lippe.⁶⁰

The Germans surprise his ships and take his naval camp.

He escapes.

Cerialis was at length, however, provided with a fleet sufficient for the protection of his operations against the Batavian island. If Civilis could not rival him in the size and equipment, he was in a condition greatly to outstrip him in the number and manageable qualities of his vessels. He collected a numerous fleet of light sailing barks, with which he severely damaged and annoyed the heavy vessels of his antagonist. The Romans, indeed, made a descent upon the island, and ravaged it, sparing the lands of Civilis with a view to fix upon him the suspicion of a secret understanding with themselves. In the interim, the autumnal rains and storms converted the whole country into a stagnant swamp; and the river floods threatened the Roman camp with the most imminent danger. This was the point of time chosen by Civilis for a vigorous and united attack, which, with the assistance of his numerous fleet of boats, seemed to promise the total destruction of the Romans. But, at the decisive moment, a sudden and general defection frustrated all his hopes, and thrust him out an exile from the country he had so long and so nobly served.

Naval warfare.

The Roman camps endangered by the autumnal floods.

Civilis is prevented from effecting the destruction of the enemy by a general defection of the Batavians.

After the ravage of the island, the season seems to have brought with it a suspension of operations. During that period, the Roman emissaries were successfully employed in poisoning the minds of the Batavian people against their heroic leader. All their allies, they were told, had been successively vanquished; instead of advantage, they had themselves derived nothing but loss from their connexion with Civilis; by this time,

The Roman emissaries undermine the influence of Civilis.

⁶⁰ Tac. Hist. lib. v. c. 22.

therefore, they must be satisfied that little was to be gained by mixing themselves up with Cis-Rhenane affairs but the vengeance of man and the anger of the gods.

The chiefs are jealous of the ascendancy of Civilis,

The same arguments were privately addressed to Velleda ; offers of pardon were held out to Civilis himself ; and to the Batavian people a renewal of the old terms of connexion with Rome. The minds of the Trans-Rhenane allies were shaken ; the Batavian commonalty were weary of the miseries of war ; the chiefs, long since jealous of the ascendancy of Civilis, yielded to the alluring contrast which the recollections of the brilliant and easy service of Rome presented to that state of privation and danger,—that humiliating subordination,—that mortifying inferiority to which the necessity of command and the talents of Civilis subjected them. They were, in truth, just in that temper in which men are glad of an object upon which to wreak their self-inflicted disappointments and sufferings. They imputed their ill-success to Civilis as a crime ;—they affected to regard his dauntless spirit as evidence of an atrocious determination to drag a whole people along with him to perdition ;—those very deeds of arms, in which they had participated, as so many treasons against his former allegiance and his own misguided people ;—the war as a reckless pursuit of objects purely personal and selfish. They concluded that, in their present desperate condition, nothing remained but to testify their repentance by cutting off so great a malefactor.⁶¹

and determine upon his ruin.

The History of Tacitus breaks off here. The fate of Civilis unknown.

Civilis was not ignorant of this design against his life ; and he sought to frustrate it by a separate negotiation with Cerialis. But here the history of Tacitus suddenly breaks off. No other historian furnishes any distinct intimation of his fate, or of the terms of reconciliation granted to the Batavians and their confederates. There can, however, be little doubt that the termination of the war left them in no better condition than they were at the commencement. As it regards the empire, the event of the struggle strongly indicates that, as long as Rome should retain her military spirit and discipline, not all the borrowed tactics or physical superiority of barbarian enemies or revolted subjects could permanently endanger the safety of the state.⁶²

The Batavians return to their old connexion with Rome.

⁶¹ Tac. Hist. lib. v. c. 24, 25, 26.

⁶² Luden's History (vol. i. pp. 355—413) has been consulted in this section, but his views have been sometimes found too wide of his authority. Though he is never unfaithful, yet his inferences and constructions are often so

violent, and his fecundity of conjecture so great, that his work must (without any design on his part to mislead) become occasionally the source of misconception and error, particularly as his citation of authorities is not always complete.

CHAP. V.

ROME AND GERMANY IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES—GERMANIC ASSOCIATIONS—FRANKS—ALEMANNI—SAXONS—GOTHS.

SEC. I.—A. D. 88 to A. D. 180.

State of Germany from the Accession of Domitian to that of Commodus.

THE loss of Tacitus as a guide again throws us back upon the disjointed and incidental notices of other writers. During the successive reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius, the scanty remarks of Dio Cassius, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, Julius Capitolinus, and Spartian, comprise all the information we possess relative to the domestic and political condition of Germany, dating from the conclusion of the great Batavian insurrection.

Of Domitian, Suetonius says that he undertook an expedition against the Chatti and Dacians ; that he triumphed over these nations, and that, like his predecessors, he assumed the surname of Germanicus.¹ But the true character of this alleged triumph may be inferred from a casual remark of Tacitus in the Life of his friend Agricola :—" Domitian," he tells us, " was conscious that his late pretended triumph over the Germans must expose him to ridicule, since all knew that he had hired persons to take upon them the dress and personal appearance of Germans, and to figure as captives in the procession ; and he was galled by the comparisons which he foresaw the people would draw between the genuine triumph of his lieutenant and his own vain and clumsy imposture."²

Domitian affects a triumph over the Germans.

But at this period the intestine wars of the German nations saved Domitian the trouble of further deception, while the profligate imbecility of that prince secured the barbarians against Roman interference in their domestic disputes. Since the elevation of Italus, the son of Flavius the traitor-brother of the patriotic Arminius,³ to the principality of the Cheruskans, that formidable people were regarded as no longer

The power of the Germans broken by intestine discord.

¹ *Sueton.* in Domit. c. 6. " De Cattis Dacisque post varia prælia duplicem triumphum egit."

² *Tac.* Vit. Agric. c. 39.

³ In the reign of Claudius, A. D. 47. See p. 139 of this History.

dangerous to Rome. Tacitus, who was prætor of Gallia Belgica in the reign of Domitian, tells us that, in his time, the Cherusci had enjoyed a long and enervating peace, the fruit of their connexion with Rome; that they were wholly occupied by internal wars and commotions; that they became severed from the communion of German politics, lost their connexions and interest among the neighbouring nations, and fell at length into such a state of decrepitude, that they were now as much despised for their inertness and insensibility to the common welfare as they had been once respected for their energetic and devoted patriotism.⁴ The cause of Germany now devolved upon the Chauci and the Chatti, who naturally watched with jealousy the movements of a people so dangerously connected as the Cherusci then were. Another Romanized prince, named Chariomir, succeeded to Italus. The Chatti, in conjunction with their neighbours, expelled him for his anti-national attachment to the enemies of their country. The ejected prince applied to Domitian for assistance, and received a sum of money to enable him to make head against his adversaries.⁵ We are not informed of the result; but it is clear that the Cherusci, once the leading nation of Germany, were at this time as little respected by their friends as feared by their foes. "Where military force," says Tacitus, "constitutes national strength, moderation and probity are attributed only to those who maintain the power to act otherwise if they please: thus the Cherusci, who, when they were powerful, bore a character for uprightness and justice, are now called inert and decrepit, and to the victorious Chatti their good fortune is imputed for wisdom."⁶

The Cherus-
cans forfeit
their influence
among their
countrymen
by their con-
nexion with
Rome,

to which the
Chauci and
Chatti succeed.

A. D. 88.

Rome becomes
involved in
wars with the
Getæ of Dacia,

the Markman-
nen and Quadi
of Bohemia
and Moravia.
A. D. 97.

In the year 88, Antonius, the governor of the province of upper Germany, was assisted by the independent tribes of the interior in an unsuccessful attempt to wrest the empire from the worthless hands of Domitian.⁷ About the same time Rome became involved in a series of sanguinary wars with the nations bordering on the Danube, from the Norican frontier to the Black Sea. Decebalus, king of the Dacians, or (as they are sometimes called) the Getæ, had beaten the lieutenants of Domitian; and Dio Cassius reports that the emperor sustained in person a severe defeat from the combined Markmannen of Bohemia and Quadi of Moravia, whom he attempted to chastise for refusing him their assistance against Decebalus.⁸ Nevertheless a victory is ascribed to Nerva, the successor of Domitian, over these nations, for which he assumed the surname of Germanicus. Alliances are talked of between the Pannonian Jazyges, and the Teutonic Suevi; but all these desultory notices

⁴ *Tac. Germ. c. 36.*

⁵ *Dio Cassius, lib. lxxvii. c. 5.*

⁶ *Tac. Germ. c. 36.*

⁷ *Sueton. in Domit. c. 6.*

⁸ *Dio Cassius, lib. lxxvii. c. 6, 7.*

authorize no other inference than that, during the wretched reign of Domitian, this frontier continued in a disturbed state, and that the daring spirit of the barbarians must shortly put the utmost vigilance of the government in requisition to prevent it from overgrowing the military strength of the empire itself.⁹

Amid the general dearth of information, some important hints relative to the internal state of Germany at this time are furnished by Pliny and Tacitus. The former apprizes us,¹⁰ that a prince of the Bructeri having been expelled by his people, applied to Domitian for assistance. Spurinna, the legate of Lower Germany, reinstated him by force of arms. But as soon as the Romans had retired, the neighbouring Chamavi and Angrivarii fell upon him and his adherents, and defeated them with great slaughter. Tacitus affirms, that the nation of the Bructeri was exterminated by this battle and its consequences; and that the Angrivarii and Chamavi stepped into their vacant settlements:—"More than 60,000 of them," he exultingly adds, "were slain, not by the hands of Romans, but, what is still more gratifying, by others for our benefit, as it were for our very sport and under our own eyes."¹¹ No one discerned more clearly the symptoms of decay in the declining empire than Tacitus; and with the patriotism of a Roman, he hailed the ferocious wars by which the enemies of the empire mutually weakened and destroyed each other as an immediate source of consolation at least amidst the waxing infirmities of the state.¹²

Civil war between the Chamavi and Angrivarii on the one part, and the Bructeri on the other.

Reported extermination of the Bructeri.

Ferocious joy of the Romans.

Ulpus Trajanus, a man of great worth and talent, had been, it should seem, appointed to the prefecture of the two Germanies after the defeat of Antonius. His government was distinguished by attention to business, liberality, and integrity. He strove to bring back prosperity to the desolated provinces; and to that end applied himself mainly to the restoration of the dilapidated and impoverished cities.¹³ In the year 98

Trajan is appointed prefect of Gaul,

⁹ Compare *Luden*, vol. i. pp. 421, 422.

¹⁰ *Plin. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 7.*

¹¹ *Tac. Germ. c. 33.*

¹² It is, at least, very doubtful whether the destruction of the Bructeri was as complete as Tacitus affirms it to have been. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, supposed to have been compiled about the reign of Alex. Severus, (between the years 222 and 235,) the Bructari, or Bructeri, occupy a large space to the eastward of the Franci. See *Tab. Peut.* Ed. Mannerti, Segm. ii. A. Some further account of this extraordinary document will be given in a note to the ensuing section. *Luden* (vol. i. p. 423.) says that the Bructeri re-appear before the end of the fourth century. *Schaten*, in his *Hist. of Westph.* p. 89,

recognizes the ancient Bructeri under the name of Boructuarii, who in the reign of Charles the Great (eighth century) occupied the same district.

¹³ *Aurel. Victor. Epit. de Vit. et Mor. Imp. in Trajano.* The computation of the time of Trajan's prefecture in Germany might run thus: Domitian began to reign in the year 84, and was assassinated in 97: Antonius rebelled in 88: after the death of Nerva, Trajan was proclaimed emperor at Colonia Agrippina in 98. It is, therefore, probable that he held the prefecture either during the whole or a great part of the period intervening between the fall of Antonius in 88 and his accession to the empire in 98. See *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxvii. c. 5.—*Aurel. Victor*, loc. cit.—*Schaten*, *Hist. Westph.* p. 87.

and succeeds to the purple at the death of Nerva.

He founds the colony of Ulpia Trajana and Castra Trajana ;

and fortifies out-posts on the right bank of the Rhine.

He conquers Dacia, and transforms it into a province of the empire.

A. D. 93.

A. D. 117.
Hadrian subsidizes the border tribes.

He maintains a large force on the frontiers, and constructs roads.

He founds the colonies of Juvavium,

he was adopted by the feeble and well-meaning Nerva, and a few months afterwards succeeded him in the empire. At the period of his elevation he was residing at Colonia Agrippina. With respect to the Rhenish frontier he appears to have adhered to the policy of Tiberius and Claudius.¹⁴ A numerous colony, called from him Colonia Trajana, was established on the Lower Rhine, near or upon the site of the modern city of Cleves ; besides two new legionary stations, called Castra Ulpia and Castra Trajana, close to the ancient Castra Vetera on the Rhine.¹⁵ Some advanced posts on the right bank of the river were likewise repaired or fortified by him, with a view to observe and check the formidable Chattic tribes between the Mayne and the Lippe.¹⁶

But the attention of Trajan was chiefly directed to the conquest of Dacia. The nations of the Lower Danube gave hostages, sent embassies, and consented to be incorporated with the empire. Thus the immense regions between the rivers Theiss and Pruth were added to the dominions of Rome. But the new province turned out the least solid, as it was the last of her acquisitions. The fate of Germany might, indeed, have been far different had the Romans turned their attention at an earlier period to the conquest of the bordering regions of Sarmatia ; or if, after they had acquired Dacia, the arm of their power had not been lamed by that internal decay which was already preying upon their strength, and hurrying their empire to its downfall.

Hadrian succeeded to Trajan, and pursued a similar policy. He kept the indigent border-tribes in good humour by annual presents and the faithful observance of the treaties concluded with them. He sent new colonies into the two Germanies. He maintained a large and well-disciplined force upon the Rhenish frontier, and provided liberally for their pay and supplies. He established new posts and stations in advance of the Rhine, and constructed several great military roads by which they might communicate directly with the principal stores in Gaul, or with the Treviran, Moguntiac, and Agrippinensian magazines.¹⁷ The colony of Juvavium, in the province of Noricum Mediterraneum,¹⁸ upon the beautiful site of the present city of Salzburg, owes its foundation to the

¹⁴ See ch. iv. sect. 2. p. 141, of this History.

¹⁵ The learned Jesuit, *Schaten* (Hist. of Westph. p. 87.), affirms, that the shores of the Rhine abound with remains of Trajan's establishments. Ulpia Trajana, in particular, was, he says, the station of the thirtieth legion. It was situated near the bifurcation of the Rhine, between Castra Vetera (Santen) and *Arenacum* (Arnheim) ; and he fixes the village of Kellen (quasi Colonia—thus Köllen for Colonia Agrip-

pina), near to Cleves, as its precise site. See also *Mascou*, vol. i. p. 171.

¹⁶ *Eutropius*, lib. viii. p. 495. ed. Elzev. calls them cities ; but this is obviously an error.

¹⁷ This system of communication is suggested by the examination of the Itinerary attributed to Antonine the successor of Hadrian, *Schaten*, Hist. Westph. p. 90.

¹⁸ The modern Bavaria.

emperor Hadrian. The Forum Hadriani in the Batavian island bears his name. But the most renowned of his works was the celebrated long wall in Franconia and Swabia, extending in a north-westerly direction from the Danube to the Rhine, and forming a defensive line of extraordinary length and strength upon the most vulnerable part of the Rhenish frontier.¹⁹ The Germanic territory on the Danube, subject to the Romans, received an internal organization resembling that of the Gallic and Belgic provinces. The districts on the right bank of the Rhine, within the great wall of Hadrian, were in like manner defended by many fortified places, which had grown into considerable towns. But there is no proof that they enjoyed municipal privileges; and the presumption is that the Romans regarded this region as a mere chain of military outposts. The land itself was looked upon as public property; and subsequently distributed (probably by Alexander Severus) among the veterans of the frontier legions, upon condition that their male descendants should be enrolled as soldiers, and be regarded as such from their birth. The territories so partitioned out received the name of *Agri Decumates*, and composed nearly the whole of the modern circle of Swabia and a part of Franconia.²⁰

and Forum
Hadriani;

and erects the
long wall in
Franconia.

¹⁹ The great Franconian wall, the traces of which are, at least, equally distinct with those of the wall of Hadrian, between the Tyne and the Solway, was about 120 English miles in length. It ran from the Rhine along the course of the Lahn to the Wetterau, then turned to the southward across the Mayne at Obernburg, passed the river Jagst at Jagsthausen, the river Kocher at Hall, and ran from thence by way of Dunkelspühl to the Danube, which it joined at Pfüring. *Eichhorn*, Deutsch. Staats. u. Rechts. Gesch. vol. i. p. 68. note (c.) The author quotes *Wenck's* Hist. of Hesse, Part ii. c. 30. et seqq., and *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans, vol. iii. pp. 134 and 280. *Mascou* (Book v. c. 10.) thinks, that Hadrian either built or greatly repaired and strengthened these remarkable lines. The practice of entrenching or walling out an enemy had been long known to the Romans. "Ea per tempora," says *Spartian* (In *Hadr.* c. 12. p. 113. Ed. Var. 1671.) "et aliàs frequenter in plurimis locis in quibus barbari non fluminibus, sed limitibus, dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepi funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit." This passage makes a difference between natural and artificial boundaries—*flumina* and *limites*; the river being taken as a mere instance of the natural limit, and the *limes* in the peculiar sense of an artificial line of separation. It should

seem, therefore, that wherever there was no natural boundary, such as a river, a chain of mountains, a sea, a tract of impassable desert or other natural impediment, the emperor Hadrian supplied it by manual labour; he erected strong stockades of stakes or huge piles driven firmly into the ground and bound together so as to give them the strength and consistency of walls. Other kinds of *limites* were dikes and fosses; walls of earth, sometimes faced with sods, sometimes with bricks and stones: these works were provided with castles and stations at intervals. The Greeks called them χειροποίητα (works of hand), to distinguish them from natural boundaries. The adoption of the *limes* did not become general until the Romans were made sensible of the insufficiency of their military force, enormous as it was, to guard the vast extent of their frontier. Tacitus mentions such an artificial boundary against the Armenians. Hadrian likewise built the long wall between the Tyne and the Solway; Diocletian and Valentinian extended and strengthened these defences, as we learn from *Aurel. Victor*, *Amm. Marcellinus*, and *Zosimus*. Many of the towns and cities of modern Europe derive their origin from the forts and stations erected for the defence of these prodigious works. See the note of *Casaubon* ad *Spartian*. in *Hadr.* p. 113.

²⁰ *Eichhorn*, Deutsch. Staats. u. Rechts. Gesch.

Long peace on
the Germanic
frontier.

For a period of more than sixty years the empire had now enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity on the German frontier. The internal dissensions of the Germans, and the activity, the general equity and sound policy of the Roman rulers since the death of Domitian no doubt promoted the interests of peace. But at the death of Antoninus Pius the storm of war broke loose with a fury unequalled since the great Illyrian insurrection.²¹

A. D. 164.
Soon after the
accession of
Marcus Aure-
lius

In the year 164, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed the Philosopher, assumed the purple, and found himself immediately involved in wars with the Parthians and Britons, with the Moors of Africa, the Spanish Lusitanians, and Gallic Sequani.²² The spirit and the discipline of the legions had suffered from long inactivity: the voluptuous and indolent habits of Ælius Verus, the colleague of Marcus,²³ promoted the decay of military spirit in the armies of the empire: and the contemplative and somewhat indolent habits of Marcus himself disinclined him from those active and ruffling occupations which now fell to his lot.

a general com-
motion breaks
out among the
German, Sar-
matian, and
Scythian na-
tions, from the
Rhine to the
Tanaïs.

Soon after his accession a general commotion broke out among the Germanic, Sarmatian, and Scythian tribes, from the Rhine to the Tanaïs. Julius Capitolinus has transmitted to us a list of the insurgent nations, which though imperfect is free from confusion. Among the Germanic nations he enumerates the Marcomanni, Quadi, Narisci, and Hermunduri; among the Sarmatians, the Latringi, and Buri; the Scythian tribes engaged are the Victovales, Sosibes, Sicobates, Roxolani, Bastarnæ, Pencini, Alani, and Costoboci.²⁴ The simultaneous rising of so many distant and heterogeneous tribes seems to have impressed the Romans with the conviction of a matured and far-spreading conspiracy against the power and the existence of the empire.²⁵ But communications so extensive can hardly be supposed possible among nations so widely dispersed, so ignorant and barbarous as the Germanic and Sarmatic races enumerated by Capitolinus. What-

vol. i. pp. 66, 67.—See also *Lamprid.* in *Alex. Sev.* c. 58. p. 1024.

²¹ In the reign of Augustus, A. D. 6 to 10.—See p. 107 of this History.

²² *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. *Jul. Capit.* in *M. Anton. Phil.* c. 22. p. 372.

²³ Verus was an inert and infirm voluptuary.—See his character in *Jul. Capit.* loc. cit. c. 16. p. 350.—Also more at length in *Spartian. Vit. Æl. Veri*, c. 4. p. 235, et seqq.

²⁴ *Jul. Capit.* in *Vit. Marc. Anton.* c. 22. p. 371. This list is remarkable chiefly for its omissions. It seems to prove, that down to the year 164 the Gothic tribes had made no pro-

gress towards the acquisition of the great power they subsequently obtained. Within a period of little more than a century from this time, the Victovales, Bastarnæ, Pencini, Alani, and Roxolani, became the subjects of the Goths; yet at the period now under review the name of *Goth* is not so much as once mentioned. Neither Vandals nor Burgundians are noticed in the list. The Longobardi occur in another writer.—See note 27.

²⁵ See to the same effect *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 5. p. 680.; but the passage is incurably corrupt.—*Mascou*, lib. v. c. 13.

ever the internal causes of the fermentation may have been, its violence expended itself almost wholly upon the Danubian provinces. According to the unanimous testimony of Dio Cassius, Julius Capitolinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Orosius, and Eutropius,²⁶ all these nations were animated with the same spirit of hatred towards Rome, and acted under one and the same impulse; yet it is singular that neither of these writers has transmitted the name of a single barbaric chief or leader engaged in the enterprise.²⁷

The causes of this fermentation are unknown;

but all are animated by a spirit of hostility against Rome.

The first gatherings of the tempest burst upon the Rhenish frontier. The warlike Chauci invaded the province of Lower Germany, while the Chatti fell upon Rhætia. The prefect, Aufidius Victorinus, repelled both attacks without much difficulty.²⁸ The full tide of war rolled towards the Danube. That frontier, owing to the absence of several legions in Parthia, was insufficiently guarded. Accordingly numerous hosts of Germans and Sarmatians passed the stream at different points, and penetrated, almost without opposition, through Pannonia to the confines of Italy.²⁹ They remained in possession of Pannonia for more than a twelvemonth before any adequate force could be collected for their expulsion. But in the year 167, both the emperors, Marcus Antoninus and Ælius Verus, advanced with a powerful army as far as Aquileia. Here they learnt that dissensions had broken out among the confederated barbarians. Some of the tribes openly seceded, others slew their own chiefs; others again opened negotiations with the Romans. The Quadi, a dominant tribe, having lost their king, are even said to have applied to the Romans to recognize the chief chosen to succeed him.³⁰ It may indeed be believed that the losses of the barbarians in their retreat were great, and that they were anxious for peace. But excepting the evacuation of Pannonia, the Romans boast of no military advantages. The emperors confined themselves to providing for the

The Chatti and Chauci are repelled by Victorinus.

A. D. 166.

Meanwhile the Germans and Sarmatians pass the Danube and take possession of Pannonia.

A. D. 167.

Dissension and discord dissolve the confederacy,

and the Romans recover Pannonia.

²⁶ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 12 and 33.—*Jul. Capit.* loc. cit.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 5, p. 680.—*Oros.* lib. vii. c. 15.—*Eutrop.* lib. viii. c. 6. The expression of Dio for the general mass of insurgent nations is, “τὰ Σκυθικά:” of Orosius, “*Omnis pene Germania* insurrexerat:” of Eutropius, “*Omnis barbaria*.”

²⁷ To the list of nations named by the writers just quoted, may be added the *Longobardi* and *Obii*, mentioned by the Byzantine, *Petrus Magister*, in *Excerptis de Legationibus* apud *J. G. Stritter*. *Memorias populorum olim ad Danubium*, &c. vol. i. p. 395. The collection of Stritter is a work of great value to the student of the barbaric ages.

²⁸ *Jul. Capit. Vit. M. Anton. Phil.* c. 8, p. 327.

²⁹ *Jul. Capit.* loc. cit. c. 14.—*Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 3.

³⁰ *Jul. Capit.* (loc. cit. c. 14.) puts the application in the form of a voluntary profession of dependence:—“Non prius se confirmaturos eum qui erat creatus dicebant, quam id nostris placuisset imperatoribus.” Ludeſen regards this version of the matter as a mere effervescence of Roman conceit, or as one of those vaunting phrases by which the Roman government disguised its communications with foreign nations and gratified the vanity of its subjects.—See *Gesch. des deutsch. Volk.* vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.

A. D. 168.

defence of the province and the security of Illyricum and Italy: the war in Pannonia seems rather to have languished than to have been extinguished. The unwarlike temper of Marcus, and the luxurious habits of Verus, but, more than any other cause, the plague which the oriental legions had brought into the field with them, compelled the postponement of further operations against the confederate tribes. The emperor Verus died on his return to Rome, and left Marcus Antoninus sole master of the empire.³¹

The barbarians
again invade
Pannonia

A. D. 169
to 171.

and Illyria,
and penetrate
to the frontiers
of Italy.

Marcus re-
cruits the Ro-
man armies by
enlisting
slaves, gladi-
ators, and male-
factors, and
engages nu-
merous bodies
of German
auxiliaries.

Marcus again,
A. D. 171.,
clears Panno-
nia of the
enemy.

He expels the
Jazyges.

A. D. 172,
or 173.

Of the occurrences which immediately succeeded the re-conquest of Pannonia, we possess only a few scattered and imperfect notices. The confusion of dates and events is such as to set at naught every attempt at a connected narrative. Between the years 169 and 171, the barbarian hordes again penetrated to the frontiers of Italy, and ranged freely through the Pannonian and Illyrian provinces. War and pestilence thinned the ranks of the Romans; the population of the exposed districts decreased rapidly; the revenue declined, and the imperial treasury became exhausted. In this emergency Marcus resorted to those extraordinary expedients for recruiting the army which had been hitherto ventured upon only in times of imminent public peril. Slaves, gladiators and malefactors were enlisted into the legions, and many bodies of barbarians, particularly Germans, were induced by great pay to enter the Roman armies,³² a practice which, from this period, became fatally prevalent in the military policy of Rome. In order to provide the necessary funds for carrying on the war, the emperor sold the sumptuous furniture of the imperial palaces, and pledged his most costly pictures, statues and jewels, even to the personal ornaments of his wife, rather than impose further burthens upon the distressed provinces.³³

In the spring of the year 171 he put his forces in march, and drove the enemy before him to the Danube; he fixed his head-quarters at Carnuntum, from which place he continued for three years to conduct or direct the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi.³⁴ Pannonia was not entirely cleared of straggling hordes of barbarians till the last year of his residence. The Jazyges, a race inhabiting the plains of modern Hungary on the left bank of the Danube, were at length driven from their last holds in the province and pushed across the river. But in mid-winter they returned in great numbers, and attempted to cross the frozen stream. The Romans encountered them upon the ice, and inflicted a severe defeat.³⁵ By these operations the front and flanks of the Roman

³¹ *Jul. Capit.* loc. cit. c. 14. p. 345.

³² *Ibid.* in *Marc. Anton. Phil.* c. 21. p. 370.

³³ *Ibid.* loc. cit. c. 17. p. 355.

³⁴ *Eutrop.* lib. viii. cc. 5 and 6.

³⁵ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 7. p. 1182. From Dio's account of this battle it seems that the bar-

armies were for a time secured; and the Danube once more afforded protection to the harassed province.

In the interim another Teutonic swarm, consisting of the Chatti and their allies, having overrun Rhætia and reached the borders of Italy, were encountered by a detachment of the Roman army under Pertinax and Pompeianus. The barbarians were defeated and driven out of the province, and Marcus Antoninus was enabled to carry the war into the country of the Quadi, the most formidable of his enemies.³⁶

About
A. D. 172.

Marcus carries
the war into
the territory of
the Quadi.

In the summer of the year 174 he crossed the Danube and advanced into the heart of the Quadic territory; but having neglected his communications, he found himself suddenly cut off from his supplies; his watering parties driven in, and the army confined and crowded together upon a spot where no water was to be obtained. In this position, surrounded and harassed by the light detachments of the enemy, and exhausted with heat and fatigue, the Romans were attacked on all sides by the exulting Quadi, and reduced to the brink of destruction. Suddenly a tempest of thunder, accompanied with heavy rain, descended upon the despairing soldiery; the storm drove in the face of their antagonists, at once assuaging the burning thirst of the Romans and blinding their assailants. This commotion of the elements was hailed as the harbinger of approaching deliverance; the barbarians, startled by sudden conflict above and around them, and surprised by the reviving spirits of the half-vanquished enemy, began to give ground, and in the end were utterly defeated.³⁷

A. D. 174.
Campaign
against the
Quadi; he is
surrounded
and cut off
from water and
supplies by the
enemy.

He is saved
by a sudden
thunder-storm

and defeats the
Quadi.

barians wished to draw the Romans into a winter campaign, trusting to the advantages which their own power of endurance would give them over an enemy unaccustomed to the severe cold of those northern regions.

³⁶ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 3. p. 1179. Both Reimar, the editor of *Dio Cassius*, and Mascon, place the incursion of the Chatti in the same year with the defeat of the Jazyges on the Danube.

³⁷ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 8 and 10. Xiphilinus, the abbreviator of *Dio* (§ 9.), contends stoutly for the honour of the *Thundering Legion*, a well-known legend of ecclesiastical history. An entire legion, so the story goes, consisting wholly of Christians, was present in the battle. At the moment of his deepest distress, Marcus Aurelius is said to have sent to request their intercession with their God; and at their prayer the windows of heaven were opened, and the rain descended upon the Roman army for its refreshment, while a storm of hailstones and fire

struck the ranks of their opponents with dismay and death. A letter is extant, purporting to have been written by M. Aurelius, acknowledging his obligations to the God of the Christians; and an edict of toleration is said to have been issued in consequence. But the letter is now admitted to be a forgery, and the edict is nowhere to be found. Indeed the persecution of the Christians went on for some time after the Quadic victory. It is, moreover, improbable that there should have been any number of Christians in the army, since the military oath taken by every Roman soldier must have been regarded by them as idolatrous. See the very sensible remarks of the historian in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* Part 19. p. 682. *Mascon* (Book v. § 17.) appeals to well-known medals of M. Antoninus, to which Moyle and (after him) Gibbon refer as proofs that the emperor himself ascribed his victory, not to the God of the Christians, but to Mercury. The vehement and credulous Tertullian is, I believe, the originator or first

The emperor makes peace with the barbarians.

The Germanic confederates send envoys to negotiate.

The Quadi are detached from alliance with the Markmannen; they surrender 13,000 prisoners.

The terms of the peace ill-observed by the Quadi.

They succour the Markmannen, privately withhold the rest of their prisoners, and eject the king appointed by the Romans.

A. D. 175.

The successes of Marcus Aurelius broke up the great confederacies of the Marcomanni and Quadi on the Danube, of the Chauci and Chatti on the Rhine, and of the Suevic tribes in the central regions of Germany. Capitolinus affirms that it was the intention of Aurelius at this time to convert Marcomannia and Sarmatia into provinces of the empire, and that he would have accomplished his design if he had not been prevented by the rebellion of Avidius Cassius in the East.³⁸ But though this event might serve to cloak the mortifying necessity of peace, yet it is known that war, famine and pestilence had done their worst upon the wretched border countries, and the emperor wisely preferred the restoration of the old to the acquisition of new territories. The German nations, either spontaneously or at the suggestion of Roman emissaries, entered into negotiations for peace. While Marcus still resided at Carnuntum, envoys came to him from several nations and clans, some offering alliance, others suing for peace. Among the latter we are told were the Quadi, whom he succeeded in detaching from the Markmannen. They supplied the Roman army with horses and cattle, surrendered all deserters, gave up thirteen thousand prisoners, and promised to send back all the rest as soon as they could be collected. Whole tribes of barbarians were taken into the pay of Rome for the defence of Dacia; many more were incorporated with the legions or attached to them, and multitudes received assignments of lands in Dacia, Pannonia, Mœsia, Germany, and even in Italy.³⁹

The Teutonic Markmannen and the Sarmatian Jazyges continued the contest for some time longer. The terms of the late peace were ill-observed by the Quadi. They afforded protection to the belligerent Markmannen when hard pressed by the Romans; it was moreover found that, instead of restoring all their prisoners, they had released only the useless and the decrepit; they had ejected the king Furtius, approved and confirmed by the emperor, and chosen Ariogæsus in his place. This election M. Aurelius refused to ratify, though the Quadi offered to purchase his consent by the surrender of fifty thousand captives. He even went so far as to put a price upon the head of Ariogæsus,⁴⁰ and made preparations to carry into execution his threat of reducing the entire Markmannic and Quadic districts into a province of the empire. But the progress of Avidius

promulgator of the legend. Xiphilinus, the abreviator of Dio Cassius, wrote in the eleventh century, and introduces the story of the *Thundering Legion* into his extracts. He accuses Dio of wilfully suppressing the truth in omitting all mention of this miracle.—See a good arrangement of the evidence on this point in *Mascon's*

Ancient History of the Germans, Book v. § 17. note 3.

³⁸ *Jul. Capit.* in *Vit. M. Anton.* c. 24. p. 385.

³⁹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. c. 11.—*Jul. Capit.* loc. cit. c. 14. p. 382.—“*In finitos ex gentibus Romano solo collocavit.*”

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* lib. lxxi. c. 13, 14.

Cassius in the East, the intrigues of the dissolute empress Faustina, and alarming disturbances in Rome itself, withdrew the attention of Marcus to Italy and Asia.⁴¹ A peace was therefore concluded, by which the barbarians renounced their league, and the Romans relinquished all the country they had conquered north of the Danube to within thirty-eight stadia of the river.⁴² Particular days and spots were fixed upon for the commercial intercourse between the barbarians and the provincials, and hostages were given on both sides for the observance of the conditions of peace. The Quadi and Markmannen this time, it appears, delivered up all their prisoners without evasion. The Jazyges entered into alliance with Rome, restored one hundred thousand captives, and furnished an auxiliary force of eight thousand cavalry, whom M. Aurelius prudently stationed in the remote province of Britain.⁴³

Marcus, unable to resent these insults, consents to a pacification. The barbarians renounce their league,

and surrender all their prisoners without reservation.

But these terms, advantageous as they were to the enemies of Rome, did not comprehend all the benefits the latter were to derive from the momentary weakness of the empire. The several tribes of which the great confederacy had consisted were admitted to separate negotiation. In the Roman phrase, indeed, the emperor is said not to have granted the same terms to all the nations who sent ambassadors to him : according to their several merits, we are told, he conferred upon them the rights of Roman citizenship, immunity from imposts, temporary or perpetual remission of tribute, or annual stipends and supplies of grain.⁴⁴ But these concessions wore the appearance of extorted boons rather than of voluntary pledges of friendship ; and unquestionably they were better adapted to stimulate than to repress the predatory spirit of the barbarians. The remoter consequences of these wars were, indeed, far more prejudicial to the empire than any immediate loss either of honour or of territory it may have sustained. The independence of the barbarian states was confirmed by alliance, their military experience increased, their appetite for plunder was whetted by the spoils of Pannonia, and even of Italy, multitudes of their countrymen were admitted into the Roman armies or became peaceably settled upon the soil of the empire, and the custody of the most exposed frontiers was intrusted to the questionable faith and fickle passions of a vast body of mercenary barbarians. These various expedients for repairing the ravages of war soon became

The terms of all these treaties are, upon the whole, advantageous to the barbarians.

These wars increase their military experience ; whet their appetite for plunder ; introduce them as mercenaries and auxiliaries into the Roman armies,

⁴¹ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 22.

⁴² *Ibid.* lib. lxxi. § 15.

⁴³ *Ibid.* loc. cit. § 16. "The power of these Sarmatians," says Dio, "and the degree of injury they were able to inflict upon the Romans, may be estimated from the fact, that they restored at the peace not fewer than one hundred

thousand captives ; though, in truth, this was but a part of the whole number taken during the war, many having been sold away to a distance, others having died, and others again having made their escape."

⁴⁴ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. § 19.

and settle
them within
the frontiers of
the empire.

the settled policy of Rome; and of all the external causes to which the downfall of the empire may be ascribed, there is none which contributed more directly to destroy the coherence of the parts and hasten its dissolution.⁴⁵

A. D. 175,
or 176.
The war breaks
out again.

The terms of this last pacification, like those of the former, were but ill-observed on either side. In the course of the same, or at farthest the year following the emperor's departure for Italy, the Roman army of the Danube under Pertinax issued from their forts and stations upon the territories of the Markmannen and Quadi, wasted the country, carried off the produce and prevented the inhabitants from returning to cultivate the soil. The envoys of the Markmannen, it seems, complained to the emperor of the distress and famine which the lawless conduct of his lieutenant had inflicted upon them. It is probable that their complaints met with no attention. The frontier territories were once more in a blaze, and two officers, whom Dio Cassius calls the Quintilii, were baffled in every attempt to bring the war to a conclusion. At this moment the contest must have assumed an alarming appearance. Marcus Aurelius (as was usual in cases of important military enterprizes) swung the bloody lance against the temple of Bellona; he obtained a large subsidy from the senate and immediately rejoined the army in Pannonia. A considerable body was detached under an officer named Paternus against the barbarians. "The enemy," says Dio, "resisted for one whole day, but were in the end defeated." He names neither the enemy attacked nor the place of battle, nor indeed any other particulars, excepting that for this victory Marcus a tenth time assumed the title of "Imperator."⁴⁶

who proceeds
against them a
third time in
person.

A. D. 173.
The Quadi de-
feated by Pa-
ternus.

A. D. 180.
Marcus Aure-
lius dies at
Vienna.
He is succeed-
ed by Commo-
dus, who
makes a
disgraceful
peace with the
barbarians.

In the fourth year of the renewed war, Marcus Aurelius died at Vindobona, the modern capital of the Austrian empire.⁴⁷ Commodus, his weak and dissolute successor, adopting the advice of flatterers and companions in debauchery, concluded an unwise and discreditable peace with the barbarians. The left bank of the Danube was entirely abandoned to the Markmannic and Quadic races, and all the strong posts by which it had been secured were dismantled. Some prisoners were mutually restored, and a body of thirteen thousand Quadian warriors was taken into the service of the empire.⁴⁸

There is reason to believe that these terms, disgraceful as they were, had been, in part at least, procured by presents and promises of subsidy

⁴⁵ These observations are founded principally upon the reports of *Jul. Capit.* in *M. Ant.* cc. 14 and 24; and of *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. cc. 11, 15, 16, 19.

⁴⁶ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxi. §. 20, 33. It was the

practice of the emperors to take to themselves the credit and honours due to the successes of their lieutenants.

⁴⁷ *Aurel. Victor*, c. 15.

⁴⁸ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxii. §. 2, 3.

to the more powerful chiefs.⁴⁹ The Romans were, at all events, for the present reduced to the defensive on the frontier of the Danube. The military force of the empire, upon which, in the absence of almost every public virtue and the alarming increase of domestic vices, the maintenance of her dominion wholly depended, was, by the admission of such numbers of barbarians into its composition, placed in a course of transfer into the hands of her most dangerous enemies. The youth of Germany was embodied in her armies, and a portion of her territories was already transferred to the hardy and turbulent children of the north. Dangerous sympathy, secret understandings and (more than all) accurate intelligence of the state of the empire, could no longer be wanting to the enterprising races of the Rhine and the Danube. Their subsequent history will show how they availed themselves of these advantages, and place the effervescent yet vigorous and enduring spirit of German freedom, in a strong contrast with the always mean and temporizing, and frequently treacherous policy of a people, which still gloried in the name of Romans, and for nearly three centuries more was permitted to lord it feebly over the brightest and most productive regions of the earth.

SECTION II. A.D. 180—235.

The Roman Empire from the Death of M. Aurelius to that of Maximin—Transactions with the Germanic Nations during that period.

FROM the death of Marcus Antoninus to that of Maximin, the details we possess relative to the proper history of Germany are so meagre and so much scattered through the pages of many different writers, that it seems more convenient to arrange them with reference to a well known series of events, the history indeed of another people, yet over whose destiny that of Germany exercised the strongest influence, than to attempt, by the help of conjecture, to mould them into an independent narrative. The story possesses, in truth, scarcely any other interest than as it keeps the Germanic nations in sight; and proves that up to the close of the period in question no material alteration had taken place in their relations to the empire.

After the termination of the great Marcomannic war, the supreme power remained for a period of thirteen years in the hands of the cruel and licentious Commodus. His death made way for P. Helvius Per-

⁴⁹ *Herodian*. lib. i. c. 6.

succeeded by
Pertinax.

The empire is
sold to Didius
Julianus,

A. D. 197.

whom the se-
nate condemns
and puts to
death.

Septimius Se-
verus succeeds.

A. D. 211.
He transmits
the empire to
his son Cara-
calla,

who is got rid
of by assassina-
tion.

A. D. 218.
Macrinus.

Heliogabalus.

A. D. 222.
Alexander Se-
verus.

A. D. 235.

Maximin the
Goth,

tinax, a man of experience and probity, but destitute of the qualities necessary to encounter the torrent of corruption which his detestable predecessor had set a-flowing. After a reign of eighty-seven days he was murdered by the Prætorian body-guard, and the empire put up to auction and sold to Didius Julianus, præfect of the city.

After this contemptible bargain was struck, three emperors started up at once in Britain, Pannonia and Syria, the creatures of the several armies stationed in those provinces. The weak and degraded senate was permitted to wreak its resentment upon the phantom emperor Didius. The Prætorians permitted them to condemn and put him to death; but the real struggle for the purple took place at a distance from the seat of empire. After a bloody contest of three years' duration, Septimius Severus, a man of powerful mind and sanguinary disposition, succeeded in beating down both his competitors. After a vigorous reign of fourteen years, he was permitted peaceably to transmit the empire to his sons Caracalla and Geta. The former, a half insane and sanguinary tyrant, slew his brother with his own hand; and after a short reign of unexampled atrocity and folly, himself fell a victim to the maxims of tyrannicide, which supplied by assassination the place of those virtues and that intelligence by which in better times mankind has sought a remedy against the dangers of despotism.

Marcus Opilius Macrinus and his son Diadumenus succeeded Caracalla. But within a year of their elevation they too fell a sacrifice to the rebellious legions of Syria, who, at the instigation of Socemis, a niece of Caracalla, had set up her son Heliogabalus against them. After four years spent in the unbridled indulgence of lust, superstition and cruelty, Heliogabalus and his mother were both miserably murdered by the soldiery, and their lifeless bodies treated with all the indignities inflicted upon the remains of common malefactors.

Alexander Severus, the son of another niece of Caracalla, was now elevated to the empire by the Prætorians. After a meritorious reign of thirteen years, this well-intentioned prince was slain in a military tumult near the Rhine, whither he had marched from Syria to repress a formidable incursion of the Germans. Maximinus, a Thracian Goth, seized upon the vacant purple. This man had recommended himself to the emperor Septimius Severus by feats of great bodily strength and courage. He promoted him from the ranks to important military commands, and Maximin remained faithfully attached to his benefactor as long as he lived. At the death of Septimius, Maximin retired from the service, and resided upon a domain he had purchased in his native country, where he applied himself to cultivate the friendship of the neighbouring

Goths and Alani.¹ Alexander Severus recalled him, and placed him in the command of the Rhenish legions. In this station he restored the relaxed discipline of the army, while he confirmed himself in the favour of the soldiery. Common fame charges him with the death of the emperor Alexander Severus,² nor, indeed, is there anything in the charge inconsistent either with the character of the man or of the age in which he lived. Though neither deliberate cruelty nor habitual faithlessness were inherent in the German character, yet the barbarian mercenaries too soon learnt to imitate the vices, while they despised the weakness of their employers.

employed by Alex. Severus, and requites him by instigating his murder.

To these reigns and their respective dates we may now conveniently append the few facts which have come to our knowledge respecting the Germanic tribes during these periods. Dio Cassius makes a cursory allusion to a victory gained by Caracalla over an Alpine nation whom he calls Cenni.³ Aurelius Victor slightly alludes to a second over a combination of Suevic tribes called Alemanni: the notice is remarkable only as it forms the first introduction into history of that powerful and influential body.⁴ Yet the policy of Caracalla (if it deserves the name) renders the truth of these victories very questionable. He appears, in general, to have preferred pacifying his barbarian neighbours by subsidies and bribes to the risks and labours of war. The piratical tribes dwelling upon the Lower Elbe and the shores of the North Sea, received sums of money to induce them to abstain from ravaging the coasts of the empire. Encouraged by their success other nations became clamorous for presents, and some of them extorted large sums by the mere effect of menace.⁵ The policy of fomenting discord among the bordering races went hand in hand with the practice of purchasing forbearance. Caracalla encouraged broils between the powerful Marcomanni and their northern neighbours the Vandals;⁶ he flattered and subsidized the border chiefs; he entrusted his person to a body-guard of Germans selected from among their stoutest and most distinguished warriors;⁷ he mimicked their dress, and wore their yellow hair.⁸

The few facts relative to German history arranged according to the order of these reigns.

First notice of the Alemanni in the reign of Caracalla.

The piratical tribes of the Elbe and North Sea extort money from the Romans.

Caracalla purchases peace from the barbaric chiefs;

he forms a body-guard of barbarians, mimics their dress and habits.

¹ *Jul. Capit.* in *Maximino*, vol. ii. c. 4. p. 18. This passage in *Jul. Capit.* is curious, as containing the earliest mention of the Goths in connexion with the Roman frontier. Comparing this fact with the striking omission of the Gothic name in the list which the same writer gives of the Sarmatian and Scythian assailants in the year 164, (see p. 176. note 24, of the preceding section,) we might, perhaps, venture to assign the intervening seventy years as the era of the Gothic migration from the Vistula to the shores of the Euxine.

² *Lamprid.* in *Alex. Severo*, vol. i. c. 59. p. 1028.—*Jul. Capit.* vol. ii. p. 24.

³ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxvii. § 14. p. 1300.

⁴ *Aurel. Victor*, in *Caracalla*, p. 329.

⁵ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lxxvii. § 14. p. 1300.

⁶ *Ibid.* lib. lxxvii. c. 20. p. 1305.

⁷ *Ibid.* lib. lxxviii. § 6. p. 1314. Dio calls these body-guards *Scythæ et Celtæ*,—usual names for the mingled Germanic and Sarmatian tribes. It will hereafter appear that these adventurers were, in all probability, of Gothic extraction.

⁸ *Ibid.* lib. lxxviii. § 3. p. 1311.

In the reign of Alex. Severus the Rhenish tribes invade Gaul.

A. D. 234.

Herodian's description of the Germans.

Alex. Severus compelled to buy a peace with them.

Maximin plunges into war with the Trans-Rhenane Germans.

They avoid a battle.

He ravages their country.

Herodian's narrative of the campaign.

The reigns of Macrinus and Heliogabalus are barren of incident relating to the history of Germany; but towards the end of that of Alexander Severus, Gaul suffered so dreadfully from the incursions of the Rhenish tribes, that he suspended an expedition he had contemplated against the Persians, and marched to the succour of the distressed province.⁹ He brought with him from Parthia and Mauritania a large mercenary force of light-armed archer cavalry. Herodian describes these troops as very formidable to the Germans, whose close ranks and gigantic stature presented a broad mark to the oriental arrow and javelin of reed. Yet he admits that in close fight the Germans often maintained their ground, and that, as soon as Alexander became sensible of this inauspicious equality, he hastened to offer them terms of peace, "promising them all things they might stand in need of, besides a large sum in ready money. For," he continues, "the Germans are exceedingly greedy of gold, and are never backward in striking a bargain for it with the Romans. Therefore Alexander preferred purchasing peace and alliances to the uncertainty of war."¹⁰

The assassination of Alexander put a speedy end to these weak and temporizing measures. Maximin rushed into the war with the ferocity of a savage. His natural contempt of danger was stimulated by a sense of his precarious position. He was not ignorant that the senate and people of Rome despised him as a barbarian, and hated him as the creature of the army; he knew that his power rested solely upon the fickle affections of the soldiery, and that it could be sustained only by the splendour of his achievements and the terror of his name.¹¹ The army was therefore immediately hurried into the field. Upon their entrance into the German territories they found the country deserted, and for a time no enemy appeared to impede their progress. Maximin, who was anxious for speedy and decisive successes, revenged himself upon the possessions and property of the enemy. He gave up the whole country to pillage; the harvests were gathered in by the soldiers, and the villages burnt or levelled to the ground. Herodian's narrative of this campaign shows how little alteration had taken place in the modes of life and the method of encountering invasion among the Germanic nations since the ages of Cæsar and of Tacitus. "The towns and buildings," he says, "are easily destroyed by fire. For structures of stone or brick are very uncommon among the Germans. They choose the most impervious

⁹ *Herodian*, lib. vi. c. 7.—*Lamprid.* in *Alex. Sev.* c. 59. p. 1025.

¹⁰ *Herodian*, ubi supra.

¹¹ *Jul. Capit.* in *Maximino*, vol. ii. c. 12. pp. 33, 34.

forests for their habitations, where they construct huts of beams fixed and cemented together. Maximinus, therefore, having desolated the entire country, gathered in or destroyed the grain, and given up the captured cattle to the soldiers, found himself still without an enemy to contend with in the field; inasmuch as the barbarians avoided the open country or spots clear of trees, preferring to lurk in the forests and among the marshes, whence they might harass their enemies by sudden incursions and alarms. And, indeed, that very density of the trees which occasioned such obstruction to the arrows and javelins of the Romans, and the depth of the swamps so dangerous to persons unacquainted with the ground, rather facilitated than impeded the motions of the barbarians, who were familiar with all the tracks and paths of the swampy wilderness, and accustomed every day to wade through it up to their knees in water. Moreover, the Germans are expert swimmers, being in the constant habit of bathing in the rivers.”¹²

The barbarians
continue to re-
treat before
Maximin.

The sequel of this campaign brings back to our recollection the conduct of Arminius and Inguiomar when opposed to the superior discipline of the armies of Germanicus. The retreat of the Germans at length came to an end. Maximin found them posted behind a wide tract of marshy and flooded ground, where the heavy-armed legions could not attack them without great difficulty and danger, and where their own activity and local knowledge compensated the defects of their discipline and the inferiority of their arms. Maximin, who was always foremost in the battle, and gloried in displaying his herculean strength and exposing his person like the commonest soldier, plunged his horse into the swamp, and advanced singly against the enemy. The soldiers at first hesitated to follow, and for a time the emperor fought unsupported; but shame at length urged them forward to his assistance; “the swamp was choaked with bodies,” such is the hyperbolical phrase of the panegyrist, “and the marsh-waters were dyed red with blood.” Maximin slew many of the enemy with his own hand, and the victory was so complete that scarcely a barbarian escaped the carnage. This battle afforded a fair occasion for indulging in that boastful humour which had now become a practice with the Roman princes, and expected by their subjects. He announced this battle and his own achievements, not merely by issuing the usual letters to the senate and people of Rome, but by causing large pictures of them to be painted and put up in front of the senate house, in order that the citizens might thus be made, as it were, eye-witnesses of his deeds. The campaign, which began on the Rhine, terminated at Sirmium¹³ in

They take post
in a position
protected by
marshes.

Maximin
attacks them
with impetuous
courage,

and defeats
them with
great slaughter.

In this cam-
paign Maxi-

¹² *Herodian*, Panagyr. lib. vii. c. 2.

¹³ The exact locality of this ancient capital of

min marches through central Germany, and places his A. D. 235, or 236.

troops in winter-quarters in Pannonia.

He projects the conquest of Germany.

The Roman senate proclaims him a public enemy.

He abandons his designs in Germany, and marches to the confines of Italy.

A scarcity of provisions, and the military severity of Maximin alienate the minds of the soldiery.

He besieges Aquileia.

Pannonia, where the legions took up their winter quarters, and Maximin employed himself in preparing for the entire subjugation of Germany from the Danube to the shores of the Baltic.¹⁴

The martial character of the emperor, his Teutonic extraction, his acquaintance with the language of the Germans and with the modes and habits of barbarian warfare, and, possibly also, the connexions he formed during his retirement among his Gothic countrymen,¹⁵ rendered the success of the project in his hands more probable than it had been at any previous period. But the barbaric vigour of Maximin threatened the Roman senate with a system of military coercion even more rigorous than that under which they had hitherto laboured. They therefore, in total ignorance of the growing danger of the empire for which a despotic military power had by this time become the only remedy, and listening solely to the suggestions of their own fear, vanity and hatred, proclaimed him a public enemy,¹⁶ and invested Maximus Pupienus and Claudius Balbinus with the purple.

The intelligence of this transaction threw Maximin into a transport of rage. With his accustomed celerity he led his legions, strengthened by a body of German auxiliaries, towards the frontier of Italy. But the emissaries of the new emperors Maximus and Balbinus had been beforehand with him, and prevailed upon the inhabitants of the open country to remove all their provisions and moveable property into the walled towns. Maximin found the city of Emona, a flourishing colony on the borders between Pannonia and Noricum,¹⁷ deserted by the inhabitants. A dearth of provisions soon began to be felt in the camp, and the severity with which Maximin repressed the symptoms of insubordination which it occasioned, alienated the minds of the soldiery, who seem to have been attached to their leader rather by sentiments of admiration and fear than of affection. On his arrival before Aquileia he found that city prepared for an obstinate resistance. The operations of attack and defence were carried on for some time with desperate resolution on both

Pannonia is not ascertained. It is, however, known to have been built on a small river descending from the hills on the frontier between Austria and Hungary, not far from its confluence with the Save. *Hoffm. Lex. Univ. ad Verb.*

¹⁴ *Jul. Capit.* in *Max.* vol. ii. c. 13. p. 36.—*Herodian*, ubi sup.—*Mascou.* book v. c. 29.

¹⁵ See above, p. 184. The true Teutonic origin of the Goths, to which people Maximin belonged, will appear in the sequel.

¹⁶ *Jul. Capit.* in *Max.* vol. ii. c. 15. p. 41.

¹⁷ The modern city of Laybach, in Carniola,

is supposed to mark the site of the *Emona* or *Hemona* of Herodian and Zosimus. See particularly the digression of Zosimus respecting Emona in his *Hist. lib. v. p. 334.* Ed. Oxon. 1679. See also *Mascou*, book v. c. 30. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Ed. Mannerti Segm. iv. B. and Segm. vi. A.) places Emona at a short distance from the river Save, on the direct road from Sirmium to Aquileia, in a position corresponding as exactly as could be expected from so inartificial a compilation with that of Laybach, the modern capital of Carniola.

sides; but the continued scarcity by degrees slackened the zeal of the besiegers, while the proclamations of the senate against the tyrant were obeyed with alacrity by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. Maximin became at length sensible that he was in truth the public enemy so denounced by the senate. The contagion of the universal detestation spread silently but irresistibly among his own soldiers; and the disaffected, watching their opportunity, fell upon the emperor and his son, a young man of singular beauty and promise, and but lately wedded to a lady of the imperial house of M. Aurelius, and murdered them in their tents with every mark of outrage and indignity:—their heads were sent to the senate as a peace-offering for the army.¹⁸

and is murdered, together with his son, by the soldiers.

Many preceding emperors had evinced a strong disposition to favour and confide in the German auxiliaries in their armies. After the death of the tyrants and the submission of their troops, the emperors Maximus and Balbinus dismissed the legionaries to their appointed stations, and carried the auxiliary Germans with them to Rome as a check upon the licentious spirit of the Prætorian bands.¹⁹ The latter perceived their danger, and Janizary-like struck at the life of the new emperors.²⁰ Both princes sunk beneath the daggers of the Prætorians before they could receive assistance from the German mercenaries, who themselves fell a sacrifice to the jealous fury of the imperial guard.

The Prætorians resent the introduction of the Germans, and murder both emperors.

M. Antoninus Gordianus was chosen by the troops to succeed the murdered emperors. During this reign the name of a new enemy appears upon the north-eastern frontier of Gaul. A people called Franks, a race destined from this moment to occupy a large space in the eye of history, had taken occasion to invade Gaul and to inflict upon it severer injuries than any it had hitherto suffered. Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, who afterwards obtained the purple, was despatched against them.

Gordian succeeds.

A. D. 238. to 244.

First appearance of— I. Franks.

It has been already remarked that in the reign of Caracalla the Romans had encountered a new nation, or community of nations, under the name of Alemanni. About the period now under consideration, these tribes are found in possession of south-western Germany, in the region between the Mayne, the Rhine, and the Alps, and spreading along the left bank of the Danube to the vicinity of the Sarmatian nations.²¹

II. Alemanni.

To the northward of the Alemanni and Franks a third race is discernible in the misty horizon of contemporary history. The Saxons, a nautical

III. Saxons.

¹⁸ *Jul. Capit. in Maximin.* vol. ii. cc. 23, 24. pp. 55, 56.

¹⁹ *Herodian*, lib. viii. c. 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.* lib. viii. c. 8.

²¹ Including the whole of the modern circle of

Swabia, perhaps also the whole of Franconia, a part of Bavaria north of the Danube, and even Bohemia and Thuringia, (Upper Saxony.) Hermanduri, Marcomanni, and Quadi, appear to have melted into this new denomination.

tribe, whose original seat was confined to a few islands and swamps at the mouth of the Elbe, are found to have extended their possessions along the banks of that river, and thence westward to the Weser, and northward to the Cimbric Chersonesus.

IV. Goths.

But a more formidable foe to the enfeebled empire than either of the preceding had been for several ages past gathering strength and solidity to the northward of the Illyrican and Dacian provinces. These enemies now became known by the name of Gothi or Gotthi, and consisted chiefly of tribes of Germanic origin swelled by the accession of many Sarmatian or Slavonic hordes. Without any satisfactory information as to the origin and growth of this vast power, we find the Goths at once the masters of the vast regions extending from the Oder and the Vistula, along the north-eastern limits of the empire to the coasts of the Euxine, and thence to the Don or Tanais, which then, as now, formed the boundary between Europe and Asia.

These nations, or confederacies of nations, to whichever description they may upon investigation turn out to belong, strongly solicit our attention and excite our curiosity. We are anxious to ascertain and examine even the minutest particulars which might tend to elucidate the rise and progress of those mighty swarms which were destined to sweep away the ancient civilization of the world, and to plant the germs of a new social system amid the corruption of the old. But as, in pursuing the origin of the ancient culture to its source, we are driven into the misty regions of mythic tradition, so here we find our inquiries replied to by fables, our view bounded by incredible fictions, and our hopes frustrated by inconsistent statements. We must therefore in this, as in the former case, be contented rather to distinguish the probable from the improbable than to separate the true from the false,—rather to select and reconcile than to prove or to assert.

SECTION III.

I. *Franks*.—II. *Alemanni*.—III. *Saxons*.—IV. *Goths*.

WE are indebted to bishop Gregory of Tours for the earliest tradition relative to the origin of the Franks. “Many persons,” he says, “affirm that the Franks came originally out of Pannonia, and that they at first settled upon the banks of the Rhine; after which they passed that river, and having traversed the territory of the Tungri, they created long-haired

kings, chosen from the first and noblest family among them, to rule them by divisions of cantons or states.”¹ But this fable seems to have been unknown to St. Jerome, who, in his *Life of St. Hilarion*, written in the fourth century, places them in a position between the Saxons and the Alemanni, and describes them as a people not so much distinguished by the extent of their possessions as by their strength and capacity;—the older historians, he adds, called the country Germania; in his own age it was named Francia.²

The Pannonian origin of the Franks resting solely upon the vague tradition of Gregory, current towards the end of the sixth century, we recur with satisfaction to the precise and determinate position assigned to them by St. Jerome in the fourth. Both the Roman and the Greek historians concur with his statement, and place the original settlements of the Frankish nations in the region between the Saxons on the north and the Alemanni on the south.³ According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*,—if that singular document be indeed entitled to the authority claimed for it,—the Franks are marked as settled on the Rhine, and were, at the period when that very ancient chart was compiled, clearly identified with the well-known tribes of the Chauci, Amsivarii, Cherusci, and Chamavi.⁴ The chart itself is indeed little more than a clumsy transcript of an old Roman itinerary which, in the shape of an elongated roll, marked the direction of the principal military roads of the Roman empire, the days’ marches, and the stations of the legions. But the arguments by which the original of the copy we possess is traced to the first half of the third century impart the highest degree of authority to the document, and render it conducive to the determination both of the geographical position and of the origin of that remarkable people.⁵

The origin of the Franks not derivable from immigration or conquest.

After noticing the four nations just enumerated as partakers of the

Bructeri, Chamavi,

¹ *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 9. D. Bouquet*, vol. ii. p. 166.

² *Hieronym. in Vita D. Hilarion, ap. Schaten*, (*Hist. Westph. p. 100.*) speaking of the youth Candidus whom St. Hilarion had dispossessed of a devil.

³ See their accounts compared in *Cluver, Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 20. p. 586.*

⁴ *Tabula Peutingeriana. Ed. Mannerti Segm. i. A.* The position is marked thus:—Chauci, Amsivarii, Cherusci, Chamavi, qui et Franci; but the letters are miserably distorted and intermingled.

⁵ A short abstract of the arguments by which Mannert establishes the antiquity he claims for the original of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* may

not be misplaced in a note. After noticing the *Orbis Pictus*, which Augustus constructed by the assistance of Greek and Roman surveyors, and which was brought to perfection by these persons after a joint labour of upwards of thirty years, he proceeds to show that neither Constantine the Great nor any emperor of the fourth century could have been the author of that *original* *Orbis Pictus* from which the *Tab. Peut.* was copied. The *first* argument is, that the existing document does not notice the new divisions of Gaul introduced by Constantine, but retains the old divisions into Belgica, Lugdunensis and Aquitanica. The *second*, that it places the Franks on the right bank of the Rhine, whereas, in the age of Constantine, they had already overstepped

Amsivarii,
(Ansibarii),
Cherusci,
Chauci, and
Chatti,
members of the
Frankish asso-
ciation.

Frankish name, we next find a district rudely marked "Francia;" and in the following segment,⁶ forming a continuation of the old roll, the Burcteri (Bructeri) are marked. But we learn from Gregory of Tours,⁷ who quotes an author named Sulpitius Alexander, that at the close of the fourth century not only the Bructeri, but also the Chamavi, Amsivarii, and even the Chatti, were included in the list of the Frankish nations. The "Francia," therefore, of the Tabula may, without any serious objection, be presumed to have extended over the regions between the Rhine and the Elbe, a district agreeing precisely with the position assigned to the Franks by St. Jerome at the same point of time.⁸

The name
"Frank," a
confederate
denomination,

includes the
ancient Si-
cambri,
Usipetes and
Tenchteri.

The name of Franks being assigned by neither of these writers to any one in particular among the enumerated tribes, leads to the inference that it was not, in fact, a tribe-name, but a confederate designation. Gregory of Tours himself adopts this view;⁹ Claudian poetically couples the Salii, a well-known division of the Frankish community, with the Sicambri, a name identified in history with the Usipetes and Tenchteri of Julius Cæsar,¹⁰ and acknowledged as a proper and intelligible designa-

that limit, and were established in the Batavian island; yet the Batavi still appear on the face of the chart in their old position. *Thirdly*, by comparing the Tabula with the later revisions of the Itinerary of Antonine, it is apparent that it must have been compiled prior to the reign either of Diocletian or of Galerius, or even to that of Aurelian. *Fourthly*, several circumstances would seem to concur in favour of the reign of Septimius Severus: *first*, it notices Franks and Alemanni, who, according to *Vopiscus*, (in *Aurel. c. 7.*) appeared settled on the Rhine and Danube in the reign of Caracalla; *secondly*, it makes no mention of the Goths, who first began to infest the Danubian provinces at a somewhat later period: so neither *Spartian* nor *Herodian* make any mention of the Goths in their Lives of Severus,—a certain indication that *that* people had not, up to the period in question, penetrated to the banks of the Danube.

Some other circumstances, however, noticed by Mannert, in his opinion turn the scale in favour of the reign of Alexander Severus, though the absence of all notice of the Goths, who in that reign were actually settled upon the Danube, seems to weaken the argument. But we find that it *does* mention the Alemanni, who first became known in the reign of Caracalla, A. D. 211, or at the earliest during the latter years of Sep. Severus, between which period and the appearance of the Goths on the

Danube in the reign of Alexander not more than twelve or fifteen years elapsed. The inference is, that the Tabula was compiled during this interval.

But as the copyist to whom we are indebted for the extant document was a monk of the thirteenth century, many errors in the orthography of the chart, and some obvious interpolations are perceptible. On these grounds *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 64.) professes to place little reliance upon it. My time has not permitted me to examine it with sufficient attention to ascertain how the admission of the authenticity of such a document might affect M. Luden's very peculiar views; it is sufficient to observe that he admits the not having perused M. Mannert's lucid and ingenious dissertation prefixed to his edition of the Tabula published at Leipsig in 1824, from which this note has been drawn up.

⁶ Segm. ii. A.

⁷ Hist. Fran. lib. ii. c. 9. *D. Bouquet*, lib. ii. p. 165.

⁸ This proposition, it is admitted, depends upon the geographical position of the Saxons and Alemanni; but in those particulars, I think, there will be found little difficulty. See the sequel of this section.

⁹ *D. Bouq.* ubi sup.

¹⁰ *Cluv.* Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 20. p. 584, quotes *Claudian* in Prim. Consul. Stilichonis, lib. i. v. 222.

tion of the Franks as late as the reign of Chlodwig,¹¹ at the conclusion of the fifth century.¹² Thus another numerous and important tribe, with which we are already familiar through the classical historians of Rome, is added to the list of nations who, from this period, are designated in a mass by the adopted name of *Franks*.

We are led, in the next place, to inquire into the nature of the peculiar connexion whereby these various septs became welded together into one powerful body, acting in one direction, and obeying one and the same impulse. This phenomenon has been accounted for¹³ by supposing that all the tribes which now stand upon our list as members of the Frankish community,—Chauci, Amsivarii, Cherusci, Chamavi, Bructeri, Salii, Sicambri, and Chatti,—were enrolled under the banners of one dominant tribe called Franks, which gradually imparted its own name to the bundle of nations over which it ruled or presided. But the only historical support for this hypothesis is found in the vague tradition of Gregory of Tours which derives the Franks from Pannonia.¹⁴ On the other side it may be urged with propriety, that at the first introduction of the Franks into history, several ancient and well-known tribes already bore that name,—that these septs did not lose their peculiar tribe-names till some centuries afterwards, and are in the interim severally known and described, individually by those names, and collectively by that of *Franks*,—that we find no separate mention of a dominant tribe of Franks among them,—that we hear of no common ruler, no central government, no principle of cohesion except that of conquest or defence, of interest or ambition, cemented and fortified in this instance by sentiments of hereditary hatred and traditional revenge.¹⁵

Nature of the connexion subsisting between the various members of the Frankish association.

No dominant tribe of that name appears in genuine history.

The union grounded upon the old principles of the Teutonic associations.

¹¹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 31.—*D. Bouquet*, vol. ii. p. 177. The passage alluded to is the well-known address of St. Remigius to Chlodwig at his baptism—"Mitis depone colla *Sicamber*: adora quod incendisti: incende quod adorasti."

¹² Chlodwig was baptized in the year 496.

¹³ By *Mascou* in particular, book v. c. 31.

¹⁴ See p. 190. Those who are curious about the fables with which the writers of the middle ages have adorned the origin of the Franks, may find them all enumerated and refuted with a superfluity of argument by the learned Jesuit *Schaten*, in his *Hist. Westph.* lib. iii. pp. 98, 99.

We are surprised to find the names of Abbot Trithemius (one of the most learned men of the fourteenth century) and Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) among the advocates for the Trojan descent of the Franks, and their fabulous migrations from the Palus Mæotis to the Rhine, under Antenor and Marcomirus.

¹⁵ See chap. ii. sec. 2. p. 89; and chap. iii. p. 98. It is remarkable that the writers of the period now under consideration do not even treat the Franks as a *new* combination of nations. They do not mention a syllable about foreign conquest or immigration, but, on the contrary, speak of them always as the identical people who had together maintained the struggle for independence against Rome for many ages past. It may be noticed here, that *Amm. Marcellinus* adds another name to the list of Frankish nations, "Rhenus exinde transmisso regionem subito (Julianus) invasit *Francorum*, quos *Attuarios* vocant," &c. Lib. xx. c. 11. p. 277. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, (Carm. vii. Panegy. Avit. Aug. v. 324, and Carm. xiii. p. 812.) as well as *Claudian*, (De Quart. Con. Honor. v. 444, et seq. and De Prim. Cons. Stilich. lib. i. v. 219, et seq.) use poetically the ancient names for the new confederacy without fear of being misunderstood.

Derivation of the name from the Teutonic word "Frank" or free.

The derivation of the name adopted by the great Frankish union has given rise to much curious speculation.¹⁶ The old Teutonic word "Frank," or free, seems to suggest the most obvious etymology. The nations which composed the league had always been the foremost in the struggle for independence, the most warlike and the most formidable neighbours to Rome. That the Germanic tribes gloried in appellations conveying a general claim to the virtues upon which they most prided themselves, is proved by the fabled descent from the God Tuisto and his son Mannus, adopted in the earliest and most general denomination of their race,¹⁷ as well as in that of *Wheirmannen*, or warriors, by which they became best known to their neighbours. The name of Alemanni bespeaks a similar feeling; and that of Franks, assumed by the inhabitants of north-western Germany, is in strict correspondence with the same species of national prepossession. Other derivations of a far less probable character have been suggested and maintained with equal pertinacity; that etymology has been preferred in this place which not only has an intelligible root in all modern languages of Teutonic origin, but is countenanced by a well-known feature in the character of the nation itself.

Limits of ancient France, the Rhine, the German Ocean, the Elbe, the Saale, and the Mayne.

Consistently with the view we have taken of the materials of which the great Frankish union was composed, we comprise within the limits of ancient France many nations known by names of old celebrity, the Chauci, Bructeri, Cherusci, and Chatti; in fact, whatever tribes were found dwelling to the eastward of the Lower Rhine from the shores of that stream to the waters of the Elbe and the Saale; and on the northward shut in by the German Ocean: to the southward again the river Mayne¹⁸ divided the Franks from the great community of nations known by the name of Alemanni, to which we shall next advert.

Alemanni. First mention of them in Roman history in the reign of Caracalla.

Between A. D. 211 and 217.

II. Spartian, in his Life of Caracalla, mentions a victory gained by that prince over the Alemanni on the confines of Rhætia.¹⁹ Aurelius Victor removes the scene to the banks of the Mayne; and he adds, that the Alemanni were a numerous and warlike people, and wonderfully expert in equestrian warfare.²⁰ Dio Cassius affirms that Caracalla took up

Schaten (Hist. Westph. lib. iii. p. 97.) enumerates Bructeri, Sicambri, Usipetes, Tenchteri, Chamavi, Angrivarii, Dulgibini, Ansivarii, Marsi, Chatti, Cherusci, and all the tribes dwelling between the Lower Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe, and along the coasts of the North Sea, comprising the Frisii, Chauci, and Tubantes;—"All these nations," he says, "entered into a confederacy of war rather to break through than to defend the frontier of the Rhine."

¹⁶ The particulars may be perused in *Cluver's*

Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 20. p. 586.; and in *Luden*, vol. ii. note 36. p. 477, 478.

¹⁷ Tuistones.

¹⁸ *Cluv.* lib. iii. c. 20. p. 585. The Saale formerly separated the Chatti from the Hermunduri. See also *Schaten*, Hist. Westph. lib. iii. p. 98, 101—103.

¹⁹ *Spartian in Caracall.* vol. i. cc. 5 and 10. pp. 713 and 731.

²⁰ *Aur. Victor De Cæsar.* in *Caracall.* p. 329. From this success the emperor assumed the surnames of Germanicus and Alemannicus.

his residence in the country of certain Alemannic tribes in alliance with Rome, and that wherever he found a suitable spot, he erected a castle, and named it after himself. The natives, though disgusted by his vanity and pretensions, did not take offence at these proceedings; some were wholly at a loss to comprehend their meaning, others thought him in jest. The half insane tyrant affected to despise their want of spirit in not resenting these vexations. Under pretence of a summons to the field, he collected their youth together, and surrounding them with his soldiers, gave the signal for the slaughter by raising his shield, and slew most of them, making the rest captives.²¹

A story so vague and extravagant would have deserved little attention in any other place than this. Such as it is, however, it must serve as the first introduction to our notice of a people who, for several subsequent ages, furnished employment for the arms of Rome, and contributed to swell the torrent of assailants by whom she was at length overwhelmed. The Alemanni appear to have occupied the seats vacated by the Marcomanni after their retreat into Bohemia under Marbod, about two centuries before the reign of Caracalla. But we are left wholly in the dark as to the time and circumstances attending their immigration, if indeed (in the absence of all direct evidence) such an event may be admitted on the score of its general consistency with the migratory habits of the Teutonic races.²² Notwithstanding the efforts of those critics, who, clinging to the testimony of Tacitus in reference to an age to which that testimony is no longer applicable, maintain the Gallic, or, at all events, the mingled descent of the Alemanni, there seems little reason to believe that they were any other than Germans. Vopiscus, indeed, expressly informs us that they were known by the name of Germans before that of Alemanni came into use;²³ and Ammianus Marcellinus calls them indifferently by both names; so that if they were not of Teutonic descent, the contemporary historians believed them to be so, and the credit of the discovery of a different origin is exclusively due to the ingenuity or presumption of modern criticism.²⁴

Earliest locality of the Alemanni conjectural.

They are supposed to have occupied the settlements relinquished by the Marcomanni under Marbod.

They are believed to be a tribe of pure Teutonic descent.

Both the Roman and the Greek historians mention the name of Alemanni as a confederate and not a national appellation.²⁵ Among the

The name "Alemanni," a confederate,

²¹ *Dio Cassius*, vol. ii. lib. lxxvii. c. 13. p. 1299.

²² *Cluver* (lib. iii. c. 4. p. 516, 517.) amuses himself and confounds his readers with a mass of erudite reasoning, to prove that the Alemanni were the descendants of those mixed hordes who occupied the *Agri Decumates*, (p. 175.) or dependent districts of the Romans between the Mayne, the Rhine, and the Danube, after the

retreat of Marbod.—*Tac.* Germ. c. 29.

²³ *Vopisc.* in *Proculo*, vol. ii. c. 13. p. 761. "Alemannos qui tunc adhuc Germani dicebantur," &c.

²⁴ See upon this subject *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 64. —See also chap. ii. p. 74. of this history.

²⁵ Particularly *Agathias*, *Historiar.* lib. i. p. 18.

and not a tribe name. moderns two derivations have been suggested.²⁶ According to one opinion the word is compounded of *Alle* and *Manne*—All men—indicating, perhaps, that their union comprehended all sorts of men, or, consonantly with the ordinary vanity of the Teutonic races, intended to denote superiority of manhood and numbers. The second opinion deduces the name from *Allmende*,²⁷ common property, in which light they regarded the territories conquered from their enemies. But a reference to the most ancient monuments of the Teutonic language extant seems to suggest a simpler deduction. *Alman* is there used in the general sense of “men,” or “people,” and thus the appellative *Al-mannen* or *Alemanni* would have been intended to signify merely a numerous and miscellaneous community.

The region originally inhabited by the Alemanni bounded by the Rhine, the Mayne, and the Danube.

III. *Saxons*. An inconsiderable tribe towards the end of the first century.

The Alemanni, at their first appearance, are found in occupation of the region inclosed between the Rhine on the west, the Mayne on the north, and the Danube on the south. The eastern limit is undetermined. Their territory, therefore, comprised a portion of the circle of the Upper Rhine, nearly the whole of Franconia, and a part of Bavaria.²⁸

III. Mention of the *Saxons* occurs at an earlier period. They are taken notice of by Ptolemy, who wrote about sixty years after Tacitus, as a poor and inconsiderable tribe inhabiting three small islands at the mouth of the Elbe, opposite to the coasts of the Chauci.²⁹ In conformity

²⁶ *Cluver*, ubi supra. See also p. 74 of this Hist.

²⁷ *Schiller* (Thes. Antiq. Teut. vol. iii. p. 21.) renders the word *Almann* from *Otfried's* Vernacular Metrical Translation of the Gospels (lib. iii. c. 4. v. 15.), by the words *Populus* and *Homines*. The passage is remarkable. It relates to the pool of Bethesda:—

Then bifangun umbe
Porzichi finfe
Thie lagun fol *al mannes*
Sieches inti hammes, &c.

Literal English:

It embraced around
Porticos five;
They lay full of *people*
Sick and halt, &c.

An old Saxon chronicle is quoted on behalf of this rendering of the word. In *Notker's* Vernacular Translation and Paraphrase of the Psalms (Ps. lxxvi. v. 6. p. 154.), the Latin “*humanum genus*” is rendered *Alman-Chunne* quasi *Allman-kin*, Angl., *All mankind*, or simply *mankind*: therefore *Alman*, when disjoined from the word *Chunne*, would bear a less general meaning, and be reduced to *populus* and *homines*. Thus the adjective *Almannig*, popularis,

publicus, ad populum pertinens—*Almende*, res ad publicum et commune pertinentes. The authorities for these primitive significations, it may be added, are derived from the vernacular German of the ninth and tenth centuries. The venerable documents quoted are among the most ancient monuments of the language. *Otfried of Weissenburg* wrote his Metrical Translation of the Gospels, at the latest, in the second moiety of the ninth century, probably between the year 872 and the close, and dedicated it to king Louis the German, the grandson of Charles the Great. The Paraphrase was, according to the best opinions, composed in the tenth, or, as the Germans are fond of calling it, the *Ottonian* century, by *Notker* a monk of the abbey of St. Gall. See the Historico-critical Dissertation of *Frank*, (prefixed to *Schiller's* edition of the Paraphrase,) p. vii.

²⁸ After the abandonment of the Agri Decumates by the Romans which took place about the middle of the fourth century and will be noticed hereafter, the whole of Swabia fell into the possession of the Alemanni. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 69 and note (c.) It is, therefore, not improbable that the agger of Hadrian formed the eastern boundary.

²⁹ *Ptol.* Geogr. lib. ii. c. 11. Ptolemy wrote

with this inconsiderable beginning, little more is heard of them till about the middle of the fourth century. But at that period Ammianus Marcellinus attributes to them a much greater extent of territory; he distinguishes them as the northern neighbours of the Franks, in conjunction with whom they ravaged certain districts of Gaul with great cruelty.³⁰ Orosius informs us that the emperor Valentinian attacked "the Saxons, a people dwelling on the shores of the ocean, amid impassable swamps, terrible for its activity and valour, and overcame them upon the very confines of the Franks, while they were preparing for a dangerous irruption into the Roman territories in great numbers."³¹ Yet even at a somewhat earlier period there is reason to believe that the Saxons had encroached considerably upon the Frankish union; or, rather, that they had drawn away several tribes, such as the Chauci, the Frisii, and even the Cherusci, into their connexion, and thus extended their name over most of the clans of the Elbe and the Weser to a considerable distance from the coast. For we learn from the narrative of Zosimus,³² that when Julian had reduced the Franks to a state of great weakness, the Saxons, whom he describes as the bravest and most distinguished of all the barbarians inhabiting those regions, pushed forward the Chauci, a member of their league,³³ to take possession of certain territories belonging to the Romans; that the Franks, apprehensive of the anger of the Cæsar, interposed and prevented them from accomplishing their purpose; that the Chauci then embarked on the Rhine, and expelled the Salians from the Batavian island.

Rise into notice in the fourth century.

A.D. 368.
They ravage Gaul.

They encroach upon the Frankish union, and draw the Chauci, Frisii, and Cherusians into their union.

They obtain possession of the Batavian island.

These accounts derived from the ancient writers are meagre indeed, but, as far as they go, they are intelligible and probable. The Saxons, like the Franks and the Alemanni, stand forth as a union or community of nations, assuming its name in this instance however from the most distinguished tribe among them. But nothing is yet learnt respecting their origin. The deficiency remained to be supplied in a later age. Witichind, a Saxon monk of the abbey of Corvey in Westphalia, who lived and wrote in the tenth century, undertook to collect and digest the traditions of his people. His "Saxon Annals," addressed to his friend and sovereign, Otho the Great, commence with the modest avowal that the materials for the early history of the Saxons consist entirely of oral

Traditions of Witichind respecting their origin.

about the middle of the second century of the Christian era, at Alexandria in Egypt.

³⁰ In the reign of Valentinian and Valens, A.D. 368.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. 8. p. 593.

³¹ *Oros.* lib. vii. c. 32. p. 549.

Vol. I.

³² *Hist. lib.* iii. p. 146.

³³ Or, as Zosimus expresses it, "*μοίραν σφῶν ὄντας*," being a part of them. He calls them, however, *Κοβάδες*, *Quadi*: the right reading is obviously *Χαυχους*, *Chauci*.

It is believed that they were the remnant of the army of Alexander the Great,

and that they came into Germany by sea, landed at the mouth of the Elbe, and ejected the Thuringians from the country.

reports, "which, by reason of their antiquity, do greatly obscure the truth. And, indeed," he continues, "public opinion is divided upon this matter, some believing that the Saxons derived their origin from the Danes and Normans; others (and this I myself have in my youth heard one teach) from the Greeks, 'inasmuch as,' said this person, 'the Saxons are the remnants of the Macedonian army which accompanied Alexander the Great, and which, after his premature death, were scattered, with the rest, to all parts of the earth.'³⁴ However this may be, it is certain that they were an ancient and a noble people, concerning whom mention is made in the speech of Agrippa to the Jews, reported by Josephus.³⁵ And the same is likewise proved by a saying of Lucan the poet.³⁶ For we know with certainty that the Saxones came in ships to these regions, and that they landed on a coast which at this day is called *Hadolaun*.³⁷ Their arrival being highly displeasing to the inhabitants, who are reported to have been Thuringians, the latter took up arms against them." The war was carried on for some time with great bitterness on both sides. At length a truce was concluded, by which the Saxons obtained permission to purchase provisions for their support. But their money was soon spent; and when they had no more, "they thought," says the annalist, "the peace of no use to them."³⁸ In this dilemma they made use of a singular expedient to obtain a pretext for hostilities. One of their warriors clothed himself in his richest apparel, and adorned

³⁴ This extravagant fable continued to be currently believed throughout the middle ages. The *Saxon Mirror*, a compilation of laws of the thirteenth century (lib. iii. art. 4. § 2.), thus authoritatively declares the pedigree of the Saxon people:—"Our forefathers, who came hither unto this land and drove out the Doringe (Thuringians), had been in the army of Alexander; with their help he had subdued all Asia. When Alexander died," &c.—*Sachsenspiegel*, Ed. Hommeyer, p. 147. Berl. 1827. Again, the ancient rhythmic Life of Archbish. Hanno, of Cologne, published by Schiller in the first volume of his *Thesaurus Antiquitat. Teuton.*, repeats the tradition in p. 15 of the Tract:—

Die liset man daz si (die Sachsen) wilin werin
Al des wunterlichen Alexandris man
Der diu Werlit in jarin zuelevin
Irvur uns an did einti, &c.

The poem is of the eleventh, or, at the latest, the twelfth century. The same fable has been adopted by *Conrad of Lichtenau*, the celebrated abbot of Ürsberg; by *Gotfried of Viterbo*, *Albert of Stade*, and almost all the annalists of the

middle ages. See the list in *H. Meibomius'* notes to the first book of Witichind's Annals, in *Meibom. Ss. Rr. Germ. i. p. 666*.

³⁵ This may possibly refer to the speech of Agrippa to the Jews, in which he exhorts them to follow the example of submission set them by the warlike Germans (not Saxons).—*Jos. de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16*. Hegesippus, indeed, a writer of the age of Gratian and Theodosius, puts a speech into the mouth of Josephus (not Agrippa) to which Witichind may have alluded.

³⁶ But the passage is very doubtful:—

Et Biturix longisque leves Saxones in armis.

The word "Saxones" stands, in different codices, *Ariones*, *Leusones*, *Suesones*.—Notæ *H. Meibom. ad lib. i. Witich. p. 667*.

³⁷ The part of West Friesland now called *Hadeln*, a small marshy district at the mouth of the Elbe to the eastward of Cuxhaven Otterndorf is the principal town. See also *Ubbo Emmius'* Hist. of Friesl. lib. ii. p. 28, 29 Ed. Elzev. 1616.

³⁸ Inutilem sibi pacem arbitrabantur.—*Witich. Ann. lib. i. p. 629. ap. Meibom. ubi supra*.

his person with a golden chain and bracelets, taking with him besides all the money he had. In this guise he went towards the Thuringians, and meeting one of that nation by the way, the latter, dazzled by the splendour of his trinkets, began to inquire the price of each article. The Saxon offered to present him with them, observing that he might make what return he pleased, since, with all this gold in his possession, he was in danger of dying of hunger. The Thuringian in mockery filled his lap with the dust of the ground; the Saxon gratefully accepted it, and paid the price. The Thuringian received the praises of his countrymen for the excellent bargain he had made; the Saxon returned to his ships, and underwent the scoffs and derision of his companions for having so lightly parted with his gold. As soon as he could obtain a hearing, he called to the Saxons to follow him, assuring them that they would shortly find his folly of use to them. Carrying then the purchased earth along with him, he scattered it as sparingly as possible over the neighbouring lands, and took possession of them as the soil and freehold of his people. The Thuringians complained of this as a breach of the truce; the Saxons replied that they had peacefully bargained for and bought the land with their own gold, and that they would certainly defend it with their weapons. The natives, enraged at the trick which they now perceived had been practised upon them, made a disorderly attack upon the quarters of the Saxons, and were defeated. The invaders now gained ground; and the Thuringians, at length convinced of the superiority of the Saxons, proposed an unarmed convention of both nations in order to agree upon terms of peace. The Saxons consented; both tribes met at the time and on the spot agreed upon. "The Saxons," continues Witichind, "came with their large knives, called *sahs*, concealed under the cloaks; and when they perceived that their antagonists had come unarmed according to the agreement, and that all their princes were present, they thought the opportunity favourable for acquiring possession of the whole country; and, drawing their knives, they fell upon the defenceless and astonished Thuringians and slew them all, so that not one of them remained alive. From that time forward the Saxons became very celebrated, and began to inspire great terror into all their neighbours. Some there are who derive the name of Saxons from this ferocious deed; for in our language the knives with which they perpetrated the slaughter of so great a multitude are called *sahs*."³⁹

³⁹ *Gregory of Tours* (Hist. Franc. lib. iv. c. 51.) mentions this species of knife or short sword,—*"cultris validis, quos vulgo Scram-saxos vocant,"* &c.—So also (after Witichind) the poet *Godfrey of Viterbo* (Pantheon, part 17.)—

"Ipse brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur
Unde sibi nomen Saxo peperisse notatur."

See also *Schilter*, Thesaur. &c. vol. iii., voce *Sahs*.

The result of the evidence is, that the Saxons obtained settlements on the coasts of the German Ocean between the age of Tacitus and that of Valentinian and Valens.

IV. Goths. Their original settlements between the Oder and the Vistula, in the modern Pomerania.

Earliest notices of the Goths by the Roman and Greek historians. A.D. 106. Trajan.

These traditions are given without date or circumstance which could enable us to compare them with the scanty notices derived from the Roman writers.⁴⁰ Since, however, nothing directly contradictory appears against them, we are not entitled to pronounce them wholly fictitious. Setting aside the claim of descent from the army of Alexander for its manifest extravagance, it may be admitted, as not improbable, that certain hardy seafaring tribes, called Saxons, acquired settlements on the coasts of the German Ocean at some period between the age of Tacitus and that of Ptolemy, and that afterwards they gradually strengthened and expanded themselves, till in the reign of Valentinian and Valens they were enabled to extend their incursions into the provinces of the empire,⁴¹ and to place themselves in an advantageous position for taking possession of those territories which, in the progress of migration, might be vacated or left undefended by the old occupants.⁴²

IV. Long before the appearance of the Goths upon the scene as actors in the great tragedy of nations, the name had sounded indistinctly, as from afar, in the ear of history. A nation called *Gothones*, dwelling to the northward of the Lygians, was known to Tacitus.⁴³ He observes of them that the form of their government was more monarchical than was usual among the German nations, yet not so much so as to be inconsistent with liberty. The geographical position of the *Gothones* is determined by that of the Lygii. The latter are believed to have occupied the modern principality of Silesia and the adjacent districts of Poland. From the statement of Tacitus, compared with that of Pliny,⁴⁴ the original seats of the *Gothones* may be placed between the rivers Oder and Vistula, in the modern duchy of Pomerania.⁴⁵

The next mention of a nation of Gothi, in the order of events, occurs in the *Chronicon Paschale*, the work of a Byzantine writer of the lower empire. He observes that the Goths, Sarmatians and Scythians were supposed by some to be the descendants of Magog, and adds, that the Emperor Trajan undertook an expedition against them.⁴⁶ Capi-

⁴⁰ Witichind carries us immediately from the primordial tradition to the conquest of Britain—"Dum ea geruntur apud Saxones, Britannia." &c.

⁴¹ See p. 197. of this section; and below, chap. ix. sect. 2.

⁴² Such was, in fact, the fate of old France when abandoned by its possessors for the more recent and attractive acquisitions in Gaul. Charles the Great had to reconquer the ancient patrimony of his race from these very intruders.

⁴³ *Tac. Germ.* c. xliii.—*Strabo* (lib. vii.) calls them *Guttones* (Γούττονες); *Pliny*, lib. iv.

c. 14. and lib. xxxvii. c. 7, *Guttones*; *Ptolemy* (Γούττονες) *Gylthones*.

⁴⁴ *Hist. Nat.* ubi supra.

⁴⁵ According to Tacitus they interpose between the Rugii and Lemovii, who dwelt upon the coast, and the Lygii.—*Tac. Germ.* ubi sup. The position of the Rugii, in the island of Rügen and the neighbouring districts of the mainland, is unquestionable.

⁴⁶ *Chron. Paschale*, p. 26. ap. *Stritterum Memor.* vol. i. p. 37. This chronicle is supposed by Stritter to have been compiled in the reign of Heraclius, A. D. 610 to 641.

tolinus tells us that the emperor Maximin, during his temporary retirement from the Roman service after the death of Sept. Severus, lived in the vicinity of the Goths his countrymen; that he was beloved by the Getæ, and that the Alani likewise cultivated his friendship.⁴⁷ Peter Magister, has transmitted a notice of the Goths in connexion with a story relating to a transaction between the Carpi, a Dacian tribe bordering upon the Roman province of Mœsia, and the governor of that province Tullius Menophilus.⁴⁸ The Carpi, he tells us, incensed that the Goths should have obtained stipends from the Romans, sent an envoy to the governor, who arrogantly demanded money of him. Menophilus intimidated the messenger by reviewing in his presence the numerous and brilliant army which he commanded, and sent him away with evasive replies, and, on a second application, with contempt.⁴⁹

Maximin.
A.D. 235.

In the reigns
of Maximus
and Balbinus.
A.D. 237.

We must not however be led by the frequent occurrence of the name of Goths in the Greek and Roman writers, to suppose that those historians distinguished them as a tribe from the aggregate of nations over whom the Goths presided. On the contrary, we find them classing many tribes together under that name, and using it as a generic appellation applicable to all alike. The Goths are in fact presented to us by the ancients as mixed up, not only with Getæ and Alani, but with Scythians and Sarmatians generally, and as connected both by kindred and political union with Gepidæ,⁵⁰ Vandals, Melanchlæni, and many other tribes. The historian Procopius⁵¹ is fullest upon the subject. "The Gothic nation," he says, writing in the reign of Justinian, "is, and always has been, made up of very many nations. Among these the Visigoths, the Vandals and the Gepidæ, are the most distinguished both in rank and number. Formerly they were called generally Sarmatians and Melanchlæni; likewise some have given them the name of Getæ. And, indeed, they all differ from one another *in name*, but not at all *in fact*. They all have

Opinion of
Procopius of
the identity of
Goths, the
Getæ, the Me-
lanchlæni, and
Sarmatians.

⁴⁷ Amatus est autem unice a Gætis, quasi eorum civis.—*Jul. Capit.* in *Maxim. Duob.* vol. ii. c. 4. p. 18.

⁴⁸ *Peter Magister*, Excerpta de Legationibus, in the *Corp. Hist. Byzant.* vol. i. p. 24. ap. *Stritter*, vol. i. p. 40.

⁴⁹ The name of the governor Menophilus seems sufficient to determine the age at least in which this transaction took place, since he is named by *Jul. Capit.* (in *Maxim. Duob.* vol. ii. c. 21. p. 51.) as a person of consular dignity, and one of the governors of Aquileia when that city was besieged by Maximinus.—*Masou* (book v. c. 32) and *Tillmont*, in his *Histoire des Empereurs*, place it in the reign of Alex. Severus. *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 53.) errs in placing it in the

reign of M. Aurel. or Commodus. It seems most probable that the event, as recorded by Peter Magister, occurred in the reigns of Maximus and Balbinus, A.D. 237. *Jul. Capit.* (in *Max. et Balb.* vol. ii. c. 16. p. 161.) says, that in this reign the Carpi invaded Mœsia; and that this was the beginning of the Scythian (Gothic?) war, and the period at which the ravage of Istria, noticed by the historian Dexippus, took place.

⁵⁰ *Jornandes*, c. 17.—*Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. vol. i. p. 200.—Gepidæ namque sine dubio ex Gothorum prosapiâ ducunt originem.

⁵¹ De Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 2. ap. *Stritt.* vol. i. p. 59.

Amm. Marcell. brings them into connexion with the Alani, Taifales, Greuthungi, Thervingii, and others.

fair complexions, yellowish hair, tall stature, open countenances, similar laws and religious usages, and, lastly, they all speak one and the same language, which we call the Gothic tongue; so that, in my judgment, they must all be taken to belong to the same race. The ancient seats of all were beyond the Ister."⁵² Ammianus Marcellinus mentions them constantly in political connexion with the nomadic Alani, the hideous Taifales, the Greuthungi, and Thervingii, all inhabitants of the vast plains of Scythia; some obviously of Teutonic race; others, doubtless, aboriginal inhabitants of the wastes which stretch away to the northward of the Danube, the Euxine, and the Palus Mæotis.⁵³

The traditions of Jornandes relating to the origin of the Goths.

From the evidence relative to the Gothic nations thus collected from the Greek and Roman writers, it appears that they knew as little of their origin and early migrations as they did of those of the Saxons. These interesting particulars must therefore be sought elsewhere, and with that view we naturally turn to the national historian Jornandes.⁵⁴ But since the Gothic bishop, by his own admission, derived a great part of his information from Greek and Roman writers, we are, in the first instance, most interested in selecting from it such primitive notices as he may have derived from the more original source of popular tradition.⁵⁵

He traces them from the island of Scanzia

The Goths, he tells us, have their origin from the great Scandinavian peninsula. "From this island of Scanzia," he continues, "as from the nursery and womb of nations, the Goths are said to have gone forth of yore, under their king Berich, and to have planted their name there where they first landed from their ships; for to this day that region is called Gothi-scanzia. Moving thence onward they pitched their camp on the lands of the Ulme-Rugii,⁵⁶ who then dwelt upon the shores of the ocean,"⁵⁷

to the island of Rügen.

⁵² See also *Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. iv. c. 5. ap. Murat. Ss. Rr. Ital. vol. i. p. 338.* In this passage he shortly repeats the same testimony to the original identity of the Gothic nations, naming Goths, Visigoths, and Vandals, "qui et *Scythæ* quondam nominabantur."

⁵³ *Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 671,* speaks of the Alani as a nomadic horde inhabiting the great Crimean Steppe; see also c. 3. p. 674, 675.—See also *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 54.

⁵⁴ Jornandes, or Jordan, was an Ostrogoth by birth, and wrote his History of the Goths in the year 552, during the reign of Justinian. He was first secretary to the Gothic kings of Lombardy, and afterwards, according to Moreri, Bishop of Ravenna.—*Moreri*, Gr. Dict. ad verb. But *Muratori* (vol. i. Pref. ad Jornand.) disputes this.

⁵⁵ The traditional part of Jornandes' narrative respecting the origin of the Gothic nations is

contained in the fourth and fifth and parts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters of his Treatise *De Rebus Geticis*. The intermediate sections he devotes to the fabulous wars of the Scythian nations (whom he identifies with the Goths of the Baltic) against the ancient kings of Egypt, Persia, and Macedon, in which he applies to his countrymen all the transactions and victories ascribed by the more ancient Greek and Roman historians to Scythians, Amazons, Getæ, &c., but in so disjointed and unconnected a fashion that the fiction stands out too prominently to deceive any one or create any difficulty in separating the original matter from that which is merely borrowed.

⁵⁶ *Holm*, or Island-Rugians, probably inhabitants of the island of Rügen, opposite Stralsund.

⁵⁷ The Baltic.

and having given them battle, thrust them out of the country; and forthwith subduing their nearest neighbours the Vandals, they added them likewise to the number of their conquests. Increasing then greatly in numbers, Filimer, the fifth king in succession from Berich, determined to move forward an army of Goths with their families; these, while in quest of suitable settlements, arrived in the land of Scythia, which, in the language of the country, is called Ovis. . . . The division of the Goths who followed Filimer, after passing a river of enormous width, accordingly settled themselves to their satisfaction in the land of Ovis. But they did not stop there, but advanced straightway to the country of the Spali, and, having given them battle, they obtained the victory; after which they pressed forward as conquerors to the farthest parts of Scythia, lying near the Pontic Sea, as it is laid down in the primitive lays of our people; which things also Ablabius,⁵⁸ that excellent historian of the Gothic nation, attests in his very faithful History; and in the same opinions many of the older writers likewise concur."

They expel the Rugians, conquer the Vandals, and

penetrate into Scythia as far as the Euxine.

After the immigration into Scythia, the nation, we are told, became divided into three septs; the first of which settled on the Palus Mœotis under its king Filimer: the second took possession of Dacia, Thrace, and Mœsia, whose king was Zamolxis: the third had its settlements upon the shores of the Euxine, and formed the most civilized portion of the nation. These last were, it seems, subdivided into two distinct races, the Visigoths, or Western, and the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths; the former being subject to the family of the Balthei, the latter to that of the Amali.⁵⁹

Settlements of the Goths:—
1. On the Palus Mœotis;
2. In Dacia, Thrace, and Mœsia.
3. On the shores of the Euxine.

Distinction of Visigoths and Ostrogoths.

Such is the sum of the original information to be gleaned from the History of Jornandes regarding the origin of the Gothic nation and its progress from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Palus Mœotis and the Euxine. The entire period to which the evidence thus collected applies, extends from the age of Domitian to that of Maximin. Tacitus first notices the Gothones as settled between the Oder and the Vistula; and in his age the Vandals, whom, according to Jornandes, they afterwards expelled, are believed to have occupied the modern duchy of Mecklenburg and a part of Pomerania.⁶⁰ Thus the victory of the Goths over that people is in some respects confirmed by the geography of Tacitus. The primitive settlements described by Jornandes correspond sufficiently well with those assigned them by Tacitus, to establish the identity of the Gothones and the Goths prior to the emigration of the

Jornandes is confirmed by Tacitus as to the earlier settlements of the Goths;

⁵⁸ The period at which this historian lived is not known.

⁵⁹ *Jornand. De Reb. Get.* cc. 4, 5.—*Murat. Ss. Rr. Ital.* vol. i. p. 193, 194.

⁶⁰ *Cluv. Germ. Ant.* p. 697.

not so as to the migrations and achievements he attributes to his countrymen in preceding ages.

latter.⁶¹ But in all that relates to the arrival of the first Goths from the Scanzian island the report of Jornandes stands alone and unsupported. That event, however, is not improbable in itself; and we may fairly believe, either that the Goths were a swarm from the great northern hive, or that they maintained such a connexion with the Scandinavian tribes on the opposite coasts of the Baltic as to give rise to the opinion that they were of the same original stock. The subsequent migrations must either be taken upon the credit of his narrative, confirmed by the similarity of name, or be altogether rejected. If it be believed that the Gothones, Guttones, Guthones of Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy, are identical with the Gothi who appear in the reign of Maximin on the Dacian frontier of the empire, a period of a little more than a century is allowed for the progress of the nation from the Baltic to the Palus Mœotis;⁶² and though the fact that migration is very probable in itself, yet in the shape in which Jornandes presents it, it is rendered credible only by wholly rejecting his chronology, and stripping the tradition of every circumstance by which he has amplified and disfigured it.

A second supposition is, that the Goths never migrated at all, but that they are identical with the Getæ of Herodotus.

A second theory derives the Gothic name and nation from the ancient Getæ. This people was known to Herodotus nearly five centuries before the Christian era,⁶³ and from that period downwards, their position never changes. Procopius and Jerome, Vopiscus and Spartian, regard the Getæ and the Goths as the same nation; and the first of these writers describes them as differing in no respect of personal appearance from that of the Teutonic races described by Tacitus, nor in laws, customs, and language, from each other.⁶⁴ It may, in short, be confidently affirmed that the Romans regarded the names of Getæ and Goths as equivalent. It is at the same time remarkable as a coincidence, that the ancient Dacians and Getæ—the Goths of after ages—should exhibit so many remarkable points of agreement as

⁶¹ I do not see any reason to believe that Jornandes had either Tacitus or Pliny in his eye when he wove together the singular texture of Gothic tradition and classic fable with which he commences his History of the Goths.

⁶² Scarcely a century from the death of Pliny. Both he and Tacitus pass them over with a very slight mention. It is clear they knew nothing of any *previous* conquests, since they do not even notice them as a powerful or a warlike people.

⁶³ *Herod. Melpom.* c. 93.

⁶⁴ The learned *Cluver* (*Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 34. p. 627.*) rejects this supposition upon the

ground that the Getæ are not mentioned as a Teutonic people by any ancient writer prior to those mentioned in the text. But the objection does not seem of any great weight, since no Roman or Greek historian has undertaken to confine the Teutonic races to the precise boundaries of the ancient Germany, or even to describe the eastern limits of that vast region itself. It is not a little remarkable that Jornandes himself should have adopted the name of Getæ as equivalent with that of Goths, and that he should have entitled his work "*De Rebus Geticis.*" See also *Pfister, Hist. of Germ. vol. i. p. 188.*

those described by Procopius. The co-existence of another national peculiarity in both is not less striking. Among the Dacians of the age of Decebalus, the freemen were in the habit of wearing their hair long. The Goths, as we learn from Jornandes, called themselves, in their popular lays, the “Long-haired” race.⁶⁶

Whichever way the truth may lie, it is certain that, about the middle of the third century of the Christian era, a vast aggregation of Teutonic and Sarmatian nations under the general name of Goths is found settled in the great Scythian plains to the northward of the Palus Mæotis and the Euxine. It cannot be doubted that this assemblage received its name from one dominant race of Getæ or Goths, and that *that* race was of unmixed Teutonic origin. The nature of the tie which bound them all together is entirely hidden from us; yet we find them receiving and obeying one impulse,—acting in one direction,—and, for many successive ages, carrying on unremitting warfare against the power and prosperity of the Roman empire.

The Goths are found settled on the Euxine and Palus Mæotis about the middle of the third century.

With regard to the associated tribes, it may be taken for granted that the nations mentioned in conjunction with Goths or Getæ, such as Vandals, Burgundians, Peucini, Bastarnæ, Taifales, Victovales, Roxolani, Alani, and others, were all of them of distinct, and the greater number of Sarmatian and Scythian stocks.⁶⁷ Among these, the Alani, Peucini, Bastarnæ, and Roxolani were Scythian, perhaps Tataric, hordes,—appendages rather than members of the great Gothic association.

The Gothic union composed of Sarmatian and Scythian as well as of Teutonic nations.

The extant materials for the history of Germany from the close of the first down to the middle of the third century of the Christian era cast but a feeble light upon the internal condition of the Teutonic nations. No second Tacitus has arisen to unveil to us the changes which a century and a half of incessant fermentation must have produced, and we are left in ignorance of many matters necessary to the perfect elucidation of the great conflict in which those races were about to engage with such astonishing unanimity of purpose. But though we are not fully acquainted with the nature of the impulse which impelled them to the overthrow of Rome, yet we perceive those old principles of union⁶⁸ which supported them formerly in their resistance to Roman

Defect of historical materials to elucidate the changes which had taken place since the age of Tacitus.

⁶⁶ *Jorn. de Reb. Get.* c. 11. The same practice may be inferred from the superscription to the Epistle of Theodoric, in the *Variarum* of Cassiodorus, lib. iv. Ep. 49. p. 71. Ed. Venet. 1729. It is directed “Universis Provincialibus, et *Capillatis* defensoribus et curialibus in Suevia consistentibus.” The Franks restricted the cus-

tom first to the nobles or chiefs, and afterwards to the sovereign and the royal family.

⁶⁷ *Jorn.* c. 17.—*Procop. de Bell. Vandal.* lib. i. c. 2. Compare *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 55; and *Pfister*, *Hist. of the Germans*, vol. i. p. 189.

⁶⁸ See c. 2. p. 70. and c. 3. pp. 97 and 98.

aggression, now actively at work in imparting strength and momentum to their attacks upon that ancient enemy.

1. The new military and political combinations identical in their origin with the more ancient Teutonic confederacies.

1. But the operation of these well-known principles of action was now promoted by additional stimulants. The love of war and plunder had been fanned by the pernicious practice of subsidizing the frontier tribes;—the internal broils which the treacherous policy of Rome had stirred up had served only to keep alive the military spirit of the Germans;⁶⁹ the ever-recurring necessity of mutual support against the aggressions of that gigantic power had rendered the nations of Germany better acquainted with each other, and enabled them to calculate and combine their powers. They were not however drawn into anything more closely resembling national or political union than heretofore. The denominations under which we find them acting is all that is strictly speaking *new* in their condition: the more recent associations are but the similar effects of similar causes; the same tendency to combination for defence or invasion, the same restless and roving character which distinguishes them from their earliest introduction to the notice of history exists under the new names of Franks, Alemanni, Saxons and Goths, as formerly under the old ones of Teutones, and Suevi and Marcomanni; the difference between the two periods is one of degree rather than of kind. In the state in which we shall now have to contemplate them, their efforts exhibit indeed a more constant and definite direction, and a more concentrated mode of action, but this phenomenon is to be explained rather by the gradual removal of that external pressure which had hitherto kept them in check than by any essential change in the internal structure of their society.

2. They consist of the same nations and tribes.

2. But the correspondence between the old and the new denominations is not confined to similarity of action and of purpose; there is also a definite *personal identity* of the nations and tribes of which both are composed. However much the casual changes of name and position may tend to mislead us, the researches of historians have now sufficiently established the important fact that the Franks, Alemanni, Saxons and Goths of the third century are the identical Teutonic races treated of by Plutarch and Livy, by Cæsar, Tacitus, and Pliny, though under different names. Thus the Frankish association was, as we have seen, compounded of the Chatti, Chamavi, Bructeri, and others equally well known to the classical historians of Rome. The Alemanni comprehended many old Suevic races besides absorbing the ancient Marcomannic union, and probably also the Hermundurian and Quadic tribes.

⁶⁹ See the remark upon the internal distractions of Germany in the reign of Tiberius, c. 4. sec. ii. p. 137.

The Saxon name supplanted the more ancient appellatives of Chauci, Foci and Cherusci; and the Goths are confidently presumed to be identical with the Gothini, Lygii, Osii, and that swarm of nations which dwelt between the Oder and the Vistula, adjoining and mingling with the hordes of Sarmatia and Scythia.

3. The looseness with which the new associations adhered to their native soil, and the facility with which they transferred themselves from one settlement to another, may be alleged as a third and not less striking point of resemblance to their predecessors. The evidence of this roving character from the earliest ages is afforded by the great national migrations, such as those of the Teutones and Cimbri,—of Ariovistus and his Suevi,—of the Helvetii and their allies,—all of them undertaken with the professed purposes of disconnecting themselves finally from the land of their birth, and seeking new settlements in far distant countries. We perceive the same principle in operation from that age downwards, and evinced by frequent applications to the Romans for new dwelling places, by the apparent ease with which large colonies are removed into Pannonia, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and even into Britain,⁷⁰ by the facility with which the depopulated frontier provinces of Rome are replenished from Germany,⁷¹ and by the swarms of German settlers who fix themselves in various ways upon the territories of the empire long before her military strength became seriously impaired. The uniformity of the course pursued by these numerous nations at such different points of time ought not to be ascribed to love of war,—desire of plunder,—thirst of conquest,—poverty,—or anxiety for change, or either of these motives singly, but to a concurrence of all of them combined and cemented together by ancient habit into that definite form which constitutes national character,—to that great moral power whose action is uniform, and whose constant presence affords perhaps the strongest evidence of national identity that can be adduced. And a single prospective glance at their history confirms this impression. With equal ease we shall find the Visigoths transferring themselves to Gaul and Spain, the Vandals to Africa, the Burgundians to Gallia Sequana, the Ostrogoths to Italy, and the Saxons to Britain, without regret turning away their faces for ever upon the land of their fathers, nor once looking back upon the birth-place of their name and nation.

3. They evince the same restless and migratory character.

⁷⁰ See the removal of the Suevi of Vannius, c. 4. sec. i. p. 137; likewise the removal of the Suevic colonies into Spain in the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, as also of the Burgundians

and Vandals into Britain by Probus. See below, c. 6. sec. iii. of this History.

⁷¹ See c. 5. sec. 1. p. 181.

CHAP. VI.

FIRST CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GOTHIC AND ROMAN POWERS.

SEC. I.—A. D. 244—274.

Ostrogotha and Kniva—Defeat and Death of Decius—Disgraceful Treaty of Peace with the Goths—Gallus—Æmilianus—Valerianus—Distresses of the Empire—First and Second Maritime Expeditions of the Goths—Great Invasion of Asia Minor—Third and Fourth Maritime Expeditions of the Goths—Battle of Naissus—Claudius—Aurelian—Abandonment of the Province of Dacia by the Romans.

Rapid extension of the Gothic powers.

TOWARDS the middle of the third century the associated Gothic tribes were in possession of the entire tract of country extending from the Vistula to the Sea of Azof, comprising the southern palatinates of the late kingdom of Poland, and the Malo-Russian provinces of Ukraine and Woronetz, as far as the river Don, where they bordered upon the erratic hordes of Tartary. Every indication points to this period as that in which the growth of the Gothic power was most rapid. Their dominion embraced the steppes and fertile plains to the northward of the Euxine;—they commanded the courses of the Pruth, the Dniester, the Borysthenes and the Don. The nations subject to or associated with them extended westward along the northern frontier of the Roman province of Dacia far into Germany Proper, where the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Vandals are said to have acknowledged their supremacy.

The Romans keep them in good humour by stipends and presents, which they now demand as a right, and regard the withholding of them as a cause of war.

A. D. 244. Philip succeeds the younger Gordian, and attacks the Carpi.

The Romans had hitherto kept them in good humour by annual stipends and presents, a practice which for several ages past had been gradually ripening into custom, and at length came to be regarded by the border tribes as a rightful demand, for the punctual discharge of which they held the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, their lives and property responsible. But as these payments were liable to interruptions and irregularities, a pretext was seldom wanting for resorting to a remedy so congenial to the predatory habits of the barbarians. At the period now under our view, Philippus, an Arabian adventurer, had supplanted and dethroned the younger Gordian. The new emperor found immediate occupation for his arms in repelling an irruption of the

Carpi, an associate tribe of the great Gothic confederacy,¹ who had made frequent descents from their mountains upon the province of Dacia.² Philip pursued them to their last stronghold, where they are said to have made a desperate but unavailing sally upon the Romans; whereupon they sued for peace, and obtained it, but upon what conditions we are without information.³

Meanwhile the Goths of the Euxine had taken offence at the non-payment of the subsidies to which they laid claim; but whether in virtue of treaty or of ancient custom does not appear. Their king Ostrogotha crossed the Danube not far from its mouths, and spread devastation over the provinces of Lower Mœsia and Thrace. Philip despatched Cneius Messius Decius against him; but that leader displayed little alacrity in the execution of the duty with which he was entrusted. By his misconduct or connivance, a part of his army deserted to the enemy;—Decius withdrew from the command, and was shortly afterwards sent as governor into Pannonia, where the disaffected legions invested him with the purple.

But while the rival emperors were contending for the throne, the Gothic king was himself recalled from his career of devastation by the appearance of a foreign enemy upon the northern limits of his states. Before he quitted Dacia to encounter the invaders he despatched a large body of Goths strengthened by three thousand Carpi, and the Sarmatian hordes of the Taifales, Astringi, and Peucini, under two leaders named Argait and Guntherich, across the Danube to waste Mœsia a second time. The Scythian swarm laid siege to Marcianopolis the capital of the province, and compelled the inhabitants to redeem their lives and property by the payment of a large ransom.⁴

The new enemy by whom the Gothic powers were at this moment threatened were the Gepidæ. The historian Jornandes identifies this tribe with that great division of the Gothic nation which was left behind in the plains of the Vistula when the bulk of the people migrated into Scythia under their king Berich.⁵ Several ages afterwards these Gepidæ, under their king Fastida, wandered to the southward; they attacked and overthrew the powerful Burgundians and other tribes which lay in their

Ostrogotha,
king of the
Goths, invades
Mœsia.

Decius is sent
against him.

Ostrogotha is
recalled from
this war by an
invasion of his
own territories;

but a detached
body of Goths
besieges Mar-
cianopolis, and
obliges the
citizens to ran-
som them-
selves.

The Gepidæ
invade the ter-
ritories of the
Goths,

¹ This appears from *Jornandes* (c. 16. p. 200), who adds 3000 Carpi to the troops which Ostrogotha, king of the Goths, sent to ravage Mœsia a few years afterwards.

² *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 19. The Carpi are believed to have been inhabitants of the Carpathian range of mountains, and appear to have possessed a part of northern Hungary, Transylvania and Moldavia. See *Cluv.* Germ. Ant. lib. iii. p. 679.

³ So many expeditions of the Romans against

their barbarian assailants come to this mysterious conclusion, that we are often strongly tempted to suspect the truth of the victories so uniformly claimed by them.

⁴ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 21. Compare *Jornandes*, c. 16. p. 200.

⁵ See c. v. sec. iii. p. 203. The first settlements of the Gepidæ may be fixed in the Delta of the Vistula between the modern cities of Dantzic and Elbing. See *Jornandes*, c. v. p. 194.

path. About the period now under consideration, their progress had brought them into close neighbourhood with their kinsfolk dominant in Sarmatia. Emboldened by success, and doubtless anxious for his share in the rich spoils of the empire, Fastida sent messengers to Ostrogotha to complain "that he and his people were inclosed among savage mountains and shut in by wild forests, a condition they were resolved to endure no longer; the king of the Goths must therefore either prepare for war or grant a sufficient space for his people to dwell in."⁶ Ostrogotha replied, that though he was averse from wars between kindred nations, yet that neither he nor his people could yield to such a demand, and that he was prepared for the conflict. The Gepidæ rushed into war. The armies met at a spot which Jornandes names Galtis: the battle, though well contested and sanguinary, was indecisive; the night alone put an end to the slaughter; but on the following day Fastida retreated, and relinquished his claim;—the Goths, satisfied with having repelled invasion, returned to their homes; and the Gepidæ contented themselves for the present with the conquests they had already achieved.⁷ They remained from this period a separate people, and gradually fought their way to the borders of the empire, where, in the following century, they were admitted to all the privileges of devastation and slaughter.

with a view to share the spoils of the empire;

but are repulsed by Ostrogotha.

Ostrogotha is succeeded by Kniva, who prepares to invade the Danubian provinces of Rome.

He in vain besieges Eusterium

and Nicopolis;

Ostrogotha did not long survive his victory. He was succeeded by a prince named Kniva. The province of Mœsia had in the meantime been wholly neglected by the Romans; the garrisons had been withdrawn, and the frontier legions employed in the civil wars between Decius and Philip. Encouraged by the distractions of the empire and the denuded state of the province, Kniva assembled his forces, and dividing them into two bodies, despatched one division to scour the eastern districts, while he himself with an army of seventy thousand men ascended the Danube and attacked the town of Eusterium at the confluence of the Iatrus with that stream.⁸ The Roman governor Gallus compelled the Goths to raise the siege. They then marched southward upon Nicopolis and invested that place. In the meantime Decius, who had disposed of his adversary

⁶ *Cluver* (Germ. Ant. lib. iii. p. 630.) contends that the Gepidæ at this time inhabited the modern principality of Transylvania. This he infers from their complaint "that they were inclosed among savage mountains, &c.," a description, he observes, applicable to no other district north of the Danube but that. But after the conquest of the Burgundians and other nations they could hardly have alleged *confinement* as a grievance. Indeed the words "constrictum"

and "inclusum" of Jornandes seem, with reference to their actual situation, rather to denote *exclusion* than confinement. I have therefore adopted Luden's opinion, that their real intention was to open a path for themselves into the Roman provinces.

⁷ *Jornandes*, c. 17. p. 201.

⁸ According to *Jornandes* (c. 18.) the Latin name of Eusterium, or Eustesium, was Novæ.

Philip in a battle fought near Verona, was collecting an army in Mœsia and Pannonia. His approach towards Nicopolis was a signal to the Goths to raise the siege, to cross the Hæmus, and march upon Philippopolis, the rich capital of Thrace, in the hope of making themselves masters of the city before the arrival of the Romans. But Decius changed his direction as soon as he heard of the irruption of the Goths into Thrace; he advanced by forced marches towards Philippopolis, and halted at a place called Beræa⁹ by Jornandes, to give his troops time to recover from the fatigues they had undergone. Here Kniva turned so suddenly upon the Romans that his arrival had all the effect of a surprise; they sustained a severe defeat, and were compelled to retreat hastily across the Hæmus, leaving Philippopolis to its fate. The city was taken by storm, and one hundred thousand persons are said to have perished in the general massacre which followed.¹⁰ After the defeat of Decius, Lucius Priscus the governor of Macedonia assumed the purple and entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Gothic sovereign. Kniva then commenced his retreat towards the Danube laden with the spoils of the ruined cities of Mœsia and Thrace.

he marches to
Philippopolis,

and surprises
the emperor
Decius at
Beræa.

He takes Phi-
lippopolis;
100,000 per-
sons perish in
the storming
of the city.

Kniva retires
laden with
spoil.

He is pursued
by Decius,

But the march of a predatory army thus encumbered was necessarily slow; time was afforded to the Romans to repair the injury sustained in the battle of Beræa, and Decius was soon in a condition to disturb the retreat of the Goths, who were now disinclined to expose the fruits of their expedition to the doubtful issue of a battle. The emperor however was resolved at all hazards to wrest the spoils of his subjects from these fierce depredators, and at one blow to avenge his late defeat and deliver the empire from the lengthened torture to which it was exposed. But it was the fate of that gallant, and in many respects estimable prince, to live in an age of giddy and unprincipled ambition. C. Trebonianus Gallus, the governor of Mœsia, after the example of Priscus in Macedonia, had already stretched out his hand for the imperial diadem, and with that view had entered into private intelligence with the Goths. At his suggestion they drew up the main body of their forces behind an impassable marsh, in front of which their advanced troops were posted, with instructions to yield to the first attack of the Romans and draw them towards the swamp. Decius, misled at the

who is be-
trayed by
Gallus,

⁹ It is impossible to reconcile the movements of either army upon the supposition that the Beræa of Jornandes is identical with the city of that name situated on the river Harpessus in Lower Thrace, scarcely fifty miles from the shores of the Ægean Sea. Almost all the places mentioned by Jornandes are found in the map

of Ancient Thrace in the Atlas of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, No. IV.

¹⁰ Thus *Amm. Marcell.*, lib. xxxi. c. 5. p. 681. Jornandes however says nothing about this prodigious loss of life; he mentions only the vast amount of the booty collected.

same time by false information conveyed to him by Gallus, of the nature of the enemy's position, attacked and easily dispersed the first and second lines of the Goths; but incautiously plunging into the marsh at the head of his troops to complete his supposed victory, he became immersed in a moment, and perished with his son and all his followers either in the deep bog or by the arrows of the enemy.¹¹

and perishes
in an ineffec-
tual attempt to
wrest the spoils
of the pro-
vinces from the
Goths.

A.D. 251.
Gallus obtains
the purple and
makes peace
with the Goths.

He permits
them to retain
the spoils and
the prisoners
taken;
supplies them
with provisions
and promises
an annual sub-
sidy.

From the end of
A.D. 251
to May
A.D. 253.

The barbaric
nations cannot
be bound by
common treaty
or compact.

After the death of Decius the army invested Gallus with the purple. Both the Goths and the Romans were now anxious for peace. Permanent conquest did not as yet enter into the plan of the former; the people desired for the present no more than to enjoy the rich produce of their warlike labours in tranquillity; and Gallus was solicitous to get rid of his dangerous allies upon any terms. The conditions of peace agreed upon were no less advantageous to the Goths, with their present disposition and views, than if neither emperor nor army had been in the field to check them. They were permitted to carry off all their booty; to retain all the prisoners whose ransom might swell their gains, or whose services might contribute to their convenience; they were provided with the needful supplies of provisions during their retreat at the expense of the Romans; and, lastly, Gallus pledged the empire for the payment of an annual subsidy or rather tribute by way of anticipated compensation for those periodical plunderings which the barbarians now regarded as a kind of prescriptive right.¹²

After his return to Rome Gallus associated his son Volusianus with himself in the empire. Though the joint reign of these princes lasted scarcely two years, yet in that short period the distracted empire suffered under almost every calamity which the wrath of heaven or the vices of man can inflict. It could hardly have escaped the penetration of the Roman government that though the sort of connexion which subsisted between the various members of the Teutonic associations might be compact enough for the purposes of invasion and depredation, it was not a union of such a nature as to enable any one of the tribes to bind the rest by treaty or contract in the name of the whole. With this knowledge we can scarcely find words to characterize rightly the fatuity of those princes

¹¹ A connected account of this campaign is rendered very difficult, in *the first place*, by the confused geography of Jornandes (c. 18. p. 201.); and in *the second*, by the omissions and misstatements of Zosimus (lib. i. p. 23.), who mistakes the Danube for the Tanais, and makes Decius the conqueror in every engagement, not excepting that in which he lost his life. *Amm. Marcell.* (lib. xxxi. c. 5. p. 681.) incidentally notices the

capture of the Thracian capital and the death of Decius in his summary of the Gothic invasions; but he confounds their respective dates in a singular manner. See also Zonaras, Ss. Hist. Byzant. tom. i. p. 627; and Cedrenus, *ibid.* tom. i. p. 258.

¹² Zosim. lib. i. p. 23. Zonaras, loc. mod. cit. p. 628. Cedren. ubi sup.

who sacrificed the honour of the empire and the safety of their subjects by the payment of tributes, not only disgraceful in themselves, but tending to enhance the mischief they were intended to palliate. Fresh hordes of barbarians, attracted by the success of the late invasion, again inundated the ever-vexed provinces of Mœsia and Thrace, to gather in their share of the harvest of plunder. The criminal negligence or the selfish views of the reigning emperors had again deprived the frontier of the Lower Danube of the force necessary for its protection, and the barbarians extended their incursions through Illyria, as far as the shores of the Adriatic. The open country was laid waste, the villages sacked, and many fortified towns were taken and pillaged without mercy by the invaders. A pestilence caused by penury, famine, and the debilitating effects of constant apprehension swept away multitudes of those who had escaped the sword of the destroyer.¹³ The survivors caught a glimpse of hope, and obtained an interval of gloomy repose from the spirited conduct of Emilianus the commander of the Roman legions in Pannonia.

The tribes who were not parties to the treaty with Gallus again invade Mœsia and Thrace,

and depopulate those provinces.

That officer diligently applied all the stimulants requisite to prepare the minds of his troops to encounter the victorious barbarians, and to revive that military pride which had been hitherto so mainly instrumental in sustaining the credit of the Roman arms. He reformed their discipline; in his military harangues and addresses he strove to awaken recollections of their ancient renown, and he promised them the entire subsidy destined for the Goths if they should enable him by their valour to clear the province of the enemy. He followed up these judicious steps by choosing a time when the barbarians had dispersed their forces in search of plunder for a general attack upon them. Great numbers fell by the swords of the Romans; the province was delivered, and the war was carried into their own country, where Emilianus recaptured a great part of the booty they had taken, and liberated many Roman captives.¹⁴

Emilianus, governor of Pannonia, undertakes to expel them.

He defeats the barbarians in detail;

recaptures the booty and liberates many captives.

But the governor of Pannonia hastened to divest himself of any further claim to the gratitude of the people by yielding to the epidemic rage for empire. Both the general and his soldiers, intoxicated by successes which in the brighter ages of the commonwealth would have entitled them to a bare commendation, assumed the right of disposing of the purple. The giddy military mob saluted Emilianus emperor. The Italian army approved of the choice of the Illyrian legions, and Gallus and his son were disposed of by the daggers of the rebellious soldiery. But Publius Licinius Valerianus, a veteran officer of distinction, whom Gallus had despatched into Gaul to hasten the march of the German and Rhætian troops to his aid against the rebel Emilianus, was in his turn

He assumes the purple.

Gallus is murdered,

¹³ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 24. *Jornand.* c. 19. p. 201.
Vol. I.

¹⁴ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 27. *Jornand.* c. 19. p. 201.
Zonaras, ubi sup. tom. i. p. 628.

A.D. 253.
and the up-
start Æmili-
anus supplant-
ed by Vale-
rianus.

saluted Augustus by that army. The senate hastened to sanction the election; and the upstart Emilianus, after a reign of scarcely four months, fell a victim to the fickle fears of his own supporters. Valerian shared the sovereignty with his son Gallienus, and prepared with a vigour of character to which the government had been much a stranger of late, to encounter the storm of misfortunes with which the empire was now assailed on every side.¹⁵

Distresses of
the empire at
this period.

General inva-
sion of the
frontier pro-
vinces.

Servile war.
Pestilential
diseases,
earthquakes,
and inunda-
tions.

There is indeed scarcely any period of Roman history in which the state stood in greater need of a strong and intelligent head. A dreadful pestilence was raging in Italy and the neighbouring provinces. Every frontier was assailed by foreign enemies. In the east, Shahpour, king of Persia, had overrun Mesopotamia and Syria. In the west, Franks and Alemanni had invaded the denuded provinces of Gaul and Germany; Quadi and Marcomanni were devastating Illyricum and Rhætia; Goths and Sarmatians from the Danube and the coasts of the Cimmerian Bosphorus were rapidly acquiring that spirit of maritime adventure which in a short time enabled them to carry their depredations to every part of the Euxine, and even to the shores and islands of Ionia and Greece; Sicily was at the same time vexed by a servile war; pestilential diseases thinned the armies; and earthquakes and inundations added to the general dejection and dismay.¹⁶

Aurelian and
Probus obtain
the command
in Illyricum
and Thrace,

and clear those
provinces of
the invaders.

First maritime
expedition of
the Goths.

Valerian spent two years in preparing the means of encountering these diversified calamities. He sent his son Gallienus into Gaul to arrest the progress of the Franks and Alemanni. The command in Illyricum and Thrace was entrusted to two skilful officers, Luc. Valerius Aurelianus and Mar. Aurelius Probus, while the emperor in person hastened into Syria to encounter the Persians. Aurelian and Probus, with an army composed in part of Frankish auxiliaries, under their native chiefs Hildegast, Hartmund and Hildemund, were successful in ridding their provinces of the barbaric spoilers, and deterring the border tribes from further attempts in those quarters.¹⁷

But the tide of Gothic invasion, though diverted for a time from its old course, was perhaps rather accelerated than arrested by the obstacles thus cast into its accustomed channel. Though the road through Dacia was temporarily closed against the Goths, the Euxine was still open. The possession of the mouth of the Tanais brought them into contact with the little Greek kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, confined at that time indeed to a few cities on the coasts of the Taurica Chersonesus¹⁸ and the opposite Colchian shore, but

¹⁵ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 27. *Aurel. Victor* Epit. c. 31. p. 381.

¹⁶ *Zosim.* lib. i. pp. 28, 33.

¹⁷ *Vopisc.* in *Aurel.* vol. ii. cc. 10, 11. p. 443. in *Probo*, vol. ii. c. 5. p. 647.

¹⁸ The modern Crimea.

abounding in excellent harbours, and possessed of no inconsiderable commercial navy. Though the subject-allies of Rome, the Bosphoreans were left entirely defenceless, and their power of resistance was still further enfeebled by a tyrannical government at home. Still the ruins of several noble cities attest the former population and wealth of the kingdom; and indeed the resources it furnished to the invaders afford no contemptible idea of its condition in these respects, even at the period when it yielded almost without resistance to the northern spoilers.¹⁹ The stores and shipping which the Goths found in the harbours of the Taurica Chersonesus, enabled them to cross over in considerable numbers to the Asiatic shore, and to lay siege to Pithyus, a city lying on the extreme boundary of the empire towards Colchis. They were however repulsed by the Roman governor Successianus, and for a time deterred from repeating their incursions in this direction.²⁰

In the year 255, Valerian undertook his fatal expedition against the Persians. To strengthen his bands in this arduous and dangerous enterprise, he bared the Pontine and Bithynian coasts of the troops stationed there for their protection; the experienced Successianus was at the same time removed to a more important command against the Persians. A small well-armed fleet might indeed have sufficed to ward off another attack like that by which the city of Pithyus had so lately been endangered; yet it does not appear that the government bestowed a thought upon this obvious mode of defence. The fortifications of the cities had been generally allowed to crumble to decay; and where it was otherwise, the inhabitants, unacquainted with the use of arms, were incapable of availing themselves of that resource against a resolute enemy. The opulent cities of Asia, unaccustomed to the aspect of war, and unacquainted with that excitement of spirit which imparts a charm to danger, and engenders an inexpressible pride in bravely stemming the currents of adverse fortune, had indulged a confident hope that the Goths, after their severe repulse before the walls of Pithyus, would never again renew their descents upon the peaceful coasts of Asia Minor.²¹ But the hopes of the feeble and dissolute Asiatics were destined soon to experience the bitterest disappointment. The Goths, so far from being disheartened by the check they had received, derived encouragement from the removal of their formidable opponent Successianus,

A.D. 255.
Second maritime expedition of the Goths of the Euxine.

The enervated Asiatics are incapable of defending themselves.

The Goths take advantage of the Persian war to renew their invasion of Asia Minor.

¹⁹ See in *Dr. D. Clarke's Travels*, Part I. c. 17., a vivid description of the Bosphorean ruins, particularly of Phanagoria and Pantecapæum.

²⁰ *Zosim.* lib. i. pp. 28, 29. This invasion

must have occurred between the years 253 and 255.

²¹ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 29.

They take
Trapezus,

plunder the
city, and re-
turn to their
wastes laden
with booty.

A.D. 258 or
259.
Great invasion
of Asia Minor
by the Goths
of the Euxine.

They march
round the
western shores
of the Euxine,

pass the Bos-
phorus, and

and from the defenceless state in which the maritime cities of Asia Minor had been left by the great reduction of the forces appointed for the protection of the coast. A second time they seized all the vessels of the Bosphoreans, and ran with their fleet into the mouth of the river Phasis. But failing in a first attempt to take the city and temple of the Colchian Diana by storm, they re-embarked and made sail directly for Pithyus. The place was now deserted by the garrison, and easily fell into their possession. Here they found abundance of shipping, and took many captives, whom they chained to the oars, and thus set a like number of their own hands at liberty. Emboldened still more by this first success, they next attacked the populous city of Trapezus. The city was defended by a double line of ramparts, and a garrison of ten thousand regular troops. Such was the confidence entertained by citizens and soldiers alike in the strength of their fortifications, and such their contempt of the want of skill in the attack of regularly fortified places hitherto manifested by the barbarians, that the most ordinary precautions were neglected; the soldiers indulged in drinking and festivity till scarcely a sentinel could be persuaded to keep his station upon the walls. Such conduct did not escape the observation of the vigilant warriors without. In the dead of the night they silently moved up their scaling-ladders to the unguarded walls, and entered the city without resistance. The garrison, surprised and panic-stricken, slunk away by the opposite gate, abandoning the lives of the inhabitants, the riches and the resources of the city, to the mercy of the wild horde into whose hands it had fallen. After plundering and destroying all the temples, and ravaging the circumjacent country, the Goths loaded their ships with the inestimable spoil, and returned to their deserts to enjoy the fruits of their success, and spread abroad the exciting report of Asiatic wealth and weakness.²²

Accordingly, within the period of four years from this expedition a large army of Goths assembled on the Lower Danube. But apprehending that no number of ships they had the means of constructing would suffice to contain their numbers, and believing that if they proceeded by sea they would arrive at regions already exhausted by their own countrymen, they determined to march along the sea-coast of the Euxine towards the Bosphorus, and thence to pass over into Asia. The march through Thrace was attended with neither difficulty nor danger; the inhabitants of the European shores were made to yield their boats and shipping to convey the troops to the opposite coast, and the whole

²² *Zosim. lib. i. p. 31. Mascon, book v. § 37.*

army landed in safety near Chalcedon in Bithynia. The garrison of that city, though superior in numbers to the invaders, basely deserted its charge; the Goths took possession without resistance, and loaded themselves with the costly effects, arms, and treasures of the pampered citizens. Nicomedia was deserted by the timid inhabitants; Nicæa, Cius, Apamea, and Prusa, were plundered; the whole of Bithynia already lay at the mercy of the barbarians, and no obstacle seemed to oppose their progress towards the still more opulent cities of Ionia.

But the rumoured danger of these important and wealthy provinces had reached the ear of Valerian in Syria. Felix, the governor of Byzantium, received orders to move against the enemy from the coast, while the emperor in person should march through Cappadocia to assail them on the opposite side. Meanwhile the Goths, foiled in an attempt to surprise Cyzicus by the sudden swelling of the river Rhyndacus, burnt the cities of Nicomedia and Nicæa, and hastily embarking their booty, effected their retreat without molestation.²³

In the course of the same or the following year the emperor Valerian was defeated and taken prisoner by Shahpour, king of Persia, near Edessa in Mesopotamia. The victorious monarch advanced to Antioch without resistance; he wasted Cilicia, took Tarsus the capital, and established himself in the heart of Cappadocia. In the west, the feeble Gallienus remained at Rome in a state of helpless perplexity. Most of his generals in Gaul, Illyricum, Thrace, and Syria, were in a state of open rebellion against his authority, while the frontier provinces were deluged by barbarian invaders, and the banks of the Danube and the coasts of Asia Minor continued the scenes of terror and devastation. At this critical moment the Goths and Heruli, in conjunction with several Scythian tribes, ran for the third time out of the Cimmerian Bosphorus with a fleet of five hundred vessels. The Romans in vain attempted to arrest their progress through the Thracian Bosphorus, and the whole swarm alighted at Cysicus on the Propontis. Lemnos and Scyrus were first ravaged; Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos, were ruined; the whole of Achaia was laid waste.²⁴ The coasts of Ionia next felt the scourge ordained by the judgment of God upon a degraded and voluptuous generation. The temple of the great Diana of Ephesus was burnt by one of the many predatory squadrons into which the barbaric fleet had resolved itself.²⁵ Even the

land near Chalcedon; they take and plunder the principal cities of Bithynia.

Valerian sends Felix, governor of Byzantium, against them; they retreat, carrying with them all their booty.

A.D. 260.
Third maritime expedition of the Goths.

They ravage Lemnos and Scyrus, Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos, and the whole of Achaia; then the Ionian coasts. They burn the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

²³ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 33.

²⁴ *Zonaras*, Ss. Hist. Byz. tom. i. p. 631.

²⁵ *Jornandes*, c. 20. p. 201. I have indicated the date of these events (according to the ordinary computation) as of the year 260; but hardly any

safe chronological inference can be hazarded upon the conflicting narratives of *Jornandes*, *Zosimus*, *Pollio*, and the Byzantines. *Zonaras* brings *Odinathus*, prince of *Palmyra*, into play in the repulse of the Goths, without regard either

They pene-
trate into
Phrygia, Cap-
padocia, and
Galatia.

The Goths re-
treat by way of
Greece and
Thrace.
The Heruli
take service in
the Roman
armies.

remoter regions of Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, were not exempted from these terrible visitations.²⁶

How this swarm finally disposed of itself is a matter of conjecture only. A part seems to have passed northward through Acarnania and Epirus, after sustaining a defeat from the Athenians under Dexippus. Another body, consisting of Heruli chiefly, may be traced through central Thrace; these were, it seems, encountered by Gallienus in person near the Mæsan city of Naissus, where a kind of compromise was entered into with their chief Naulobates, by virtue of which he and his followers were taken into the service of the empire, and the chieftain himself was dignified with the honours of the consulship.²⁷ A third division appears to have taken the old route along the shores of the Euxine, pursued by the Romans under Marcianus and Claudius; but these officers, either from jealousy of each other or want of mutual intelligence, suffered them to effect their retreat without interruption.²⁸

The facility at which the Goths of the Euxine had now arrived in equipping and sending forth, year after year, fleets and armies superior to any which could be brought against them, indicates a spirit of activity and intelligence which, at no very distant period, must have raised them high in the scale of power, and perhaps of civilization. The history of the infancy of nations is (when unadorned by attractive fable) generally insipid; we must therefore regard this early stage of Gothic history as introductory only to the important part the nation was destined to bear in the great process of destruction and renovation which the world was upon the eve of undergoing. And it is in this view chiefly that the dark detail of devastation and piracy becomes susceptible of a prospective, if not of a present interest.

A.D. 268.
Fourth mari-
time expedi-
tion of the
Goths of the
Euxine.

Gallienus, like so many of his predecessors, was treacherously murdered by his dissatisfied officers while engaged in the siege of Milan, where Aureolus, one of the many upstart pretenders to the purple who added to the public misery, had taken refuge. Marcus Aurelius Claudius, a soldier of high distinction and talent, was proclaimed by the army, and joyfully accepted by the senate. Notwithstanding the treaty with the Heruli of Naulobates, the war in Illyricum and Mæsia had

to geography or authority. *Zosimus* (lib. ii. p. 36.) incidentally alludes to a Gothic invasion, in which Athens was destroyed. *Trebellius Pollio* (in *Gallieno*, vol. ii. c. 13. p. 221.) mentions a similar irruption of the Goths into Greece; but whether these accounts allude to the ravages of the year 260, or of previous or following years, are questions of exceeding difficulty.

²⁶ *Syncellus*, Ss. Hist. Byz. tom. i. p. 382. *Trebell. Poll.* and *Zosim.* ubi sup.

²⁷ *Syncell.* Ss. Hist. Byz. tom. i. p. 382.

²⁸ Compare *Trebell. Poll.* in *Claud.* vol. ii. c. 6. p. 363. "Nam ut superius diximus," &c. *Aurel. Victor* de Cæsar. p. 336. *Syncell.* loc. cit. with *Mascon*, book v. § 42.

suffered little interruption. And now a tempest more threatening than any which had preceded it was again gathering in that region of storms, the northern coast of the Euxine. While Claudius was engaged in military operations against the Alemanni on the Rhine, the several bodies of Goths, who had returned home laden with the riches of Greece and Asia, spread the rumour of their acquisitions and victories far and wide among the confederate nations. All Scythia was presently in motion; Ostragoths, Heruli, Peucini, Trutungi, Vertingui, Sigipedes, together with many of the more remote tribes, attracted by the prospect of unlimited gain, crowded to the general rendezvous on the banks of the Tyras.²⁹ Two thousand vessels were collected or built, and three hundred and twenty thousand warriors embarked on board this formidable fleet. After some ineffectual attempts upon the Mœsian cities of Tomæ and Marcianopolis, they steered for the Thracian Bosphorus, where some of their vessels were wrecked and many lives lost; the remainder passed through the Propontis and the Hellespont, and landed near Mount Athos in Macedonia. Their first operation was to besiege the cities of Thessalonica and Cassandria; but these and the other maritime towns of Greece had been much strengthened by the precautions of Claudius; and the resistance they were enabled to make afforded the time necessary to collect a force strong enough to meet the Goths in the field. In the interim detached parties of the latter roamed seaward as far as Crete and Cyprus, where they committed the usual ravages. The siege of the two cities proceeded slowly; and the patience of the barbarians was nearly worn out when the rumour of the approach of Claudius from Mœsia and Illyricum afforded them an excuse for abandoning their fruitless and distasteful occupation. The army broke up from the coast and advanced into Mœsia by the valley of the Axius. Claudius and his lieutenant Aurelian encountered them at Naissus, the modern Nissa, on the banks of the Bulgarian Morava. The Romans, though at first compelled to yield to the impetuosity of the barbarians, found means, by a skilful flank movement over difficult and obstructed ground, to assail the enemy in the rear. The Gothic troops were thrown into disorder, and fifty thousand of them are said to have been cut off and destroyed. The main body, under cover of their moveable bulwark of waggons, retired into the neighbouring mountains.³⁰ Here they maintained themselves throughout the year, exposed to all the miseries of cold and famine in those elevated and desolate regions. Diseases broke

They collect
2,000 vessels,
and embark to
the number of
320,000 men.

They land near
Mount Athos
in Macedonia,
and besiege
Thessalonica
and Cassan-
dria.

But at the ap-
proach of Clau-
dius they aban-
don the siege
and advance
to give him
battle.

Claudius de-
feats them at
Naissus in
Mœsia, and
drives them
into the moun-
tains, but dies
of a pestilen-

²⁹ The Dniester. *Zosimus* (lib. i. p. 38.) says the fleet consisted of 6000 vessels; but even the

p. 369.) does not raise it above 2000.

³⁰ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 39.

turgid encomiast *Pollio* (in *Claud.* vol. ii. c. 8.

trial disease
soon after the
victory.

out among them and carried off great numbers. The contagion spread to the Roman armies, and Claudius himself became one of its earliest victims. But the strength of the Goths was broken; and though wandering detachments may, in this and the following year, have inflicted partial losses upon the provincials, it is certain that the commonwealth was indebted to the emperor Claudius for a service scarcely inferior in importance to that rendered by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ.³¹

The Gothic
fleet is de-
feated and dis-
persed by the
Athenians
under Cleodemus.

In the meantime a division of the Gothic forces had, it seems, taken and plundered the city of Athens.³² But the dispersion of the fleet which had conveyed this enormous host into Greece appears to have followed very closely upon the defeat at Naissus. Cleodemus, an Athenian who had escaped the pillage of his city, collected the fugitive inhabitants, and embarking them on board such vessels as he could find, suddenly fell upon the Gothic fleet, destroyed many of their ships, and compelled the rest to seek safety in flight. By the activity and intelligence of Claudius, the various dispersed bands had been either swept away or reduced to take service in the Roman armies, or to become peaceable occupants of the lands they had so lately depopulated. The enormous amount of the recaptured booty, the multitude of cattle, horses, waggons and effects of the conquered Goths formed some indemnity to the suffering provinces for the prodigious waste committed by those ferocious plunderers. The career of the upright and noble-minded prince by whom this great deliverance had been achieved, was short and full of care; but in one respect he was singularly fortunate; he died before the value of the obligation he had conferred could be forgotten, and before the effervescence of public gratitude had time to subside; and the apotheosis of Claudius may perhaps be regarded as the only one among the posthumous honours bestowed upon deceased emperors since the age of Trajan in which honest feeling had any share.³³

³¹ With *Zosim.* (lib. i. pp. 41, 42.) compare the barren bombast of *Trebell. Poll.* in *Claud.* vol. ii. cc. 6—9. pp. 363—369.; *Jornand.* c. 20. p. 201.; *Tillemont*, *Hist. des Emp.* vol. ii. p. 369.; and *Gibbon*, vol. i. p. 294.

³² The Byzantine writers *Zonaras* (tom. i. p. 635, et seqq.) and *Cedrenus* (tom. ii. p. 259.) tell us that the barbarians on this occasion took the city of Athens; and that in their wanton rage against the arts of civilized life, they collected all the books they could find into one great heap for the purpose of burning out the literature as they had burnt out the inhabitants of the city; but that one of these savages, more thoughtful

than the rest, advised them not to deprive the Greeks of their frivolous pursuits, since such occupations prevented them from becoming soldiers, and rendered them more easy to overcome.

³³ *Trebell. Pollio*, vol. ii. c. 12. pp. 377, 379, and 413. *Syncellus*, *Ss. Hist. Byz.* tom. i. p. 382. *Tillemont*, *Hist. des Emp.* vol. ii. p. 375. Notwithstanding the boast of the Romans that they had extirpated or captured the whole 320,000 Goths with the 2,000 ships which conveyed them, we find in c. 12 of *Pollio's* *Life of Claudius*, that an unsubdued remnant still remained strong enough to lay siege to *Nicopolis* and *Anchialus*, two of the principal cities

Claudius was succeeded by his brother Quintillus in Italy. But the Illyrian army had already proclaimed Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, a person of mean birth but of distinguished courage and great military experience. Quintillus, conscious of his inability to maintain himself against the talents and popularity of his competitor, died by his own hand, and the complaisant senate confirmed the choice of the Illyrian legions. The first two years of the active reign of Aurelian were devoted to the defence of Noricum, Pannonia, and Italy, against the Teutonic tribes of the Rhine and Danube, whose motions will be hereafter adverted to. His attention was next directed to the state of the eastern dependencies of the empire, where Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, had extended her conquests from Egypt over the whole of Syria as far as Ancyra in Galatia.³⁴ Neglecting for the present the upstart Tetricus, who disputed his title in the province of Gaul, Aurelian carried his arms against the more threatening dangers in the east, and on his passage through Mœsia cut off a large body of marauding Goths, and slew five thousand of them, including their leader Cannobaudes.³⁵

Aurelian succeeds Claudius.

A.D. 270.

He marches against Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra.

The campaign in Asia was attended with decisive success; the Palmyrenes were defeated in every battle; Syria was reconquered, and the high-minded Zenobia herself became a captive.³⁶ The return of Aurelian through Illyricum was signalized by the repression of the Carpathian mountaineers,³⁷ and he rewarded himself with a triumph not exceeded in magnificence by any preceding display of the same mean and odious character.³⁸

He vanquishes the Palmyrenes and takes Zenobia prisoner;

he drives back the Carpathian mountaineers, and triumphs.

Regarding as we do, with pity and with disgust, these revolting spectacles, their effect upon the public mind, in that state of moral darkness which the brightness of Christianity has at length dispersed, can hardly be too highly estimated. They raised the spirits, nourished the pride, and gratified the curiosity of the people. The spoils, the captives, the treasures and curiosities of far-distant and unknown countries, furnished instruction to the intelligent, and matter of wonder to the crowd; these objects were the present and palpable vouchers of victory, and at the same time the most striking mode of impressing the people with a notion of its extent and importance. The aspect of Aurelian in his triumphal car drawn by four white stags, the present of a German prince, and lead-

Important effects of the Roman triumph in raising the spirits of the Roman populace and putting them in good humour with their rulers.

A. D. 273.

of Lower Mœsia. *Jornandes* (c. 20. pp. 201, 202.) passes over this invasion in a summary way; he does not notice the battle of Naissus, and concludes his short account with the siege of Anchialus.

³⁴ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 44.

³⁵ *Vopiscus* in *Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 22, p. 470. VOL. I.

Vopiscus adds that this occurred "trans Danubium."

³⁶ *Zosim.* lib. i. p. 43—46.

³⁷ Known by the name of Carpi. *Vopiscus* in *Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 30. p. 487.

³⁸ See a gorgeous description of this triumph in *Vopiscus*, (in *Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 33. p. 493.)

ing in his train the undaunted queen of the East, followed by the abject Tetricus of Gaul, and by captives from the far-distant and dreaded regions of Germany, Sarmatia, and Scythia, afforded a far more impressive display of victorious power than the most spirit-stirring narrative could have conveyed. At no period, indeed, had the people of Rome stood in greater need of some assurance that their distracted and corrupt government still possessed strength enough to meet the increased pressure of foreign invasion, and to take upon itself the duty of the public defence now that they were by incurable sloth incapacitated from defending themselves.

Debility of the
Roman govern-
ment.

Aurelian per-
ceives it, and

abandons the
province of
Dacia

A.D. 274.
according to
Tillemont,
vol. iii. p. 402.

Yet some of the measures of his administration might have revealed to the subjects of Aurelian the constitutional weakness under which the whole state of Rome was labouring. Triumphant as he regarded himself (and perhaps with reason), the extensive additional fortifications with which he thought it necessary to surround the imperial city denoted at least an apprehension of danger which a century before would have been regarded as an affront to the majesty of the state. But a second step of that prince affords a still more unequivocal proof of the decay of internal strength to which we have alluded. Aurelian was too clear-sighted a ruler not to perceive that a permanent peace with the Teutonic tribes of the Rhine, the Danube and the Euxine was wholly unattainable. Every frontier province had been ravaged and depopulated in its turn; vast tracts remained waste and void of inhabitants for want of that protection which internal discord had disabled the state from extending to them. But, beside these difficulties, the boundaries of the empire had become too vast to be maintained but at an expense which the impoverished subjects could ill afford. These considerations applied with the greatest force to the province of Dacia. That dependence had for several ages proved useless as a bulwark against the northern barbarians, and injurious to that concentration of force which the dangerous position of the frontier demanded. Aurelian therefore withdrew the garrisons, and removed the inhabitants from the remaining Roman colonies of Dacia into Central Moesia, where he settled them upon the wasted possessions of the late hapless possessors whom pestilence and the sword of the Goths had swept away. He gave the names of Dacia Ripensis and Mediterranea to the newly-colonized districts, in order that, in the ostentatious enumeration of provinces, the omission of so important a member might not convey too glaring a confession of weakness.³⁹ The policy of this step, however, was in one respect questionable.

³⁹ The new Dacias consisted of the part of perhaps of Bosnia. For this transaction see the modern regions of Bulgaria, Servia, and *Vopisc. in Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 39. p. 523; and

The Goths (as might have been foreseen) immediately occupied the evacuated territory, and thus an uninterrupted communication was established between all the nations of the great Sarmatian and Teutonic families from the coasts of the Euxine to the German ocean.⁴⁰ The Danube became once more the boundary of the empire, about one hundred and sixty-seven years from the defeat of Decebalus king of Dacia by Trajan, and the annexation of his dominions to the empire. after an occupation of about 167 years.

The abandonment of Dacia appears to mark an important era in the history of the Goths. They were brought into closer contact with the empire, though perhaps the defence of the provinces most exposed to their hostility was better organized. Divisions among the Goths themselves now become perceptible, and external enemies disturb them more frequently and divert their attention from their old occupations. To these causes we may attribute the diminished pertinacity of invasion during the century intervening between the abandonment of Dacia and the irruption of the Huns. Their ferocity was to a certain extent assuaged by intercourse with the Romans; their cupidity was gratified by presents or lucrative engagements in the service of the empire; and though within the period just alluded to they are frequently found in a hostile attitude, their importance as an enemy sinks far below that of the Frankish and Alemannic tribes on the Rhine or the Upper Danube, whose history will form the subject of the following chapter.

SECTION II.—A. D. 270 and 271.

The Gothic Power—Its Territorial Extent and Political Condition—Divisions—Wars with the Burgundians, Gepidæ and Vandals—Attacks of the expatriated Tribes of Eastern Germany upon the Empire in the Reigns of Aurelian and Probus.

It has been observed,¹ that in the middle of the third century the associated Gothic tribes possessed the entire tract of country between the Vistula and the Sea of Asof. Their dominions were subsequently extended by Ostragotha in a northerly direction to the shores of the Baltic. Among the associated or subject nations which in the following age contributed to swell the Gothic powers, we find the names of Thoringi, Taifales, Gepidæ, Burgundians, Varni, Heruli, Æstii, Peucini,

Eutrop. Hist. Miscell. ap. Murat. Ss. Rr. Ital. p. 68.—*Mascou*, vol. ii. Dissert. ix. p. 409.
vol. i. p. 68.

¹ See p. 208 of the preceding section.

⁴⁰ *Hist. Miscell. lib. x. ap. Murat. vol. i.*

Members of
the Gothic
league.

Relation of the
several mem-
bers of the
great federa-
tive monarchy
of the Goths to
the dominant
tribe.

General con-
dition of the
Romans con-
trasted with
that of their
barbarian
enemies.

Roxolani, Scirri, and Hirri. If reliance may be placed upon the geographical position assigned to some of these tribes, particularly the Thoringi, Burgundians and Æstii, the influence of the confederacy must have extended over the whole of the modern kingdom of Prussia, and may have encroached upon Germany to some extent. In the language of Jornandes, "the Vandals were humbled, the Marcomanni² crouched beneath the yoke, and the princes of the Quadi were reduced to servitude,"³ phrases which evince imitation of the rhetorical style of the Roman panegyrists, rather than acquaintance with the true condition of the subject states of the Gothic league. There is no ground for believing that those states ever melted into political, much less into national identity with the dominant tribe. It is clear that the Gothic princes were satisfied with a general obedience in peace, and faithful services in their wars. The notion of holding other nations in servitude was indeed as remote from their contemplation as that of enslaving their own untamed subjects. With the exception therefore of services in themselves consistent with the habits and predilections of their allies, the latter were permitted to retain every other attribute of a separate national existence. Better proof in favour of this inference cannot perhaps be offered than the fact, that when the tie which bound them together was suddenly dissolved by the invasion of the Huns, all the principal members of the great federative monarchy of the Goths started at once into independent existence under their old names, and with all their ancient peculiarities of character and action. The idea of reducing others to a state of tributary subjection was the more remote from the conceptions of the Gothic kings, as they themselves possessed no pecuniary revenue. Under such a system no material or lasting infringement of individual rights or national liberty was even practicable. The princes were doubtless in a situation to tax the moral and even the physical powers of their subjects to the uttermost without exciting a murmur; but it seems equally certain that the smallest abridgment of the means of subsistence or violation of property would have met with immediate resistance. When the right of remonstrance against arbitrary taxation is extinguished, all other rights crumble away of themselves. And herein consists the specific difference between the condition of the subjects of Rome and that of her barbarian assailants. The heterogeneous members of the empire had become reduced to one inert and uniform mass, without a circumstance to remind them of the ancient terms of compact with

² Pomerania and Mecklenburg, Bohemia and Moravia.

³ *Jorn.* c. 16. p. 200. See *Mascon*, vol. ii. Dissert. ix. § 5. p. 411.

the parent state: their moral and perhaps even their physical powers were sinking beneath the exhausting operation of fiscal oppression; and every feeling which might have connected them with their government and with each other was becoming extinguished in sorrow, in suffering, and in vice.⁴

Jornandes relates a tradition that in the reign of Domitian his countrymen, under their king Dorpaneus, won a great battle against the Romans commanded by Cornelius Fuscus,⁵ and that such was the elation produced by their victory that they bestowed upon the chiefs who commanded them the title of *Anses*, heroes,⁶ or demi-gods. From these Anses sprung a race of princes whom the people acknowledged as their hereditary chiefs. One family especially obtained the reputation of peculiar nobility of birth. It derived its name from Amala, the third in descent from Gapt, the first of the Anses. The influence of this race was greatest among the eastern Goths on the Euxine and Palus Mæotis. The western tribes attached themselves to the Balthi, a family of like heroic descent. From these two races the nation was in the habit of choosing its sovereigns, though by what rule or order of succession we are without positive information. From Amala sprung Isarna, the father of Ostrogotha; this last prince was succeeded by Kniva; the princes Aorich and Ararich, contemporaries of the emperor Diocletian, are named next; they flourished about the same period, and were succeeded by Geberich in the age of Constantine the Great. At a considerable interval Hermanrich, whom Jornandes designates as the most noble of the Amali, followed Geberich on the throne of the Goths. After a long reign he died of a wound inflicted by the hand of an assassin;⁷ and shortly after

Heroes or
Anses.
Royal families
of the Goths.

Amali and
Balthi.

⁴ See below, c. 8. sect. 1. *Mascou* (Dissert. ix. § 5. p. 411.) remarks that, in the treatment of their subjects, the Goths resembled the most celebrated nations of antiquity. No doubt he alludes to the early conduct of the Romans towards the conquered states. The Roman power itself grew up rather by association than subjugation.

⁵ *Suetonius* (in Domit. c. 6.) mentions both the expeditions alluded to by Jornandes in his thirteenth chapter. The fall of the Consul Sabinus, in the first of these campaigns, is admitted by Suetonius. *Juvenal*, in his fourth Satire, vv. 111, 112, commemorates the death of Fuscus:—

Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus marmorea meditatus prælia villa.

⁶ Jornandes, who is always anxious to connect the traditions of his people with the mythological

fables of the Greeks and Romans, has probably overlooked the genuine signification of the word. *Ansa*, or *Hansa*, in the oldest Teutonic dialects, signified a congregation, public meeting, or council; hence *Anse* or *Hanse*, chiefs of council or nobles; and hence likewise several compound names both of individuals and nations, as *Ansbertus*, one of the ancestors of the Carovingian race, *Anselmus* and many other proper names; so also *Ansibarii*, the name of a Frankish tribe several times mentioned in these pages. *Schilteri* Thes. Antiq. Teuton. vol. iii. p. 52. The word Anses occurs in this sense in the fragment of a popular lay of the age of Charles the Great. The well-known league of the great commercial cities of Germany derived its name from the same root.

⁷ *Isodor. Hispalensis*, Chron. Gothor. ad æram cccviii. Ed. Lindenbrog. p. 166. The list of Gothic kings preserved by Jornandes is

his death the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was dissolved by the irruption of those countless Tatar hordes who gave the final impulse by which the mighty revolution of the fifth century was consummated.

National distinctions and divisions.

A threefold distinction of races seems to have prevailed among the Goths at an early period of their history under the several names of Getæ,⁸ Ostrogoths, and Visigoths. The Getæ soon disappear entirely, leaving the two great divisions into eastern and western Goths alone current. These divisions were, as we have already intimated, attached to different reigning families; and though the eastern Goths must be generally regarded as the dominant portion, yet there seems good reason to believe that the western or Visigoths always enjoyed a separate though subordinate government. It is expressly affirmed that Ostrogotha ruled over both; his successor Kniva seems to have maintained a similar extent of authority; and indeed up to the abandonment of Dacia by Aurelian, no trace of the subsequent schism appears. But when the Romans fell back upon the Danube, the western Goths followed and occupied the evacuated province, thereby gaining a large extension of territory, and widening the distance between themselves and the dominant division. By this removal the sovereign of the subordinate tribe must have become less dependent, and the two nations less connected in interests and pursuits; and thus, when regard is had to the looseness with which the principles of government sat upon the Teutonic races in general, it is not to be wondered at that a severance between the Ostrogoths and Visigoths should have taken place without apparent struggle or convulsion.⁹

Whatever the terms may have been upon which these powerful tribes separated, we find that while Hermanrich reigned over the Ostrogoths, a prince named Athanarich sat upon the throne of the Visigoths.¹⁰ His

very imperfect. The Amalic pedigree, in c. 14. omits the names of Kniva, Aorich, Ararich, and Geberich, though it contains those of Amala, Ostrogotha, and Hermanrich. Possibly therefore the former were Balthic princes.

⁸ The Getæ are believed by Cluver and others to have been the prior inhabitants of the country, and not of Gothic origin.—Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 34. p. 626.

⁹ *Luden* (vol. ii. book v. c. 2. note 18. p. 542.) maintains that the names of Ostrogoths and Visigoths did not come into use till the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century; and he disproves upon nine several grounds (!) the opinion of those writers (*Mascou* among the rest) who maintain that the *Greuthungi* were the chief clan of the eastern, and the *Thervingii* of

the western Goths. His reasoning is the less convincing, that to suit his theory he has condescended to mistranslate a passage in the twenty-ninth chapter of *Jornandes*; by which device he makes Alaric (who flourished between the years 395 and 410.) the founder of the family of the Balthi. I have followed the accurate *Mascou*; and I find that *M. Pfister* (vol. i. p. 219.) has done the like.

¹⁰ The period of his accession is marked by *Isidor* of Seville in his *Chron. Gothor.* p. 166. in the year 415 of the Spanish era, and the 5th year of the reign of Valens, which corresponds with the 369th year of the vulgar era, therefore about six years before the first irruption of the Huns.

father Rhostestus, if not king, was at least a chief of great authority among them, since he was honoured with the special notice of Constantine the Great as a trusty friend of the empire, and a person of great talent and courage.¹¹

This general outline, such as the existing materials have enabled us to present it, will perhaps facilitate the arrangement of several isolated events whose historical significance depends wholly upon restoring them to their natural order. The notices handed down to us relate in the *first* instance to the internal wars between the Gothic powers and the great races of northern and eastern Germany; and in the *second*, to the effects of those commotions upon the condition and welfare of the empire of Rome.

I. The great expansion of the Gothic power in the reign of Ostrogotha brought that people into conflict with the tribes who had succeeded them in the northern regions they had quitted. These tribes may without impropriety be classed as members of the great Vandalic race which inhabited the vast sandy plains stretching along the shores of the Baltic from the mouths of the Vistula to those of the Elbe. They are distinguished among many others by the several tribe-names of Burgundians, Lygians, Juthungi, Longobardi, Heruli, Lemovii, Rugii, Thuringii. The Burgundians, whom Pliny classes among the Vandalic or Vindellic tribes,¹² are believed to have been settled in southern Prussia, not far from the banks of the Vistula; the Lygians in the western palatinates of Poland and in Silesia; the Rugii in Mecklenburg; the Thuringii and Longobardi in Brandenburg and the northern districts of Upper Saxony;¹³ the Heruli or Lemovii in Pomerania.

The Goths attack the Vandalic races of north-eastern Germany:

Burgundians,

Lygians,

Rugians,
Thuringii and
Longobardi,
Heruli and
Lemovii.

Wars between
the Gothic and
Vandalic races:

From the age of Ostrogotha to that of Probus,¹⁴ there seems to have been little cessation of warfare between the great Gothic and Vandalic races thus brought into direct contact with each other. At the same time we find the nations bordering on the Pannonian and Illyrian provinces in an inexplicable state of commixture and fermentation, the north-eastern tribes especially manifesting a strong tendency to recede southwards; for which disposition no reason appears but the pressure of the Ostrogothic power in the north. Marcomanni, Quadi, Alemanni, are indeed still found in their old settlements in the reigns of Aurelian and Probus, and even much later,¹⁵ but mingled with Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Juthungi, Gepidæ, Heruli,¹⁶ all of them nations whose original domicile lay far away to the northward. Moreover, in the reign

tendency of the
latter to recede
to the south-
ward;
they become
mingled with
the Marcoman-
nic, Quadic,
Alemannic
(Suevic) races.

¹¹ *Mascou*, book vii. § 3. p. 320.

¹² *Plin.* lib. iv. c. 14.

¹³ *Chuv. Germ. Ant.* lib. iii. cc. 26, 33, 35, 36.

¹⁴ A.D. 250 to 275.

¹⁵ *Vopisc.* in *Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 18. p. 486.—
Aur. Vic. de Cæsar. p. 340.

¹⁶ *Dexippus* ap. *Pet. Magist.* Except. de Legat. p. 7.

They find
their way to the
Rhine.

of Probus, Vandals, Burgundians and Lygii are discovered acting against the Romans in conjunction with the Franks on the Lower Rhine. Seventeen or eighteen years afterwards certain Ostrogothic tribes attacked and overthrew the Burgundians; after whose defeat we are told the Alemanni, a strictly Rhenish and Danubian nation, took up arms in their defence. Again, about the same period the Thervingii, a Gothic tribe, are said to have attacked and defeated the Vandals and Gepidæ.¹⁷ Thus by slow degrees the northern nations were forced away to the southward and westward, and gradually advancing nearer to the Roman frontiers on the Rhine and the Upper Danube.

A.D. 270.
These move-
ments give rise
to the great
invasion of
Pannonia, No-
ricum, and
Italy, in the
reign of Aure-
lian.

II. To this sudden influx of warlike and needy strangers we attribute the simultaneous rush on the part of the nations nearest to the Danube upon the Pannonian and Norican frontier which took place in the commencement of the reign of Aurelian. As soon as the news of the invasion of Pannonia reached the emperor, he directed the corn and provisions of the inhabitants to be secured within the fortified towns. The barbarians soon became embarrassed for want of food; an indecisive battle brought them no relief; and discouraged by the difficulties of their position, they signified to Aurelian their readiness to quit the province on condition of his paying them the subsidies they had formerly received from the Romans. The emperor repelled the demand with firmness, and the barbarians retreated across the Danube.¹⁸

The Sœvic and
Vandalic races
make a com-
bined attack
upon Italy.

A.D. 271.

While Aurelian was engaged with these enemies in Pannonia, a far more formidable foe had penetrated through Noricum, and was already in possession of the passes into Italy. Amid the confusion which prevails among the historians of this period,¹⁹ we may still discern with sufficient distinctness the co-operation of the Vandalic races in this war. The invading forces are said to have consisted of Marcomanni, Alemanni, Scythians (a name very generally applied to the barbarians of the remoter north), Vandals, and Juthungi.²⁰ The latter indeed seem to claim a Scythian origin, since they are described as excellent horsemen, and noted for the numbers of their cavalry. These hordes now invaded Italy, dispersed a Roman army near Placentia, ravaged the country about Milan, and advanced as far as Fanum Fortunæ²¹ in Umbria. A clear road to the gates of Rome lay before them, and nothing but the dispersion of their forces in quest of plunder could have prevented the defence-

They penetrate
as far as Fa-
num Fortunæ
(Fano) in
Umbria.
They disperse
in quest of
plunder.

¹⁷ Mamertin. Panegy. ad Constant. c. 17.

¹⁸ Dexipp. Fragm. in Excerpt., &c. Pet. Magist. p. 7.—Mascou, vol. i. p. 220.—Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. vol. iii. p. 380.—Luden, vol. ii. pp. 111. 112.

¹⁹ We allude to Zosim. lib. i. pp. 42, 43.—Dexippus, in Fragm. ap. P. Mag. &c. p. 7.—Vopiscus in Aurel. c. 8. and Aurel. Victor. c. 35.

²⁰ See also Mascou, book v. cc. 47 and 48.

²¹ Fano on the Adriatic.

less capital itself from falling into their hands. The unwarlike inhabitants of Italy were seized with universal dismay. The timid and superstitious populace of Rome loudly demanded that the Sibylline books should be consulted as the best mode of averting the danger. The senate delayed; but the mandate of Aurelian put an end to their hesitation; he readily promised the necessary number and quality of victims, and ordered all the expenses of the ceremony to be defrayed by the treasury.²² The oracle was accordingly consulted with every accustomed form, and the response directed sacrifices and incantations to be performed at certain spots in advance of the capital; for the gods it was thought would not permit an enemy to cross the bounds thus consecrated. Vopiscus assures us that so hopeless was the state of things that nothing but the manifest aid of the gods, obtained through the propitiatory sacrifices prescribed by the oracle, could have saved the city; but that by their intervention the barbarians were put to confusion by divers delusive phantoms and frightful visions, and thus compelled to abandon Italy.²³

The cause of their failure may be traced to their dispersion in quest of booty. After Aurelian had provided for the defence of Pannonia, he hastened to the assistance of Italy. The barbarians were attacked and beaten in detail; first at Fanum in Umbria, the farthest point of their advance, then at Placentia²⁴ on the Po, and lastly on the river Ticinus. Still the war continued to rage for some time longer on the Danube. Aurelian, it is said, obtained a decisive victory over the Vandals and compelled them to give hostages, and to furnish him with a selected body of two thousand auxiliary cavalry; upon these conditions the discomfited enemy was permitted to retire to their homes.²⁵ Still it seems as if the success of the emperor had been incomplete, since Italy itself was shortly afterwards again violated by the active cavalry of the Juthungi. The late invasion had indeed broken the charm which surrounded the sacred capital of the Roman world; and Aurelian hastened to bring the enormous suburbs, which in process of time had sprung up around the ancient ramparts, within a new and more substantial inclosure.²⁶

Aurelian defeats and disperses them.

Aurelian again defeats the Vandals on the Danube.

²² Aurelian likewise promises "cujuslibet gentis captivos;" but surely not as victims! Yet Mascou takes this passage to denote a practice of sacrificing human victims as a necessary part of the ceremony of consulting the Sibylline books; and he affirms (without quoting any authority) that, though prohibited by Hadrian, this detestable custom was not yet disused.—Hist. of the Germans, book v. § 48.

²³ Vopisc. in *Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 21. p. 466.

²⁴ *Aurel. Victor.* in *Epit. ad Aurel.* c. 35. But this may be a mistake. The Romans had suffered a severe defeat at Placentia; it would be a

singular coincidence if the same place should so soon afterwards have been the scene of as signal a victory. *Mascou*, book v. c. 48. See also *Tillemont*, ubi sup. vol. iii. p. 382.

²⁵ *Dexipp.* in *Excerpt. de Legat.* p. 12. It was not till after a somewhat painful examination of the vague authorities to which we are driven in this portion of the narrative, that I felt confident of the connexion of this Vandalic race with the great invasion of Italy of the year 271, described by Vopiscus in the 18th and subsequent chapters of his *Memoir of Aurelian*.

²⁶ Vopisc. in *Aurel.* vol. ii. c. 21. p. 467. The

SECTION III.—A.D. 275 to A.D. 368.

Wars of Probus on the Danube—Barbaric Colonization—Changes of Position among the Tribes of Central Germany—Wars of Geberich and Hermanrich against the Vandalic Races—Growth of the Visigothic Kingdom down to the Invasion of the Huns.

Aurelian is succeeded by Tacitus in January. A.D. 275.

AFTER Aurelian had fallen a victim to the treason of his secretary Menestheus, the senate named as his successor M. Claudius Tacitus, a descendant of the great historian, and a man of diligence and probity. Tacitus applied himself with zeal to the discharge of his high duties, and won the love and admiration of the people, to whom unselfish conduct on the part of their rulers was as strange as it was acceptable. Asia Minor was again disturbed by mixed Gothic and Scythian adventurers, who issued from their old haunts, the harbours of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and, giving out that they had been invited by Aurelian to his assistance against the Persians, marched through Pontus and Cappadocia as far as Cilicia. Tacitus entrusted the duty of repelling them to his brother Florianus; but that officer soon became involved in the ruin of his excellent relative; the Goths escaped his pursuit and retreated with their booty to their ships.¹

Tacitus is murdered at Tyana and is succeeded by Probus, A.D. 276,

The deserved popularity of Tacitus constituted no claim to the attachment of the army. He was slain by the soldiers at Tyana, in Cappadocia, after having reigned over the Roman world something less than seven months.² After a short interval he was succeeded by Valerius Probus, a hardy and determined veteran, the comrade of Aurelian, and the friend of the brave and worthy Claudius II. His first undertaking was the repression of a dangerous invasion of Gaul by the Rhenish nations, in conjunction, as it seems, with certain eastern or Vandalic tribes, called by Zosimus, Logiones.³ After successfully executing this task, he passed into Illyricum, and so completely defeated the Sarmatian invaders of that province, that they were compelled to surrender all that they had acquired there. In Thrace and Mœsia, where the victory of Claudius at Naissus seems rather to have humbled than to have expelled or subdued the intrusive Goths, Probus applied

who defeats the Sarmatians in Illyricum,

walls of Aurelian (improved or completed by Probus) still constitute the inclosure of the modern city; but the buildings do not cover much more than one-third of the included space.

¹ Zosim. lib. i. p. 59.—Vopisc. in Tacit. vol. ii. c. 13. p. 619.

² Aurel. Victor. (de Cæsar. and Epit.) says, that he died of a fever at Tyana on the 200th day of his reign. Vopiscus (in Tacit. c. 13.

p. 620.) leaves it undetermined whether he died by treason or of disease. But Zosim. (lib. i. p. 58.) says expressly that Tacitus fell a victim to the resentment entertained by the soldiers against his relative Maximinus, to whom he had intrusted the government of Syria. They assassinated Maximinus; and the emperor was killed in a military tumult as he was in the act of decamping.

³ According to Cluver, Lygii.

himself to conciliate the good-will of the many vagrant parties of Scythians who still maintained themselves in different quarters, partly in the character of denizens, and partly in that of colonists. These he now endeavoured to convert into peaceful subjects. In conformity with the infatuated policy of his predecessors, he introduced a fresh colony of one hundred thousand Bastarnæ into Mœsia and Thrace, who, we are told, kept strict faith with their benefactor and readily conformed to Roman laws and customs; but he likewise permitted certain mixed companies of Gepidæ, Greuthungi, and Vandals, to settle within the limits of the empire; these strangers almost instantly resumed their old predatory and piratical habits, and dispersing themselves along the coasts and far into the interior, spread devastation and terror throughout the provinces of Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor. The suppression of these robber-bands was the work of incessant and fatiguing exertion; but since such labours brought with them neither profit nor renown, they were grudgingly bestowed by the soldier, and received with indifference by the subject, who knew that the army neither courted his approbation nor valued his applause.⁴

replenishes the population of Mœsia and Thrace with barbarian colonists,

and employs his troops in the suppression of robbery and piracy in those provinces.

A few years subsequent to these events, as far as the uncertainty of our authorities permits us to judge, the Burgundians and Vandals, whom we may assume to be, if not identical with the invading tribes of the years 270 and 271, yet of the same race and domicile, attacked the frontier provinces of the Danube. Probus marched against them in person. Both armies encamped on the opposite banks of a river; but the emperor feeling himself too weak to hazard the passage in the face of a superior adversary, directed his soldiers to practise upon the irritable vanity of the barbarians, and to provoke them to the combat by taunts and challenges. The enemy fell into the snare and pushed across the stream; Probus attacked them before they could recover from the disorder occasioned by this difficult operation, and compelled the greater part to surrender at discretion. They were at first admitted to mercy upon condition of surrendering all their prisoners and booty; but the Romans having detected some among them in an attempt to conceal or convey away a part of the spoils, the whole body was adjudged by Probus to have forfeited the benefit of the capitulation. The soldiers fell upon the retreating multitude, killed many of them, and took the

He marches against the Burgundians and Vandals of the Upper Danube;

he defeats them; and

⁴ "Nec parum molestiæ (barbari) Romanæ gloriæ intulerunt," says Vopiscus. The military glory of Rome was uppermost in the mind of the writer as of his countrymen. It was one of the worst signs of the times, that the

glory of the Roman armies had become disconnected from a sense of duty to the state and their fellow-subjects. See *Vopisc. in Probo*, c. 16. p. 666. and c. 18. p. 669.

rest, including their chief Igillus, prisoners. The captives were transferred by the emperor to Britain, where settlements were assigned them; and there they are said to have conducted themselves as peaceable and useful subjects.⁵

the Vandals
and Burgun-
dians advance
towards
southern Ger-
many.

A. D. 276
to
A. D. 282.

Notwithstanding this defeat we now perceive the Vandals and Burgundians advancing fast into notice. The latter we have seen ejected from their original settlements on the Vistula by the Gepidæ,⁶ and we have traced them receding in a south-west direction before the tide of the Gothic power.⁷ The Vandals we shall shortly find in full retreat from their northern settlements, and coming into close contact with the Alemannic races. Thus then it appears that up to this period central Germany had been gradually changing occupants; the Suevic nations had been driven towards the Upper Danube; the Frankish tribes had congregated upon the Rhine; the Saxons had spread themselves by little and little over the north-western regions of Germany; while behind all these Burgundians and Vandals were pushed forward by the power of the Goths, which left them no alternative between submission and expatriation.

Wars of Gebe-
rich and Her-
manrich
against the
Vandalic
tribes.

A. D. 306
et seq. Ann.

During the reign of Constantine the Great some noticeable movements took place among the great eastern Germanic races. The Ostrogoths, under their king Geberich, attacked a Vandalic tribe, who had penetrated into Upper Hungary, and settled upon the river Marisch, or Marsch, an affluent of the Theiss, itself the principal tributary stream of the Danube in that region.⁸ After an obstinate conflict, their king Visumar was killed, and the remnant of the Vandals were compelled to throw themselves upon the protection of Constantine, who settled them as colonists in Pannonia, whence, by direction of Stilicho, they were in the following century removed into Gaul.

The Heruli.

Geberich was succeeded by Hermanrich, whom, for great personal valour and the extent of his conquests, Jornandes compares with Alexander the Great. The nations he subdued were mostly of the Slavonic or Sarmatian family inhabiting the eastern shores of the Baltic. We shall therefore allude to a single tribe in the list of Jornandes, which, though by him placed most erroneously on the Palus Mæotis, was a genuine Teutonic people, whose original settlement unequivocally identifies them with the Ulmerugian Vandals of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. That people are the afterwards-celebrated Heruli. As the Burgundians

⁵ *Zosim*, lib. i. p. 62.

⁶ Vide sup. p. 209.

⁷ See the preceding section, p. 227.

⁸ *Jornandes*, c. 22. p. 202. His geography cannot be reconciled with the known positions of

the several nations of Germany. It is not possible in the place he assigns them that they should have had Hermunduri (!) for their nearest neighbours to the northward.

and Vandals had yielded to Geberich, so now the Heruli bent beneath the yoke of Hermanrich, about the same period that the remoter Venedi and Æstii became his dependents.⁹

Thus we find the stress of the Goths upon their western neighbours becoming heavier every year. The rapidity of their conquests during the reign of Hermanrich, their uniform success and increasing audacity, justify the presumption that in the next age they would have inundated Germany, and become competitors with the Franks and Alemanni for the spoils of Gaul. But as in the great convulsions of nature the fiercest torrent is not unfrequently forced from its ancient channel by an avalanche or a mountain slip, even so the natural progress of the mighty nation whose fortunes we have hitherto followed was suddenly and forcibly arrested by the irruption of the Huns, an event which though it added greatly to the universal and tumultuous fermentation which was taking place among the nations of the north, must still be regarded rather as the occasion than the cause of the downfall of the ancient social system of Europe. Rome could not have stood much longer had the Huns never appeared to deal the wounds under which her empire slowly expired.

The progress of the Visigoths upon the Lower Danube forms the last topic we shall have to advert to in connexion with the history of the eastern Teutonic nations. An intercourse between that people and the Romans was growing up, which might in time have led to a useful interchange of services, tending on the one hand to the civilization of a noble and susceptible race, and on the other to the mitigation of the horrors of predatory warfare under which the unfortunate provinces in that quarter of the empire had been so long suffering. It has been already observed, that to the occupation of the Roman province of Dacia an important change in the position of the Gothic nations towards each other might be traced. The portion of that people who settled in that province continued in constant intercourse with the Romans. Diocletian maintained peace with the Gothic confederacy. Large bodies of Goths were taken into the service of the empire by Galerius. Maximianus Herculeus employed them against the Persians; and Constantine the Great engaged forty thousand of their warriors to assist him against his colleague Licinius.¹⁰ In the reign of Constantine and those of his sons, the frontier of the Lower Danube was upon the

Stress of the Gothic power upon their western neighbours.

Growth of the Visigothic kingdom down to the invasion of the Huns.

They maintain a constant intercourse with the empire as auxiliaries

⁹ *Jornand.* c. 23. p. 303. In eastern Prussia, Livonia, and Courland. *Mamertin.* Orat. ad Maximian., mentions the Heruli in conjunction with the Caivones, Burgundians, and Alemanni,

as invaders of Gaul in the reign of Diocletian and his colleagues.—*Panegy.* ii. c. 7. See also *Cluv.* Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 35. p. 640.

¹⁰ *Jornand.* c. 21. p. 202.

and colonists.

whole more tranquil than it had been during any period of the preceding century. Like his predecessors, he introduced great numbers of barbarian colonists into the wasted provinces for the purpose of supplying the perpetual draughts upon the population required by the wars of the empire, and of satisfying the distressed border-tribes whom want or external pressure might have driven to seek relief in the plunder of the provinces.¹¹

A rupture occurs in the reign of Valens.

A.D. 367. Valens invades the territories of the Visigoths.

A.D. 368.

The war is terminated by a peace which restores the commercial intercourse between the Goths and the Romans.

About thirty years after the death of Constantine a rupture occurred between the western Goths and the emperor Valens. A body of three thousand men of that people had marched to the support of the usurper Procopius, and in consequence of the downfall of that adventurer had become the prisoners of Valens. Athanarich was at this period king, or, as he is denominated by some writers, sovereign judge of the Visigoths. This chief demanded the restoration of the captive Goths on the plea that Procopius was a member of the family of Constantine, that they were therefore justified in regarding him as the rightful successor of that prince, and that, in virtue of treaties subsisting between the Gothic people and the then reigning family, they had furnished him with auxiliary troops; but he added, that since fortune had decided against Procopius, he was now willing to live upon the same terms with the conqueror as he had done with his predecessors. Valens rejected the apology; he marched an army to the Danube, and crossed the river by a bridge of boats. The Goths retired to the mountains, and Valens, after ravaging the open country, withdrew at the approach of winter. During the following season an inundation of the Danube prevented the emperor from carrying his arms into the enemy's country; but in the next year Athanarich is said to have sustained a defeat which induced him to sue for peace. Valens consented, and the treaty was ratified at a personal interview between the two princes upon a raft launched upon the Danube. The terms seem to have related chiefly to the restoration of commercial intercourse between the Goths and the Romans, by which both parties, the former especially, had been great sufferers. Two cities were, it seems, named in the treaty as the exclusive marts for the Gothic commerce. Restricted as the intercourse was by this article of the treaty, we must presume a great change in the habits of that warlike nation, to account satisfactorily for the anxiety evinced for the benefits of Roman trade and their willingness to accept it upon terms so disadvantageous.¹²

¹¹ *Mascou*, vol. i. book vi. pp. 269, 270.

¹² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. 5. pp. 530, 531. — *Themistius*, *Orat.* x., as quoted at length by *Mascou*, lib. vii. p. 322. Themistius makes it one article of complaint against the predecessors

of Valens, to whom his eulogy is dedicated, that they had suffered the frontier garrisons to exchange the habits of soldiers for those of merchants.

CHAP. VII.

HISTORY OF THE FRANKS, SAXONS, AND ALEMANNI, FROM THE REIGN OF MAXIMIN TO THE IRRUPTION OF THE HUNS.

WE have several difficulties to contend with in the arrangement of this portion of the narrative, arising chiefly from the uncertain chronology of the Greek and Roman writers, and the want of connexion among the incidents themselves. For the purpose of simplifying the subject as much as possible, we shall adhere to the four principal races—Goths, Franks, Alemanni, and Saxons,¹ as the guides by whose motions those of the other nations of the north are for the most part determined. The history of the Goths has been already brought down to the period of the great Hunnic irruption; it is purposed in the ensuing chapter to class together the principal events connected with that of the Franks, Saxons, and Alemanni, up to the same point of time. Some account has been already rendered of the origin and early geography of these races,² to which matters therefore it is now unnecessary to recur further than to recommend them to the reader's attention, in order to enable him as far as possible to combine, under a single view, subjects in their nature so unfavourable to that continuity, which, when attainable, adds so much to the interest and effect of historical narrative.

SECTION I.—A. D. 9 to A. D. 354.

Agri Decumates—Carausius—Maritime Franks—Constantius Chlorus disperses the Frankish and Saxon Pirates—Constantine the Great—His Wars with the Alemanni—His cruel Policy—Constans pacifies the Franks—Constantius—He excites the Alemanni against Magnentius—Civil War—Character of the barbarian Auxiliaries of Rome.

THOUGH the first appearance of the Alemanni on the Rhine cannot be dated earlier than the reign of Caracalla, yet the history of the district into which they obtruded themselves forms a necessary introduction to

The Agri Decumates, the districts evacuated by the Marcomanni of Marbod in A.D. 9.

¹ See c. v. sec. 3. p. 190.

² Ibid.

They are re-peopled by various tribes, and become dependent upon Rome during the lapse of the first century of the Christian era.

their own story. When the Marcomanni, under Marbod, quitted the Rhine to establish themselves in Bojenhaim,¹ about nine years after the birth of Christ, the Romans do not appear to have interfered with the re-colonization of the evacuated districts. These districts comprehended the whole south-western angle of Germany, bounded by the Mayne on the north, the Rhine on the west, the Alps to the south, and to the eastward by the high lands,² which divide the waters of the Rhine and the Danube. In this fertile region colonists from Gaul, wandering families of Germans (perhaps of Helvetii), together with offshoots from the Rhenish Nemetes, Tribocci, and Vangiones,³ successively settled themselves. There is abundant evidence that this miscellaneous population did not long maintain its independence. Early in the second century of the Christian era their country appears as a dependency of the empire; but the precise period at which the reduction took place is a subject of conjecture only. Near Freyburg, in the Breisgau, there are many remarkable vestiges of Roman settlements.⁴ Trajan is believed to have erected several castles upon Mount Taunus and along the banks of the Mayne for the protection of the northern borders against the turbulent Chatti; and Hadrian built that extraordinary rampart of stakes and sods, the remains of which are still popularly known by the name of the *Devil's Wall*, for the defence of the entire district. The Romans called their new acquisition the *Agri Decumates*; the origin of the appellation is indeed involved in obscurity; yet there seem strong grounds for believing that the districts so named had been originally set apart by Drusus or Germanicus for the support of the garrisons of the frontier fortresses erected along the right bank of the Rhine, with the right to apply a definite portion⁵ of the produce to their maintenance.

In the following ages the emperors bestow great care and expense upon the maintenance and defence of this dependency.

Be this as it may, the Romans soon became sensible of the importance of the Agri Decumates as an advanced position of defence against the restless inhabitants of the interior. It is believed that the emperor Septimius Severus strengthened the agger of Hadrian; that he reconstructed the military roads along the line of the Bergstrasse, and thence across the Black Forest into Vindelicia; and that his successor, Caracalla, extended and improved them.⁶ In the reign of Hadrian, the eighth legion

¹ See pp. 73 and 105 of this volume.

² The ridges known by the names of the *Rauhe-Alp*, the *Steigerwald*, and the *Fichtel Gebirge*.

³ The districts of Speyer, Worms, and Strasburg.

⁴ *Pfister*, *Gesch. v. Schwaben*, vol. i. p. 38. note 41.

⁵ The Decumæ, originally a tenth or tithe, but

afterwards any payment in produce. Thus, also, *Tacitus* (*Ann. lib. xiii. c. 54.*) describes certain lands occupied for a time by the Frisii and Ansibarii as—*Agri militum usui sepositi*.—See also *Pfist. Gesch. v. Schwab.* p. 35. note 37; and see *sup. c. 4. sec. 2. pp. 142, 143.*

⁶ *Pfister*, *Gesch. v. Schwab.* vol. i. p. 47. quotes *Schoepflin's Alsatia Illustrata*, pp. 552, 568, 569.

had its permanent quarters in the Agri Decumates; a century later the twenty-second legion was stationed there; a multitude of Roman remains, such as boundary stones, altars, inscriptions, aqueducts, baths, and even the sites of castles and towns, mark the limits of the subject country, and bear testimony to a long and peaceful occupation.⁷

From the irruptions of the Chatti in the reign of Trajan, down to the age of the younger Gordian, a period of upwards of a century, this dependency of the empire was little disturbed by barbaric invasion. But during that interval the Alemanni were gathering strength on the Upper Mayne and the Danube, while the attention of the succeeding rulers, Philip, Decius, Gallus, and Æmilian was diverted from the defence of the Gallic frontier by the destructive inroads of the Gothic nations, by the invasions of the Persians in the east, and by sanguinary contests for the purple among themselves.⁸ At the same time the Franks on the Lower Rhine were watching their opportunity to ravage the Gallic provinces. In the reign of Valerian they passed the Rhine, and perpetrated serious depredations in almost every part of Gaul. That emperor committed the defence of the province to Aurelian, who defeated the Franks, killing seven hundred and taking three hundred prisoners.⁹ The credit he gained by this trifling success indicates the degree of terror these barbarians inspired; Valerian conferred upon him the title of Restorer of Gaul, and the Roman populace sang triumphant songs in his praise.¹⁰ But the ill success of this their first attempt does not seem to have made much impression upon the Franks themselves. While the Alemanni invaded the Agri Decumates, and passed the Rhine into Gaul, they again ravaged Lower Germany and a great part of Belgium; they took the cities of Augusta Trevirorum and Mediomatricum,¹¹ and extended their destructive inroads to the northern provinces of Spain, where they totally ruined the city and district of Tarragona.¹² The precise periods of these invasions cannot now be ascertained. Indeed our information is so meagre and unconnected as almost to defy arrangement; yet, such as it is, we gather from it strong proof of the inability of Rome to extend equal protection to every threatened point of her enormous frontier. Valerian was compelled to put almost the whole force of

About the beginning of the third century the Alemanni and the Franks become active assailants of the empire.

Successive invasions of the Franks in the reigns of Valerian
A.D. 253.

⁷ But the names of these towns and castles, excepting one or two mentioned in the Itineraries, are totally lost.—*Schoepflin*, *Alsat.* Illustr. p. 440; and *Sattleri* *Antiquities*, Tab. iii. and iv. quoted by *Pfst.* loc. cit. The *Tab. Peut.* does not notice the Agri Decumates, nor any Roman road or station on the right bank of the Rhine.

⁸ See c. vi. sec. 1. pp. 211-214.

⁹ *Vopisc.* in *Aurel.* c. 7. vol. ii. p. 433.

¹⁰ "Mille Francos
Mille Sarmatas
Semel occidimus;
Mille, Mille Persas quærimus."

Vopisc. loc. mod. cit.

¹¹ Treves and Metz in Lorraine.

¹² *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 22. p. 518.

the empire in requisition to arrest the progress of Shahpoor king of Persia; few troops could be spared for the defence of Gaul; and with the inconsiderable force which remained at his disposal, he sent his son Gallienus into the province with Aurelian as his second in command. There the Romans were accordingly reduced to the defensive, and at last obliged to purchase by stipends and gratuities a suspension of hostilities from the elated barbarians.¹³ By such means some of the barbaric chieftains were detached from the rest, and with their assistance the more pressing difficulties of the province were obviated.¹⁴

About this period the Franks acquire nautical skill, and addict themselves to naval adventure.

During the progress of these border wars on the Rhine, an incidental notice of Aurelius Victor,¹⁵ confirmed by a short passage in the Panegyrist Nazarius, acquaints us with a fact of great interest in connexion with the history of the northern nations of Europe. We have already seen how readily the Goths of the Euxine acquired the naval skill necessary to the navigation of that stormy sea. We now find the same nautical spirit at work upon a far greater scale, and successfully contending with still more formidable difficulties on the ocean-coasts of northern Germany. In the reign of Gallienus, Frankish fleets, running out of the mouths of the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe, made descents upon the coasts of Gaul, Spain and even Africa: the first indication *this* of that terrible propensity to piratical warfare which for the following seven or eight centuries never ceased to desolate the western coasts of the European continent.¹⁶

A.D. 257.
Posthumus tranquillizes Gaul

Posthumus succeeded to Gallienus and Aurelian in the command of Gaul. The favour of Valerian and the hatred of the army for the indolent and vicious Gallienus, endeared the new commander to the soldiery; they thought that he who sustained the actual charge of government, and performed its duties, ought to enjoy the honours of sovereignty, and Posthumus was unanimously saluted Augustus by the army of Gaul.¹⁷ For a period of seven years, during which he conducted the defence of the province, the country enjoyed comparative tranquillity. While in every other quarter of the empire the torrent of invasion was sweeping all before it, Gaul was cleared of the roving bands of Franks

and restores the towns.

¹³ *Vopisc.* in *Aurel.* loc. mod. cit.—*Zosim.* lib. i. p. 28.

¹⁴ While Gallienus resided in Gaul he fell in love with Pipara, daughter of Atalus, a Frankish chief, and married her after repudiating his wife Salonia.—*Aurel. Vict.* de Cæsar. p. 336.—*Trebell. Poll.* in *Gallieno*, c. 3. vol. ii. p. 250. This connexion inspired him with a taste for barbaric customs; he wore the yellow hair, and imitated the dress of the Franks.

¹⁵ De Cæsar. in *Gallieno*.

¹⁶ From the context of *Aurel. Victor* it seems as if the city of Tarraco, on the eastern coast of Spain, had been destroyed by these pirates. But Orosius, himself a Spaniard, resident in the country, does not notice any nautical invasion during this period.

¹⁷ *Trebell. Poll.* in xxx *Tyrann.* c. 3. vol. ii. p. 259. He held the command in Gaul from the year 257 till his death in 267. He caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in 261. *Art de Ver.*, &c. vol. i. p. 381.

and Alemanni which infested it, the towns and fortresses were restored, the castles and military lines on the right bank of the Rhine were repaired, and several decisive successes obtained. As long as Posthumus lived the enemy respected the frontiers of the province. His death, by the hands of his own rapacious and disappointed soldiery, was a signal to the barbarians for a general rush upon all the military posts of the Romans on the right of the Rhine. These defences were soon destroyed or burnt, and Gaul once more became a prey to devastation and carnage.¹⁸ But Lollianus, whom, after the assassination of Posthumus, the army had proclaimed emperor, applied himself with success to the public defence; the barbarians were again driven back, and the Trans-Rhenane posts once more placed in a defensible state.

A.D. 257.

to

A.D. 267.

His death the signal for fresh devastation and carnage.

A. D. 267.

Lollianus again repels the barbarians.

But within the twelvemonth after his elevation, Lollianus paid the customary penalty of ambition; he was murdered by the satellites of his associate Victorinus.¹⁹ The new ruler was however an able soldier; he had taken a principal part in the successful wars of Posthumus against the Trans-Rhenane tribes, and was well fitted to carry on and accomplish the designs of his predecessors. His reign lasted scarcely two years; his public virtues are admitted and extolled even by his enemies; but the dissolute habits of his private life abridged the small chance of a lengthened reign which the irregularity of his election and the character of his constituents might have admitted. He fell a sacrifice to the revenge of one of his own officers for the seduction of his wife.²⁰ Gaul now fell into the hands of Publius Pevisuvius Tetricus; the barbarians of the Rhine did not renew their inroads, and the new ruler maintained himself in the province for a period of six years. Meanwhile the legitimate emperors, Valerianus, Gallienus, Claudius and Quintillus had passed from the scene, and Aurelian had assumed the government with the hand of a daring and remorseless soldier. Tetricus, weary of the shameless insubordination and insolence of the army which supported him, resolved to merit his pardon by descending from the perilous eminence upon which he stood, and betraying his own intractable supporters. This foul transaction was accomplished with such skill and promptness as to secure the clemency even of the severe and obdurate Aurelian. Tetricus, indeed, figured as a captive in the superb triumph which Aurelian celebrated over Zenobia the heroic queen of Palmyra and her infant children; but here ended the resentment of the conqueror; the fallen prince was not merely received into favour, but enriched with the

He perishes by assassination.

Victorinus defends Gaul.

A. D. 268

He is succeeded by Tetricus. During his reign the barbarians abstain from invasion. He surrenders his purple to Aurelian and betrays his followers.

A. D. 273.

¹⁸ *Trebell. Poll.* in xxx *Tyrann.* c. 5. vol. ii. *de Ver. les Dates*, vol. i. p. 382. p. 261.

²⁰ *Trebell. Poll.* loc. cit. p. 266.

¹⁹ *Trebell. Poll.* in xxx *Tyrann.* loc. cit.—*Art*

intendancy of Lucania,²¹ and honoured with the personal familiarity of the emperor.²²

The thirty tyrants.
Merits of these usurpers in the defence of Gaul.

The necessity of several irresponsible commanders in the actual state of the empire is

confessed by the Roman writers.

The Franks and Alemanni are tranquil during the reign of Aurelian.

A. D. 275.
After his death the Franks overrun the whole province and seize sixty principal cities of Gaul.

The Roman historians stigmatize the military usurpers who started up successively in Gaul and other parts of the empire during the reigns of Valerius, Gallienus, and Claudius,²³ by the name of the thirty tyrants. Though the election of an emperor was now wholly military, yet the formal ratification of the senate was still regarded as legally essential to its validity. In other respects the title of those usurpers was equally good with that of the legitimate Cæsars; they were, at the same time, for the most part men of talent, confided in by the army, and pushed into action by their precarious position. In the actual state of the empire each of its members was necessarily abandoned to its own resources for safety and defence; co-operation, therefore, and concord were of less moment than prompt exertion, and the presence of an independent irresponsible head wherever a pressing danger existed; and *that* was everywhere. The Romans, indeed, acknowledged the salutary effects of these usurpations in Gaul. "While Gallienus," says the biographer Pollio, "was supinely wallowing in the most shameless debauchery, there arose in Gaul, first Posthumius, then Lollianus, after him Victorinus, and lastly Tetricus, as supporters of the honour of the Roman name; all of them, methinks, sent by heaven to prevent the Germans from taking permanent possession of the province; for if at that moment their invasions, like those of the Goths and Persians, had been seconded by the inhabitants of the country, the venerable name of Rome had thenceforth ceased to exist."²⁴

While the vigilant eye of Aurelian watched over the defence of the empire, the Franks and Alemanni did not venture to renew their incursions. But experience had long since taught them to regard the frequent revolutions and transfers of the sovereignty as the periods most propitious to their designs. After the death of Aurelian the whole province was again overrun by the tribes of the Weser and the Elbe. During the short reign of Tacitus, and probably the first year of his successor Probus,²⁵ the Germans seized sixty of the principal cities of Gaul, and their detached bands ranged freely over the whole province. As soon

²¹ "*Corrector Lucaniæ*:" intendant or civil governor seems to come nearest in signification. *Savigny* renders it "civil lieutenant," and makes it equivalent with "*consularis*" and "*præses*."—See *Hist. of the Rom. Law*, vol. i. p. 225.

²² *Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar*. p. 340.—*Tribell. Poll.* in xxx *Tyrann.* c. 24. vol. ii. pp. 314, 315.—See also *Schaten*, *Hist. Westph. lib.* iii. p. 112.

²³ From the year 253 to the year 273.

²⁴ *Tribell. Poll.* in xxx *Tyrann.* c. 5. vol. ii. p. 261.

²⁵ One year does not seem too much for transacting the many important affairs, which, according to *Zosimus*, awaited him at the outset of his government.—See his *Hist. lib.* i. pp. 59, 60.

therefore as the emperor had suppressed rebellion in Africa and Britain,²⁶ he put himself at the head of the Rhenish forces and rapidly recovered the Gallic cities; he cut off forty thousand of the barbarian marauders, and drove the rest across the Rhine, recapturing all the booty they had collected within the province.²⁷ He then led his army into their country, and took measures which indicate an intention permanently to reduce the country of the Franks to a dependency of the empire. He built cities, raised forts, and established strong garrisons, even beyond the utmost limits to which the Roman dominions had at any time extended. He repaired the defensive lines on the Mayne and the Danube, and raised a corps of sixteen thousand mercenary barbarians, which he stationed on different points of the frontier.²⁸ He provided for the needful supply and comfort of the outpost troops by establishing magazines, granting out lands to them for their support, and building station-houses along the advanced line. The emperor now proclaimed his purpose of exterminating all adversaries who should resist his yoke; every soldier who brought in the head of a barbarian was rewarded with a piece of gold; and this savage practice was attended with such success that nine chiefs of the Franks threw themselves, we are told, at the feet of Probus, and implored his clemency. The emperor accepted their submission, and took hostages for their future good behaviour; he imposed upon them contributions of grain, sheep, and cattle; but he failed in an attempt to disarm the submissive tribes. The honour and manhood of the German was inseparably connected with the privilege of bearing arms; and Probus was soon convinced that his project could not be realized until the whole nation should be reduced to the condition of provincials, and partake of that abject self-abandonment on the part of the subject upon which the Roman government depended for its stability.²⁹

Probus recovers the cities and punishes the invaders.

He advances the Roman dominion in Trans-Rhene Germany.

But he fails in his attempt to disarm the submissive tribes.

Upon the whole, the measures of Probus upon the Frankish, and probably also upon the Alemannic borders, were attended with success. He announced his triumphs to the senate in exaggerated terms:—"All Gaul," he said, "is reconquered, Germany subdued, the barbarians themselves plough and sow and reap and fight for the Romans: forty thousand have been slain, sixteen thousand now stand by us in arms, seventy of the noblest of our cities have been delivered from bondage,

Probus vauntingly announces to the senate the subjugation of Germany.

²⁶ *Zosim.* loc. cit.

²⁷ *Vopisc.* in *Probo*, c. 13. vol. ii. p. 662. It is not probable that the barbarians attempted the defence of these cities. *Vopiscus*, in that vein of ignorant exaggeration which pervades all the historians of this period, affirms that Probus drove the enemy beyond the Elbe and the

Neckar.

²⁸ "Per diversas provincias" is the expression of *Vopisc.* (loc. mod. cit.); but as the passage relates solely to the proceedings of Probus on the Rhine, I have ventured to restrict the words as above.

²⁹ *Vopisc.* in *Probo*, c. 3. vol. ii. p. 663.

all Gaul is liberated, all the booty has been recovered, and much more taken from the enemy than they themselves have ever gathered from us; their oxen plough the fields of Gaul, their cattle feed upon our pastures for our nourishment, their horses have remounted our cavalry, and our granaries are filled with their corn. We have left them the bare soil to subsist upon; all they possess is ours already." The conclusion of this vaunting epistle contrasts remarkably with the triumphant tone of its contents. "It was our intention, conscript fathers, to have converted Germany into a new province; but this we have deferred until it shall please the providence of the gods to increase our armies to a more efficient strength."³⁰

But the real amount of the successes of Probus did not extend beyond the humiliation of the nearest border tribes. He grants lands in military tenure to the frontier guards, which grants have been erroneously regarded as the origin of feudal tenures.

The real amount of the successes of Probus did not probably extend beyond the humiliation of some of the nearest border tribes. All his measures were rather of a defensive than an aggressive character; one of them in particular deserves attention, because it has been regarded as containing the rudiments of feudal institutions. It has been already noticed that the Roman government had been for several ages in the habit of granting lands taken from the enemy to the soldiers appointed for the defence of the borders.³¹ The nature of these grants rendered all the male children of each successive possessor liable to military service, so that they could neither divest themselves of their military character,³² nor alienate the lands to which that character was attached.³³ Vopiscus, in his life of Probus, adverts (it must be confessed obscurely) to similar grants made to the soldiery after the late humiliation of the Frankish borderers.³⁴ But he informs us in distinct terms that Probus pursued the same policy in Isauria to a great extent. All the lands, he says, which lay in front of the mountain defiles of that rugged region were granted out to the veterans of the army, upon condition that all their male children, from the age of eighteen and upwards, should be trained to military service.³⁵ Here the terms of holding do not admit of being questioned, and many modern writers have confidently referred to this practice as the genuine origin of feudal tenures.³⁶ The Germans, say they, when they had mastered the empire, imitated the Romans in the partition of their new acquisitions, as they did in so many other things. Reasoning then upon the

³⁰ *Vopisc. in Prob. c. 15. vol. ii. p. 666.*

³¹ See p. 236 of this section.

³² *Lamprid. in Al. Sever. c. 58. vol. i. p. 1024.*

³³ *Mascou, book iv. § 9. p. 110.*

³⁴ "Agros, et hornea, et domos, annonam Trans-Rhenanis (limitaneis militibus) omnibus fecit, iis videlicet, quos in excubiis collocavit." But no terms are mentioned as annexed to these

grants. It is stated merely that they were given by way of "annona," or yearly supply.

³⁵ Isauria comprehends the entire districts of the provinces of Pamphylia and Cilicia, lying at the foot of the range of Taurus.

³⁶ *Mascou, book v. § 54.* He gives a list of the writers who maintain the affirmative. He is himself carried away by the stream.

supposition that the custom must be *derivative*, they think it more probable that the barbarian conquerors should have adopted it from the Romans, than from their own Germanic ancestors, who acknowledged no property in land, and lived in a state of constant migration and change. But our information respecting the *Agri limitanei* of the Romans is far too imperfect to enable us to determine anything as to the subsequent fate of these border allotments. The *Agri Decumates* have indeed been supposed to have partaken of the character of military grants;³⁷ but that district had been overrun by the Germans several centuries before the earliest beneficiary grants of which we have any accounts; and neither during that period, nor subsequently, do we meet with the smallest vestige of the old Roman military tenure or intelligible reference to it. At all events, if retained by the Germans, it must in their hands have wholly lost its hereditary nature, which was its most striking, and perhaps, most practically useful quality under Roman management. The first fiefs were not hereditary; they terminated generally with the service, in every case with the life of the tenant, and originally implied no allegiance other than the tie which must bind the person obliged to his benefactor. The resemblance between the two kinds of tenure seems to fail precisely at the point of time when, according to the natural course of human conduct, it ought to have been strongest; that is, at its first adoption. It is exceedingly improbable that the first barbaric possessor would have relinquished the substantial advantages of hereditary property while he adopted only the burthensome duties of the tenure.³⁸

The history of the Rhenish tribes during the two years intervening between the death of Probus³⁹ and the accession of Diocletian, may be told in a few words. As soon as the death of Probus was known, both the Franks and the Alemanni renewed their incursions into Gaul :

A.D. 282

to

A.D. 284.

The lieutenants
of Carus en-

³⁷ *Eichhorn*, vol. i. § 20. p. 67.

³⁸ I have here ventured to dissent from the opinion of the learned Mascou, and perhaps his more learned authorities, in particular *Godefroy*; see his commentary ad tit. Codicis Theodos. "De Terris limitaneis," vol. ii. p. 394. His strongest arguments seem to me to be, first, that these allotments were for the most part given to the veterans of the barbarian auxiliaries, and therefore likely to be transmitted to their descendants after the overthrow of the empire; and, secondly, a coincidence of name; the grantees being called *Laticæ*, and *Læti* in the Cod. Theodos., who, he affirms, are no other than the *Liti* and *Leodes*, or, in feudal language, the

vassals of the lord.—See c. ii. sec. 2. note 14, of this history.

³⁹ The Germans still respect the memory of this emperor. He revoked the ancient prohibition to plant vineyards in the provinces, whereby the Italians had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of the wine trade. The privilege of making wine was extended by Probus to Spain, Gaul, Pannonia, and Illyricum. From this it has been inferred that the Rhine is indebted to that prince for its exquisite product, the source of its wealth, and not the least of its claims upon our attention and regard.—See *Aurel. Vict.* in Cæsar. c. 37.—*Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 268.—*Pliny*, lib. xiv. c. 4.—*Sueton.* in *Domitiano*, c. 7.

counter and re-
press the Rhe-
nish barba-
rians.

A.D. 284.
Accession of
Diocletian and
Maximian.

A.D. 286.

the lieutenants of Carus encountered them as they best might, and the barbarians are said to have been repressed.⁴⁰

The fall of the emperor Numerianus, in the year 284, opened a way to the throne of the empire to C. Val. Aurelianus Diocletianus, a man of experience and talent, by birth the son of an Illyrian peasant. Two years after his accession he associated C. Val. Maximianus with himself in the empire, and assigned to him the provinces of Gaul and Spain. Maximian speedily put an end to the disturbances which had broken out in the former country, and prepared to encounter a threatened irruption of Franks and Alemanni, now strengthened by the accession of those Vandalic tribes whom the pressure of the Gothic power had dislodged from their original settlements on the Vistula, the Oder, the Elbe and the Baltic.⁴¹ These nations were the Burgundians, the Heruli, and a people whom the panegyrist Mamertinus calls Chaibones.⁴² The Alemanni and Burgundians advanced into Gaul with so little precaution that provisions soon began to fail them. The scarcity was enhanced by the policy of Maximian; want and pestilence soon compelled them to retreat, leaving the Cæsar at liberty to deal with the Frankish tribes, who, in conjunction with their new allies the Chaibones and Heruli, were ravaging the province of Lower Germany. His eulogist claims for him a victory over these tribes so easy and so complete, that not a man of them reached his home to announce the disaster to the wives and families they had left behind them.

Increasing
spirit of mari-
time adventure
among the bar-
barians.

The Frankish
colonies of the
Euxine take
shipping, and
find their way
back to their
own country
by sea.

The increase of activity among the barbarian enemies of the empire, which took place about this period, is in no point of view more surprising than in the sudden, we might almost say, the mysterious rapidity with which they acquired proficiency in navigation and naval enterprise. An incident had already occurred well calculated to excite the astonishment and apprehensions of the Romans. A body of Frankish prisoners, whom the emperor Probus had settled on the shores of the Euxine, seized the shipping of the neighbouring ports with the bold purpose of returning by sea to their native land. During their perilous voyage they supported themselves by plundering the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor. Landing then in Sicily, they took and pillaged the city of Syracuse, and slaughtered many of the inhabitants. After a repulse before the walls of Carthage they resumed their voyage with unabated resolution, and passing

⁴⁰ *Vopisc. in Caro.*—*Schaten*, lib. iii. p. 115.

⁴¹ See pp. 209, 227, 232, of this History.

⁴² *Mamert. ap. Panegy. Vit. lib. i. c. 5.*—*Cluver.* (lib. iii. c. 27. p. 604.) regards them as

identical with the Aviones of Tacitus (*Germ. c. 40.*), whom he places in the march of Brandenburg, between the rivers Havel and Elbe.

the Strait of Gibraltar, they coasted the shores of the Atlantic northward, and finally ran into the rivers of their native land in safety, "thereby making it manifest," says the panegyrist Eumeneus, "that no country which is approachable by sea lies beyond the reach of these desperate pirates."⁴³

While the empire was bleeding at every pore under the incessant attacks of the Gothic and Sarmatian tribes on her Dacian frontier, and of the Frankish, Alemannic and Vandalic enemy on that of the Rhine, the Saxons and maritime Franks swarmed upon the defenceless coasts of the German and Atlantic oceans. Carausius, a Menapian Belgian, an experienced sailor, was selected by Maximian to clear the seas of these piratical adventurers. He stationed his fleet near Boulogne, and awaited the return of the rovers from the southward. Some of the piratical vessels were taken, and a good deal of booty recaptured; but Carausius neither restored any part of it to the original possessors, nor accounted for it to the imperial treasury. Maximian moreover suspected his lieutenant of suffering the barbarians to pass his stations on their outward voyages with a view to intercept them on their return and enrich himself with the recaptured booty. Carausius, on the other hand, discovered, or pretended to have discovered, that orders had been issued to take him off by assassination. Retaining possession of Boulogne, he carried the whole fleet into British ports, and caused himself to be saluted emperor by the legions of the island. The army there was it seems attached to him; the whole naval force of the Atlantic provinces was now collected in the harbours of Britain; and the natives, delighted with the prospect of protection from the terrible visitations of the German rovers, unanimously hailed him as their deliverer. That Carausius knew his power, and that he had abused it, may be inferred from the facility with which he assembled under his banner those very pirates whom it was his duty to punish. Many of these dauntless mariners entered his service; he furnished them with ships, initiated them into the naval tactics of the Romans, and, with their assistance, possessed himself of the ports on the opposite coast of Gaul; at the same time a squadron of Franks and Saxons in his pay seized the islands at the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine, by which operations the Romans were shut out from the safest and most convenient of all their naval stations, and the coasts of Gaul and Spain were once more abandoned to devastation and slaughter.

The attention of Maximian was for a time withdrawn from these events in Britain by fresh differences with the Rhenish nations. He in-

The Saxons and maritime Franks swarm upon the Atlantic coasts of the empire. Carausius is commissioned to repress their depredations,

but betrays his trust;

he carries the Roman fleet into the British ports,

he takes many of the barbarian pirates into his service; and by their aid possesses himself of the harbours of the Rhine and the Scheldt.

A.D. 288. Maximian humbles the Rhenish tribes.

⁴³ *Eumen.* Oratio ad Constant. Panegyri. iv.c. 18.

vaded their territories several times, and obtained advantages which, if rated at the value imputed to them by his panegyrist, amounted to absolute conquest. "All your predecessors," exclaims the enraptured Mamertinus, "congratulated themselves that they had the Rhine for the protection of Gaul against the barbarians. While you, O invincible Emperor! have tamed those wild and indomitable savages with fire and with sword, by battle and by slaughter. Now indeed do we breathe freely: though the Rhine were dried up even to a slender brook, whose gentle waters should scarcely disturb the polished pebble in the shallow ford, yet should we be without fear, since all we see beyond that stream is now Roman ground."⁴⁴

He next turns
his arms
against Carau-
sius;

but is baffled
and compelled
to admit him
to terms.

Dioclesian ap-
points two new
Cæsars.

The command
in Gaul and
Spain is as-
signed to Con-
stantius Chlo-
rus, who dis-
lodges the
Franks of Ca-
rausius from

After these victories Maximian resumed the task of dispossessing the usurper Carausius. That officer had in the interim strengthened himself by fresh alliances with the Saxon and Frankish sea-rovers; he had increased his navy by building ships on the Roman model, and manning them with the ready-trained and hardy mariners of the north; and now, with the advantage of ports on both coasts of the Channel, he was in a condition to bid defiance to any force his antagonist could bring against him. Maximian's efforts were ineffectual, and after a short struggle he and his colleague Diocletianus consented to a peace,⁴⁵ whereby Carausius was permitted to retain the command in Britain, and to assume the title of Augustus.

The union of the empire under one head had for several ages past been attended with serious inconveniences to the general welfare. One mind was found incapable of superintending the administration of so many and such complicated affairs, one arm no longer sufficed for the defence of the distracted provinces. A division of the government had become indispensable to prevent its total dissolution; Diocletian had the good sense to entertain, and the generosity to act upon this conviction; Gaul and Spain were assigned to Constantius Chlorus; Thrace and Illyricum to Galerius: Diocletian and Maximian retained Italy, Africa, and the East. Constantius was successful in dislodging the Franks who had possessed themselves of the Batavian ports, and in prevailing upon several thou-

⁴⁴ *Eumeneus* and *Mamertinus* (in *Panegy. Veterib.*) *Aurel. Victor* de Cæsar.; a few medals alluded to in *Mascon* (book vi. § 4 and 5), and the *Hist. Miscell.* (lib. x. ap. *Murat. Rr. Ital.* vol. i. p. 69.) are our only authorities for the events of this period. The rambling declamation of the panegyrists, and the naked poverty of Victor and the *Hist. Miscell.*, renders it impossible to trace the succession of events with any certainty.

⁴⁵ *Hist. Miscell.* loc. sup. cit.—*Aurel. Vict.* de Cæsar. in Diocletiano. It appears at least doubtful, whether Diocletian and Maximian ever acknowledged Carausius as emperor. The only evidence I can find is a medal struck by the latter after the peace, in which he assumes the title of "Augustus" in conjunction with his two rivals.—*Mascon*, book vi. § 5, note 2.

sands of these predatory barbarians to settle peaceably in the regions they had so lately ravaged.⁴⁶ Boulogne was retaken, and the ports of Gaul were cleared of the piratical confederates of the British usurper. But the Gallic emperor's attention was diverted from the reconquest of Britain by the necessity of again opposing those very Germans whom his colleague Maximian is said to have so effectually humbled. His panegyrist Eumeneus declares that he led an army into the country of the Alemanni and ravaged the entire country from the "*bridge of the Rhine*" to the *Guntian passage* of the Danube, and that he took prisoner the king of that most ferocious of all the Teutonic barbarians. From the victories obtained on this occasion he assumed the title of "Germanicus;" but that which is chiefly noticeable in this eulogistic intimation, is the admission it implies that the Romans had abandoned the Agri Decumates, and that that district, which as late as the reign of Probus had been a dependency of the empire, had already become an enemy's country, the subject of pillage and of conquest.⁴⁷

the Batavian ports and retakes Boulogne; but is recalled from the conquest of Britain to oppose the Alemanni on the Rhine, whose territory he ravages.

So much importance was now attached to the reconquest of Britain, that the emperor Maximian, with a view to enable Constantius to withdraw from the Rhine, himself took the command on that frontier though it lay within the province of his colleague. In Britain Carausius had already been murdered by an officer named Alectus, who, in his turn, assumed the purple, and defended his usurpation for three years by the aid of those bodies of Frankish and Saxon pirates who had been engaged and trained by his predecessor. But in the year 298 Constantius put to sea with a formidable armament; he evaded the fleet of the enemy, and landed upon a part of the coast where he was least expected; Alectus was defeated and slain: a portion of his Frankish auxiliaries effected their retreat to London; but there they were overtaken by the Romans, and all of them either slain or made prisoners. The whole island submitted to the conqueror, and the coasts of Gaul were freed from the cruel devastations they had endured for the ten years which followed the usurpation of Carausius.⁴⁸

A. D. 298. Britain is recovered by Constantius; the Frankish and Saxon pirates are dispersed.

A. D. 295.

A. D. 298.

Shortly after the reduction of Britain Constantius maintained a successful contest with the Alemanni near Langres in Gaul. At first the battle appears to have gone against him; the advanced guard which he commanded in person was surprized by the enemy, and fled towards the city, so closely pursued, that the emperor was only saved by being drawn

Constantius defeats the Alemanni a first time near Langres,

⁴⁶ *Eumen. Panegy. vi. c. 5.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid. iv. c. 2.*

⁴⁸ From the year 288 to 298.—See the Pa-

negyr. *Eumeneus*, iv. c. 17.—*Hist. Miscell. lib. x. p. 69.*—*Aurel. Victor* in Diocletiano, p. 347.

up by ropes over the walls, the gates having been closed to prevent the pursuers from entering together with the fugitives. But in the space of five hours the main body of the army came up to their assistance, and enabled him to renew the combat and to defeat the enemy with the loss of nearly sixty thousand men. A second victory over the Alemanni at Vindonissa in modern Switzerland is attributed to Constantius by his eulogist Eumenius, but so vague and uncertain is the language of that class of writers, that little precise information can be extracted from their inflated effusions.⁴⁹

and again
near Vindonissa.

Constantius conforms to the general system of barbarian colonization,

For the security of the frontier Constantius now thought it expedient to carry his arms into the Frankish territories, and to plant his eagles on the banks of the Ems and the Weser. Following the example of his predecessor Probus, he settled vast numbers of captives and other expatriated barbarians in the wasted districts of Gaul. The general policy of the government had fully conformed to this method of supplying the drain of the population occasioned by the incessant calls of war and the inroads of the enemy; and thus before the close of the third century almost all the northern provinces of the empire had become gradually re-peopled by barbarian settlers.⁵⁰ Lands were granted to these dangerous colonists for their support; they were prohibited the use of arms, and employed in agricultural pursuits, and only then called to arms when required for the defence of the frontier. The pacific policy of the reigning emperors was for the time successful in tranquillizing the fierce barbarians of the Rhine. Whether at this time the attention of the border-tribes was absorbed by those internal commotions so frequent among them, or whether they were restrained by the renewed vigour which the recent division of the empire had imparted to its defensive powers, it is certain that they abstained from invasion for the unusual term of seven or even eight successive years.

and maintains a tranquillity on the German frontier for a period of seven or eight years.

A.D. 306.
Diocletian retires from the government, and Constantine the Great succeeds his father Constantius in Gaul, Spain, and Britain.

In the interim the aged Diocletian had retired from the government to his palace of Salona in Dalmatia. Constantius had become resident in Britain, and Galerius had named Maximinus and Severus as his colleagues in the empire. In the year 306, C. Flavius Constantinus, surnamed the Great, succeeded his father Constantius in the government of Gaul, Spain and Britain, with the title of Cæsar. He found the territories he was called to rule over a prey to foreign pillage and lawless insurrection. His father had been long and arduously engaged in sub-

⁴⁹ *Eumenius*, Panegyr. vi. c. 6.

⁵⁰ For instance: Goths, Bastarnæ, Carpi, Peucini, and others, were settled in vast numbers in Mæsia, Thrace, and Illyria: Marcomanni, Vandals, Juthungi, Quadi, &c., in Pannonia and Noricum: Franks and fugitive Alemanni in

Gaul and Belgium; besides many barbarian colonies planted in remoter provinces. The passages in the preceding pages on which this enumeration is founded will readily occur to the reader.

duing the Bagaudæ, an insurgent rabble, consisting of the suffering peasantry of Belgium, adventurers and outlaws of every description; the whole of Gaul had for many years suffered untold miseries from parties of sanguinary banditti urged to this desperate course by fiscal oppression, or driven abroad in a state of destitution from barbarian spoliation to earn a precarious subsistence by domestic robbery. These marauders were now joined by roving bands of Franks and Alemanni, to whose inherent love of predatory adventure such an opportunity could not be otherwise than welcome. The Franks had again approached the Batavian territory, and fixed themselves in the islands at the mouths of the Waal, the Scheldt, and the Rhine; and in conjunction with the malcontents of the interior once more desolated the northern provinces. Constantine, incensed by this daring infraction of former treaties, and still more so by the coalition with his own insurgent subjects, resolved to keep no measures with these barbarians. He attacked and defeated the Franks, and took many prisoners, all of whom, including two of their princes, Ascaric and Radagaisus, he either hanged or cast to wild beasts for the sport of his camp.⁵¹

The Bagaudæ (outlaws) ravage Gaul.

The Franks possess themselves of the mouths of the Waal, the Scheldt, and the Rhine.

Constantine defeats them and massacres his prisoners.

But the impolicy of these severities was not long in appearing. A formidable confederacy among the Frankish and Alemannic races started up to retaliate the wrongs of their slaughtered princes and countrymen.⁵² According to the practice of the panegyrists, neither the time nor the place of their assemblage is indicated. Constantine lost not a moment in collecting his forces: but whether he found a longer respite necessary to concentrate his powers, or was anxious to mislead the barbarians as to the real nature of his designs, he rode in the garb of a Roman officer, with two attendants only, into the camp of the enemy, relying for his safety upon their ignorance of his person and quality. No hostilities had yet been committed on either side, and the barbarians were perhaps not prepared for an immediate breach with the Romans. The disguised emperor amused them with hollow words, he raised their hopes and practised upon their credulity; he assured them that the emperor was not present with the army which they knew to be advancing against them, doubtless in the expectation of increasing that spirit of presumption and carelessness by which the Roman arms had so frequently profited.⁵³

The Alemanni threaten Gaul.

Constantine explores their camp in person, and lulls them into a fatal security.

Inasmuch as the writers we are now obliged to follow never give direct

⁵¹ *Hist. Miscell.* lib. xi. p. 71. loc. sup. cit.—*Eumeneus*, Panegy. vi. c. 10.

⁵² Nazarius mentions among the Franks engaged in this confederacy *Bructeri*, *Chamavi*, and *Cherusci*; among the Alemanni, *Vangiones*

and *Tubantes*.

⁵³ “*Facis verba, spem illorum agitas, et versas credulitatem, negas te esse prescentem, &c.*,” such is the character of the speech attributed by Nazarius to his hero.—Panegy. ix. c. 18.

He attacks
and defeats
them, and
slaughters all
his prisoners.

He invades
the country of
the Bructeri,
and practises
upon them the
same ferocious
system of inti-
midation.

or positive information upon any of the events they allude to, we are left to conjecture as to the effects of the emperor's adventure. It is however very probable that by this singular mixture of daring courage with falsehood and effrontery, the virtues rather of a spy than a prince, he produced the impression he desired. The attack which followed was completely successful; the confederate host was dispersed; the captured princes were publicly put to death; the prisoners of lower degree were either thrown to wild beasts, or with more wanton cruelty reserved for the detestable sports of the amphitheatre. Reeking with the blood of his captives, Constantine conducted his troops by hasty marches into the land of the Bructeri,⁵⁴ hoping to surprise the inhabitants in their villages before they should have time to frustrate his plan of intimidation by withdrawing themselves and their families to the fens and forests of their country. Multitudes were slain in their dwellings; many were taken prisoners; all their cattle was either driven off or killed by the captors; their villages were burnt to the ground; all the male prisoners (whose indomitable love of liberty disqualified them for the military services of Rome) were thrown to wild beasts; and so great was their number, that the ferocious animals themselves became fatigued with carnage.⁵⁵

To us it appears scarcely credible that acts so inhuman should in any age have found a eulogist; yet the sycophantic praise of the orators was frankly and gratefully re-echoed by the Roman people. In every period of their history the Romans have regarded their enemies rather as criminals than as political adversaries; the laws which regulate the practice of modern warfare are the living evidence of the power of Christianity to soften the heart of man, and direct him, in the advance of civilization, to the best means of mitigating and bridling his own vindictive passions. The moral sentiments of the age we are now treating of were cast in a different mould. "The slaughter of the common herd," says the orator of Constantine, "is of small account, for they soon forget the calamities which affect only their own class. A more compendious and effectual mode of making an impression upon them is to take off the chiefs." And then, after a minute enumeration of successes and atrocities, "These," he exclaims, "are the fruits of a happy confidence in your own valour and fortune, Oh, invincible imperator! it is your part not to purchase peace by sparing, but to grasp at victory by provoking your enemies to their own destruction."

⁵⁴ It will be remembered that the Bructeri was one of those many nations who were said to have been totally annihilated. See *Tac. Germ.* c. 33;

and c. v. sec. 1. p. 173 of this history.

⁵⁵ *Nazarius*, loc. mod. cit.—*Eumeneus*, *Panegy.* vi. c. 12.

Constantine, in order to keep the fear of vengeance suspended over the heads of the turbulent barbarians, built a bridge over the Rhine at Cologne, whereby he insured the means of chastising the enemy and preventing new combinations for the future; fleets of armed boats were stationed at different points, and the whole course of the river was garnished with troops from its source to the German Ocean.⁵⁶ The conduct of this emperor had no doubt been guided by considerations of which, at this distance of time, we are wholly ignorant; his ferocious policy was successful, and the spirit of retribution, which we might have expected to see blaze up among the barbarians with immitigable fury, was quenched in fear and despondency. The reign of Constantine was indeed frequently disturbed by partial inroads; but the movements of the barbarians were destitute of combination and plan. Without following the dull and confused detail of incursions which might be collected from the indirect allusions of the orators,⁵⁷ it is sufficient to observe that upon the whole the Gallic frontier enjoyed a longer period of tranquillity during this reign than it had done at any time within the preceding century.

He builds a bridge over the Rhine at Cologne, and stations fleets of guard-boats on the Rhine to watch and overawe the barbarians.

He secures the tranquillity of the frontier.

By the successive defeats of Maxentius and Licinius, Constantine became the sole master of the empire. Under his auspices Christianity supplanted the ancient state-superstitions, and the seat of government was transferred to a new and splendid metropolis on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus. The frontier of the Danube, notwithstanding some passing brawls with the Gothic borderers, was never better secured than during the reigns of Constantine and his sons. Like his predecessors he introduced great numbers of barbarian colonists into the depopulated districts. He engaged in his service more numerous bodies of barbarian auxiliaries than any preceding emperor. Money and honours were freely bestowed on these foreigners with a view to attach them to the service rather of the prince than of the empire. The fidelity of these mercenaries was wholly grounded on a feeling of interest or of personal attachment to the hand which fed them. They were connected by no tie whatever with the state, and seem in no degree to have relinquished their high sense of national or individual independence.⁵⁸

A. D. 311.
He becomes sole emperor.

He introduces more barbarian colonists, and increases the number of barbarian mercenaries.

Constantine the Great died in the year 337. His three sons, Constantine, Constans and Constantius, shared the empire among them. Constantine, the eldest of these princes, obtained Britain, Gaul and Spain;

A. D. 337.
Death of Constantine the Great. Constantine the

⁵⁶ *Eumen.* Panegy. vi. c. 13.

⁵⁷ The curious may refer to *Eumeneus*, Pan. vi. c. 21.—*Panegy. incerti Autoris*, viii. c. 22, 23, 24.

⁵⁸ *Euseb.* in Constant. lib. iv. c. 26.—*Jordan.* c. 22 and 23.—*Mascou*, book ii. pp. 269, 270.

younger is defeated and slain by Constans.

The Franks invade Gaul.

A.D. 343 or 344.

They are pacified by Constans.

but his career was short ; in the year 340 he attacked his brother Constans, who reigned in Italy, Illyricum and Macedonia, and lost his life in the contest.⁵⁹ By his defeat the worthless and profligate Constans⁶⁰ became sovereign of two-thirds of the whole empire. Civil contest had at all time been a signal for invasion to the barbaric tribes ; and Constans, on his arrival in Gaul, found himself involved in a war with the Franks. From the description given of these barbarians by the orator Libanius, it will be readily perceived how little permanent impression had in reality been produced upon the temper of these restless nations by the victories and cruelties of Constantine so highly extolled by his panegyrists. Within thirty years of those sanguinary proceedings, the Franks, we are told, were not merely undiminished in numbers, but likewise in daring contempt for danger and death. " They entertain," says the orator, " no more fear upon the stormy ocean than upon the firm land ; to them the frosts of the north are more acceptable than the soft breezes of the south ; they regard repose as a calamity, war as the summit of enjoyment : in victory their pertinacity in the pursuit is unbounded ; if compelled to retreat, it is only with a view to renew their incursions ; moreover, honour and reward are bestowed by them upon feats of insane daring and audacity ; they look upon a disposition to indolence or repose as a disease ; for these reasons the neighbouring powers have in no age been able to prevail upon them, either by reason or by force, to remain at peace ; it has been always necessary to be upon the watch night and day to be ready to meet their incessant attacks ; no one could eat but with his arms by his side, nor sleep but with the helmet on his head ; army followed army like the billows of the sea, and scarcely had the first wave of invasion broken on our shore, than it was followed by another and another in quick succession, until the storm subsided of itself." This unquiet spirit, adds Libanius, was quelled by the presence of the emperor ; the haughty barbarians threw down their spears and stretched out their hands for peace.⁶¹

A treaty of alliance, probably upon the ordinary terms of subsidy on the one side, and military service on the other, put an end to the war, and the successes of Constans were celebrated by engravers, orators, and poets,⁶² with as much regard to truth and honesty as usual among the professed eulogists of despots. Whatever advantages may have been gained, the Romans were contented to acknowledge the Rhine as the boundary of the empire. No further mention is made of castles or forts,

⁵⁹ *Aurel. Vict. Epit.* p. 390.

⁶⁰ For his character see *Zosim.* lib. ii. p. 118.

⁶¹ *Libanius, Orat.* iii. p. 137.—*Socrates, Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 7.

⁶² *Masou,* book vi. § 24.

or settlements on the right bank of that stream. By this time the Agri Decumates had been abandoned as an untenable post to the neighbouring Alemannic tribes. Meanwhile the condition of the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany and Belgium had undergone a mighty change. They had been almost entirely re-peopled with refugees, intruders, or licensed settlers, between whom and their independent countrymen on the other side of the Rhine no material impediment to free intercourse could now exist. We cannot suppose that these recent colonists should have at once renounced their former habits and connexions, and have settled down in the course of a single age into peaceable and industrious citizens. Indeed the information we possess renders it highly probable that their dependence upon the empire was rather nominal than real. It seems not to admit of a question that they held themselves at liberty to share the spoils of the interior districts with the roving borderers from beyond the Rhine. To none could the weak points of the frontier, the military stations, the roads and positions of the country be better known than to these half-reclaimed settlers; none could be better qualified to advise their kindred and give the signal for invasion. And, in fact, the motions of the Franks and Alemanni afford unequivocal proofs of correct information as to the internal state of the empire: thus, whenever a vigorous and warlike prince or leader was removed from the scene, whenever a legion or an army was marched away, whenever internal disturbances, wars, or insurrections distracted the province, the barbarians poured across the Rhine to take advantage of the opportunity for pillage and revenge.

They maintain intercourse with their barbarian countrymen beyond the Rhine. They share the spoils of the province with the latter, and give information as to the state of defence.

Such an occasion was now at hand. Constans had already reigned six years in the west an object of contempt and hatred to his court and subjects. His vices were of a character most likely to disgust the legions raised by Diocletian and Constantine, which consisted almost wholly of Germans. Magnentius, a German by birth, one of those captives perhaps who had been spared from the butcheries of the preceding reign, had risen by his bravery and talent to the command of these legions. Personal ambition, goaded by a just scorn of the service of such a being as Constans, induced him to head a conspiracy for the deposition and murder of his master. Constans was slain, and Magnentius invested with the purple. He took into his service a large body of Frankish and Saxon mercenaries, which had been brought together for an intended expedition against the barbarians; and strengthened himself by attaching the best and bravest warriors of Spain and Gaul and Germany to his cause. The Franks and Saxons, whom Julian describes as the fellow-countrymen of Magnentius, were the most

A.D. 350. The new legions raised by Diocletian and Constantine consist almost wholly of Germans. They are commanded by the German Magnentius.

Magnentius conspires against Constans and puts him to death;

he assumes the purple and is acknowledged by the senate.

The eastern emperor Constantius rejects his advances for an amicable division of the empire.

Civil war between Constantius and Magnentius.

Magnentius is defeated at Mursa in Pannonia.

Constantius instigates the Alemanni to attack Gaul.

zealously devoted to him, as they were also the most numerous, warlike, and formidable of his adherents;⁶³ the upstart Nepotianus, who had assumed the imperial dignity at Rome, was put to death, and Italy acknowledged Magnentius as its sovereign. Though superior to the eastern emperor in military strength and skill, the advantages of wealth and cunning were on the side of Constantius. Magnentius made an attempt to come to an amicable arrangement with his rival. An embassy was sent to Alexandria, where Constantius at that time resided, to propose accommodation. Among the envoys were two Christian bishops, between whom and the champion of orthodoxy, Athanasius, some kind of intercourse took place which gave great umbrage to the Arian emperor.⁶⁴ Constantius refused to listen to any terms; and though he was at this moment threatened by the Persians on the Mesopotamian border, he determined to march forthwith against the western usurper.⁶⁵

Shortly after the death of Constans, the feeble Vitranio, the commander of the Pannonian legions, had assumed the purple. The approaching contest between the eastern and western emperors rendered him at this moment a personage of some consequence. Both parties courted his friendship; Vitranio inclined in favour of Constantius, and consented to a public conference with his astute competitor, who plied the soldiery with reminiscences and promises so successfully that they unanimously proclaimed the deposition of the chief they had themselves raised to the empire. Vitranio was permitted to retire from the throne to private life, and Constantius led the now combined armies against his more formidable competitor. The latter advanced into Illyricum to meet him, and obtained a trifling advantage in the Adranian passes; but the faith of his troops was already shaken by the intrigues of Constantius; Magnentius failed in an attempt to cross the Save near Scissa, on which occasion he suffered a severe loss; soon afterwards Sylvanus, the chief of his barbarian cavalry, went over with his whole corps to the enemy, and the western emperor was totally defeated near Mursa in Pannonia. This overthrow deprived him of Italy and drove him back upon Gaul.

But here likewise his affairs wore a much less promising aspect than when in the preceding year he quitted the province to oppose Constantius.⁶⁶ The latter had, by the distribution of enormous sums, succeeded in raising the Germanic nations of the Rhine in his rear. Decentius, whom Magnentius had left in command of his Gallic legions, was, at the instigation of

⁶³ *Julian's Works*, p. 34, as quoted by *Mascou*, vol. i. book vi. § 34.

⁶⁴ See the dignified apology by which Athanasius explains his conduct, apud *Mascou*,

book vi. § 37. note 3.

⁶⁵ *Zosim.* lib. ii. p. 121.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* lib. ii. pp. 121—131.

Constantius, attacked and defeated by Chnodomar a powerful chief of the Alemanni. Meanwhile the Franks, perceiving that the frontier forts on the Lower Rhine had been divested of their garrisons, overran that province; the city of Treves shut its gates against Decentius,⁶⁷ and Magnentius was again defeated by the generals of Constantius near Gap in Provence. In the interim the agents of that prince had been busy in Spain and Africa, to which provinces Magnentius now looked as to ground which might yet be disputed. But finding that the Spaniards and Moors had already declared against him, and that he was cut off from his last refuge, he fell upon his own sword and thus escaped the vengeance of his crafty and vindictive enemy. His brother Decentius followed his example, and the civil war was at an end. Constantius had thus wrested the western provinces from the hands of a rival who, while in the service of Rome, had learnt just enough of her state practice to feel little scruple in imbruing his hands in the blood of a worthless master, but not enough to encounter that deadly craft, that cool villainy, with which his opponent sacrificed the lives and property of millions of subjects to gratify his selfish thirst for universal empire.⁶⁸

Spain and Gaul declare against Magnentius, who kills himself, and Constantius unites the whole empire under his sway.

The ancient fidelity of the German auxiliaries of Rome was no doubt upon the decline. Their officers, trusted as they were by the government, could not remain strangers to its practices, or uncontaminated by its corruptions. The means and mystery of its policy were spread out before them, and many, in abandoning the virtues of the barbarian character, engrafted on its own peculiar vices, those of more civilized life. Such is the picture which Zosimus has handed down to us of Magnentius himself. He is said to have combined with the rough and downright manners of a barbarian a wonderful power of concealing the deep-seated malignity of his nature; so that, to those who were not intimately acquainted with his habits, he appeared a frank and good-hearted person. The Frank Sylvanus, on the contrary, who so largely contributed to the loss of the fatal battle of Mursa, is represented as a man of polished manners and address, well versed in the language and habits of Rome.⁶⁹ The capacity for discipline, and the quick perception of the advantages of Roman tactics displayed by these mercenary leaders, had rendered them the most effective officers in the armies of the empire; but amid the corruption of the court they underwent that change of character to which all yielded who came within its baleful

The barbarian mercenaries partake of the vices of the Romans without relinquishing the characteristics of barbarism.

⁶⁷ *Amm. Marcell.*, lib. xv. c. 6. p. 95, incidentally mentions this fact.

p. 391.

⁶⁸ *Zosim.* loc. mod. cit.—*Aurel. Vict.* in Epit.

⁶⁹ *Aurel. Vict.* in Epit. p. 391.

atmosphere; and honour and loyalty might now sit as lightly upon the conscience of a German as it had done for many ages past on that of a Roman courtier.

SECTION II. A.D. 354—360.

Wars with the Alemanni and Franks—The Frank Sylvanus assumes the Purple—His downfall—Julian in Gaul—Julian and the Alemanni—Battle of Strasburg—Julian is proclaimed Emperor and quits Gaul.

War with the
Franks and
Alemanni.

A.D. 354.

CONSTANTIUS would now willingly have purchased the retreat of the savage allies to whom his wicked policy had betrayed the province; but the Alemanni were commanded by a man little disposed to relinquish the reward of his services, or even to measure it by any other scale than the length of his sword. Chnodomar the Aleman had before this tried his fortune against a Roman army under Decentius, and overthrown it in a fair field; he had ravaged many a fertile tract of Gaul, taken many opulent cities, and conducted himself towards the province in every respect as a conqueror.¹ The brothers, Vadomar and Gundomar, chiefs of the Alemannic tribe now in possession of the Agri Decumates,² were preparing to invade the south of Gaul with a large force. The northern parts of the province were meanwhile cruelly plundered and wasted by the Franks and Saxons; no Roman army was upon the spot to check them, and neither arms, strength, nor spirit remained among the abject provincials to defend themselves. Constantius sent Sylvanus, whose Frankish origin may have been thought to qualify him in particular for such a service, to oppose the inroads of his countrymen in Lower Germany,³ while he proceeded in person to the Upper Rhine to chastise the insolence of Gundomar and Vadomar.

A.D. 354.
Constantius
marches
against the
Alemanni,

Early in the spring of the year 354, the army assembled at Chalon sur Saone, and suffered considerable hardships in its march across the wintry Vosges towards Basle. Here the emperor resolved to throw a bridge of boats across the Rhine; but the Roman engineers were so annoyed by showers of missiles that the design was abandoned. The emperor, surprized at the obstinacy of this opposition, appears to have

¹ *Julian*. in Orat. l. Constantio habita.

² *Pfister* (Geschich. v. Schwaben, vol i. p. 59.) thinks that the territories on the right bank of the Upper Rhine (Agri Decumates) must have been

abandoned about ten years after the battle of the Alemanni with Probus. i. e. between the year 280 and the close of the century.

³ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 5. p. 63.

been seriously at a loss how to get at his enemy. But shortly afterwards an inhabitant of the country was found who offered to point out a ford by which the army might pass over in safety. The troops accordingly put themselves in motion during the night, and reached the opposite shore without difficulty by daybreak, in the firm expectation of finding the enemy wholly unprepared for so decisive a movement. To their surprise and alarm they found the Alemanni strongly posted and ready to receive them. This disappointment was attributed to secret information transmitted to their countrymen by some German officers of high rank in the imperial service; suspicion fell in particular upon Latinus count of the domestics, Agilo tribune of the stables, and Scudilo captain of the targeteers; the latter is described by Ammian as one who concealed an artful and persuasive address under a rough and frank exterior. The awe inspired by the formidable attitude of the barbarians, and the apprehension of treason in his own camp, inclined Constantius to accommodation with the enemy. The Germans, on the other hand, were equally anxious to avoid the evils of invasion, and to acquire that wealth, which was the object of all their efforts, rather by negotiation than by force. Constantius told the soldiers that the auspices were unfavourable for a battle; and a treaty was concluded with the enemy, whereby former customary stipends⁴ were continued to them upon condition of their keeping the peace and furnishing auxiliary troops in such numbers as might be required of them.⁵ After this the barbarians returned to their homes, and Constantius retired to Milan, where he matured and carried into execution the long meditated plan for the deposition and murder of his unworthy nephew Gallus.⁶

whom he attempts to surprise;

but is disappointed,

and makes peace.

Not far from the scene of these events, between the southern shores of the lake of Constance and the river Aar, lay the gau or canton of the Lentiensian Alemanni,⁷ a dark and gloomy region of mountain and forest, but lately occupied by a wild and hardy offshoot from the great race which had now fixed itself in undisputed possession of the south-western angle of Germany. These settlers had already occasioned so much incon-

Arbetio is sent against the Lentiensian Alemanni,

⁴ "Concessionem præteritorum et pacem" are the words which Ammian puts into the mouth of the emperor in his speech to the army on this occasion. They contain the only hint he has thought fit to record of the nature of the terms. There can be little doubt that the "præteritum" here signifies stipend, payment, or valuable consideration of some kind, perhaps a formal grant of the Trans-Rhenane Agri Decumates, or other territory formerly belonging to the empire. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xiv. c. 10. p. 56.

⁵ "Dein ut auxiliatores pro adversariis adsciscamus quod pollicentur." *Amm. Marcell.* loc. mod. cit. The Germans were never averse from stipulations of this kind, nor does it seem that they ever refused to serve as auxiliary troops, inasmuch as if the pay were wanting the opportunity of plunder could not fail.

⁶ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xiv. c. 11. pp. 57—65.

⁷ Pfister (p. 67, note 76.) entertains no doubt that the modern town of *Lenzburg* in the Aargau derives its name from that race.

whom he de-
feats.

Sylvanus, the
Frank, com-
bats his coun-
trymen in the
north of Gaul;
but is driven
to rebellion by
a court in-
trigue,

venience to the neighbouring province of Gallia Sequana, that Constantius resolved to dislodge them. With that view he directed the master of the horse, Arbetio, to march with a sufficient force through the valley of the Grisons,⁸ towards the southern shores of the Brigantine lake. Following his instructions, Arbetio found himself involved in a wild and trackless region with which he was wholly unacquainted. Here the Alemanni, issuing suddenly from the glens and gorges of their mountains, committed great slaughter among his straggling troops. On the following morning the elated barbarians attempted to storm the encampment of their adversaries; but their disorderly bravery was as usual ineffectual against the discipline of the Romans; Arbetio contrived to throw them into confusion by well-directed sallies, and he in the end obtained a decisive and sanguinary victory over these half-armed and half-naked savages. After this success Constantius, whose presence with the army or in its vicinity must be presumed, returned in triumph to Milan.⁹

Meanwhile Sylvanus engaged the Franks and Saxons in the north of Gaul with indifferent success. While he was gallantly stemming the current of barbarian invasion by which forty-five of the most flourishing cities of Gaul had already been overwhelmed, a dark intrigue was in progress to ruin him in the confidence of his master. Dynamius, an officer of the palace, obtained commendatory letters from the unsuspecting general to certain familiar friends in Italy to whom he pretended to desire an introduction. In conjunction with Lampadius the prætorian prefect, Eusebius the ex-count of the privy purse, and several others, he contrived to efface the substance of the letters, leaving only the signature and addresses, and to insert in the body of them matter of a treasonable import. These forgeries were then thrown into the emperor's way, who immediately issued orders for the apprehension both of the supposed author and of the persons to whom the letters were addressed. But the affair no sooner got wind among the barbarian palace guard,¹⁰ than their captains Malorich and Melobaudes, hastened to denounce the foul conspiracy to which the emperor was about to sacrifice a faithful servant. The letters were more carefully examined, traces of the original writing were detected, and a part of their contents decyphered. The justification of Sylvanus was now complete, but the secret authors of the imposture managed to evade detection. Sylvanus, to whom his friends had conveyed intelli-

⁸ "Vallis Camminia."

⁹ *Amm. Marcell.* (lib. xv. c. 4. pp. 80—83.) gives a long rhetorical description of this campaign.

¹⁰ "Gentiles." For the change of this term

from its original meaning, men of kindred race, to its later signification, see *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* vol. ii. ad Verb. Gentiles. Also *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad Verb.

gence of the plot, but had not yet had time to announce its defeat, was so apprehensive of the suspicious and vindictive temper of his tyrannical master as to regard accusation as equivalent to condemnation. In this difficulty he at first proposed to appeal to his countrymen the Franks; but being assured by his friend the Frankish tribune Laniogaisus, that they would either put him to death as a traitor, or betray him to the Romans for a sum of money, he resolved, with the concurrence of his principal officers, boldly to assume the purple, and appeal to the sword in defence of his life and honour. The intelligence of the revolt of Sylvanus fell like a thunderbolt upon the court at Milan. The emperor selected Ursicinus, an officer who had lately been recalled from the East upon some suspicion of his loyalty, as the minister of his vengeance. Sylvanus resided at that time at Cologne, and was occupied in making preparations for the invasion of Italy. Affecting total ignorance of the designs of the rebel general, Constantius sent Ursicinus in company with the historian Ammianus Marcellinus and some others to Cologne, with commendatory letters to Sylvanus. These emissaries were instructed to pay their court to the general, to enter into his views, to acquire his confidence, and to watch their opportunity to seize him or to put him to death. Sylvanus received them without suspicion. Ursicinus, anxious to re-establish his credit at court, showed extraordinary ability in the execution of the base commission intrusted to him, and was ably seconded by his coadjutor Marcellinus. They found the army well disposed towards their leader, and preparing in high spirits to march through the Cottian passes into Italy. No time was to be lost; the conspirators promptly succeeded in corrupting a small number of the soldiery with whose assistance it was resolved to strike the blow without delay. The assassins accordingly proceeded at day-break to the quarters of Sylvanus; the alarm was given time enough to enable him to take refuge in a neighbouring Christian church, but thither the murderers followed him, and dispatched him with many wounds in the sanctuary to which he had fled.¹¹

and treacherously murdered by the emissaries of Constantius.

The joy of Constantius at this deliverance was of short duration; the barbarian ravages in Gaul were the subject of daily and urgent messages from the province; he could not venture to quit Italy in the actual state of the public mind there; and no name presented itself to him for the conduct of the war to which some suspicion did not attach. Still the necessity of a co-regent amid the increasing dangers of

Constantius creates his nephew Julian Caesar.

¹¹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 5. pp. 83—93. Ammianus does not suspect the baseness of the commission in which he was joined. He seems

rather to approve the *principle*, but is by no means satisfied that the *merit* of the enterprize was duly appreciated by his master. See p. 93.

The Alemanni
destroy the
cities of Upper
Germany.

He relieves
Augustodunum
and arrests the
progress of the
Franks and
Alemanni.

The Franks
renew the
war. They de-
stroy the cities
of Lower Ger-
many.

the state impelled him irresistibly to fix upon some one upon whom to confer the degree of confidence and the extent of power which the crisis demanded. After long hesitation he resolved to invest his nephew Julius Claudius Julianus with the title of Cæsar, and to confer upon him the command of the army in Gaul.¹² In August of the year 356, Julian took possession of his government. In the interim the Franks had destroyed Cologne,¹³ and penetrated into the heart of Gaul, where they laid siege to Augustodunum.¹⁴ About the same time the Alemanni on the Upper Rhine made themselves masters of that province, and destroyed the cities of Mayntz, Worms, Speyer, Strasburg, Zabern, Seltz, and Brumath.¹⁵ The Cæsar hastened to the relief of Augustodunum; and the barbarians retreated at his approach. On his march towards Rheims to effect a junction with the troops of Ursicinus and Marcellus, who had successively held the command in Gaul after the murder of Sylvanus, a numerous army of barbarians beset his small force and were not repulsed without difficulty. But the accession of strength which he gained by the junction enabled him to assume the offensive; the Franks, it appears, retreated for the moment, and he turned his arms against the Alemanni on the Upper Rhine; but the gain of a battle, and the recapture of the single town of Brumath, were the only benefits derived from this expedition.¹⁶

But again: the advance of the Franks from the Lower Rhine compelled the Cæsar to retrace his steps northward and to abandon the lately recovered districts to the Alemanni. In Lower Germany every city and town, excepting Coblentz and a single castle not far from Cologne, had been utterly destroyed; the Franks, like the Alemanni, regarded the fenced places as dangerous snares for their liberty, and eagerly set about rooting out from the conquered lands what appeared to them as so many cages and dens of servitude.¹⁷ Cologne was abandoned on the approach of Julian, and the barbarians consented to a truce. The army went into quarters, and the Cæsar took up his residence in the city of Sens for the winter. The distant Alemanni meanwhile were truly informed of the position of the Roman armies; they perceived,

¹² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 8. p. 99.

¹³ It seems as if *Amm. Marcell.* had purposely omitted all notice of the events which took place on the Rhine after the murder of Sylvanus. The conjecture that his friend Ursicinus, with whom he was associated in the plot for the destruction of that general, was defeated by the Franks, seems probable, since Julian found the city of Cologne, where the murder took place, in possession of the enemy, every town and city but

one totally destroyed, and the whole province in their hands.

¹⁴ *Autun* in Burgundy.

¹⁵ Or, in the order of Ammianus, Argentoratum (Strasburg), Brocomagum (Brumath), Tabernas (Zabern), Salisonem (Seltz), Nemetes (Speyer), Vangiones (Worms), Maguntiacum (Mayntz). Lib. xvi. c. 2. p. 122.

¹⁶ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvi. c. 2. p. 122.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* lib. xv.

that distributed abroad as they were in an exhausted country for the mere convenience of supplies, a surprize might be attempted with the best hopes of success. In midwinter they appeared suddenly before Sens, and for thirty days carried on a series of desperate and persevering assaults upon the walls of the city. The garrison was weak in numbers ; but the vigilance of the Cæsar, and the example which he set of personal gallantry compensated this deficiency, and kept up the spirits of the soldiery ; the barbarians were compelled by cold and hunger to desist from an enterprize which, though unsuccessful, was alike creditable to the discernment of their leaders and to the valour of their warriors.¹⁸

They besiege Julian in the city of Sens, and are repelled with difficulty.

In the spring of the following year Julian again took the field. An army of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of Barbetio, was on its march through the Rhætian passes to co-operate with him against the Alemanni on the Upper Rhine. The object of the projected campaign seems to have been to drive the enemy from both sides of that river, and to re-unite the Agri Decumates with the empire. With this view it was agreed that Barbetio should throw a bridge across the Rhine near Augusta Rauracorum,¹⁹ while the Cæsar effected a passage at a point lower down the stream ; both armies were then to form a junction in the heart of the enemy's country. The bridge was built, and Julian prepared to execute his part of the plan. For this purpose he sent to request from Barbetio the loan of some river-craft of which the latter could not now stand in need. But the imperial general, instead of complying with the Cæsar's request, burnt the boats, and shortly afterwards suffered his bridge to be broken down and carried away by beams and rafts of timber which the Alemanni floated against it.²⁰

But Barbetio thwarts the plan of the campaign, and permits his bridge to be destroyed by the Alemanni.

The delays thus occasioned by the wilful misconduct of Barbetio deranged the whole plan of the campaign. The Alemanni assumed the offensive ; and a considerable body, penetrating the interval which separated the two Roman armies, advanced burning and pillaging the country up to the gates of Lyons. While Julian marched in pursuit of these marauders, the rest of their countrymen obtained time to clear the country on the left bank of the Rhine of all the moveable property, and to place it in security in the numerous islands of the river. Julian contented himself with repelling the invaders by the aid of his Frankish auxiliaries under their native chief Bainobaudes ; after which he employed his troops in fortifying and provisioning the town of Zabern on the Rhine.²¹

The Alemanni penetrate between the two armies, and march to Lyons. Julian repels them ;

and fortifies the town of Zabern.

¹⁸ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvi. c. 4. p. 123.

¹⁹ An ancient Roman colony near the present city of Basle.

²⁰ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvi. c. 11. p. 149.

²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 149, 150.

Barbetio plunders and burns the convoys intended for the Cæsar's army ;

but is shortly afterwards surprized and totally defeated by the Alemanni.

The army of Julian much reduced, but not disheartened, by the disaster of Barbetio.

The Alemanni entrust the command of the confederacy to Chnodomar.

Meanwhile the conduct of Barbetio, whether suggested by private dislike or by secret instructions from the court, approached the verge of open hostility. After throwing every impediment he could in the way of Julian's career, he at length proceeded to intercept the convoys of stores and provisions intended for the Cæsar's army ; and after appropriating what he himself stood in need of, to burn the remainder, that it might not reach its destination. Julian, conscious that no redress could be obtained, seems to have borne these wrongs with an uncomplaining and manly spirit. He did not relax his efforts in the public service, well assured, that though Constantius might secretly desire to diminish the credit to which his military conduct had hitherto entitled him, he could not be disposed to exalt a vain and faithless sycophant into anything higher than the instrument of his own sordid and jealous views. Meanwhile the Alemanni took Julian's revenge upon themselves. By the neglect of all precaution Barbetio laid himself open to a surprize : the enemy unexpectedly attacked his scattered troops in overwhelming force, and totally defeated them with the loss of all their baggage, stores, and cattle.²²

The overthrow of Barbetio brought the whole force of the Alemannic confederacy upon Julian. The dispirited army of his coadjutor was distributed into distant quarters, and their chief retreated to the court to invent fresh charges against the Cæsar and excuses for his own mishap. The army in the field was thus reduced to a small but compact and well-disciplined body of between thirteen and fourteen thousand men ; all of them confident in the skill and valour of their chief, and anxious to retrieve the disgrace which had so lately befallen the Roman arms. While Julian was still occupied in the restoration of Zabern, the Alemannic confederates, under their kings Chnodomar, Westralp, Urius, Ursicinus, Serapion, Suomar and Hortar, laid siege to the city of Strasburg. While thus engaged, they were apprized by a deserter of the smallness of the numbers under the command of the Cæsar : this intelligence increased their ordinary presumption, and inspired them with that reckless eagerness for battle which distinguishes barbarian from civilized warfare. The siege of Strasburg was abandoned, and the army broke up to end the war by one decisive blow. The chief command had been yielded by common consent to Chnodomar the conqueror of Decentius. The character of that chief was well suited to acquire and maintain that kind of influence to which alone the free warriors of Germany were used to submit ; his haughty bearing, his sanguine temper, his contempt of danger, his great

²² *Amm. Marcell.* c. 11. p. 151.

personal strength and formidable weapons, inspired his countrymen with boundless confidence, while the recollection of his former triumphs might be supposed to weigh upon the spirits of his enemy. Next to him in estimation among the barbarian host stood Serapion, the son of Mederich the brother of Chnodomar: the proper name of this chief was Agenarich; but his father having resided for some time in Gaul, and having been there admitted into the Greek mysteries, had changed the name of his son to Serapion, in memory of his initiation.

While on their march to encounter Julian, the Alemanni were reinforced by the subjects of the princes Gundomar and Vadomar. The first of these chiefs, it is true, had been murdered for pleading the treaty by which both were bound to the emperor Constantius, and for refusing to join the cause of the confederates; and Vadomar still adhered with inviolable faith to his engagements with the empire. But their indignant and elated subjects flocked to the standard of Chnodomar, and further swelled the already fearful superiority of the enemies of Julian. But as the tumultuary warriors of the Alemanni did not, even by the Roman computation, exceed thirty-five thousand men, the difference was not greater than might be overcome by the superior equipments and military skill of the Romans. Julian therefore fearlessly advanced to within twenty miles of his adversaries. Here he was met by a deputation from the confederates bearing a written document containing, as they said, the terms of a former treaty, by virtue of which they peremptorily required him to yield up to them the peaceable possession of the lands therein specified.²³ The barbarians either believed, or affected to believe, that the encouragement received from Constantius during the war with Magnentius, extended to a cession of the entire territory they were on that occasion invited to invade. But whether the appeal was made to the justice or the fears of the Romans, their request was not only rejected, but their ambassadors were unjustifiably detained by Julian, who, it appears, hoped to avail himself of the security which negotiation inspires to come upon the enemy before they were prepared for battle. But the Alemanni were upon the alert, and when the Cæsar arrived upon the ground he found them drawn up in close order of battle. Chnodomar commanded the left wing, Agenarich the right; five kings and ten chieftains served under them; but, among them all, Chnodomar shone pre-eminent by his

They advance
to encounter
Julian,

thirty-five
thousand
strong.

They call upon
the Cæsar to
yield the ter-
ritory, alleged
to have been
ceded to them
by Constan-
tius.

Julian detains
their envoys
and marches
forwards to
attack them.

²³ *Libanius* Orat. tom. i. p. 540. According to the orator they sent letters or writings to Julian, by which "they made out the land to be their own," or "which made the land their own," αἱ τῶν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦν, κ. τ. α. The *Historia*

Miscella. (ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. vol. i. p. 76) states the matter more explicitly: "And when they laid before him the imperial letters whereby they were invited into the provinces, he threw their ambassadors into chains."

gigantic stature and the splendour of his armour. The military array of the Germans seems to have undergone little change since the days of Tacitus; their favourite order was still the close wedge-shaped phalanx; their cavalry was still intermingled with light-armed infantry, whose duty it was to creep beneath the horses of the enemy, and either to stab them or by lifting the rider out of his saddle, to deliver him up an easy prey to his mounted companion. Julian opposed his own cavalry to this formidable body, and advanced with the infantry of the right up to the brink of a ravine, behind which the Germans awaited his attack. Here the progress of the Romans was arrested; in the interim the cavalry on the left was thrown into disorder by that of the enemy, and the battle for a moment inclined in favour of the latter. But the Cæsar, whose quickness of eye and presence of mind did not desert him in the hour of danger, immediately brought up a chosen reserve of barbarian auxiliaries to the support of his infantry, who now, no longer protected by the cavalry, were shrinking from the massy German columns on the left. By great personal exertions he succeeded in rallying his broken squadrons; and the Germans having brought forward a large body of infantry which had been hitherto concealed behind a ruined aqueduct,²⁴ with a view to act upon the left of the Romans if they should advance so far, incautiously exposed their flanks to a cavalry attack. Julian, with that ability which distinguishes him throughout this arduous contest, immediately perceived and took advantage of the enemy's error; the German reserves were broken and fled; the panic occasioned by the defeat of their right wing spread along the whole line; about six thousand perished on the field, and as many more are said to have been drowned in the attempt to reach the opposite bank of the Rhine.

The Roman cavalry are broken by the Germans.

Julian brings up his reserves to the support of his infantry, and rallies the cavalry.

The Germans incautiously expose their flanks and are totally defeated.

King Chnodomar is taken prisoner,

and dies shortly afterwards at Rome. The other chiefs effect their escape across the Rhine.

But a greater misfortune than death awaited the gallant king of the Alemanni, Chnodomar; his horse fell with him in attempting to clear a ditch; he then retreated with about two hundred of his personal companions to an isolated eminence, where he was surrounded by the Romans, and, after a brave and prolonged resistance, was compelled by hunger, fatigue, and wounds, to surrender to the enemy. With him three chieftains and all his surviving companions, disdaining, even by honourable death, to separate their fate from that of their prince, went into hopeless captivity. Thus no token of triumph was wanting to render the victory of Julian as complete as he could have hoped. Agenarich is supposed to have fallen in the battle; Chnodomar was sent to Rome, where he shortly afterwards died;²⁵

²⁴ According to Libanius, loc. cit. p. 541.

²⁵ *Amm. Marcell.* loc. cit. p. 164, says that he died of a lethargic disorder—probably the lan-

gour produced by the hopeless sloth of a life of captivity.

all the other chiefs effected their escape across the Rhine, whither Julian resolved to pursue them.²⁶

Taking advantage of the terror and confusion occasioned by the defeat of Strasburg, the Cæsar placed his prisoners and the spoils in security at Metz; and having thrown a bridge over the Rhine at Mayntz, advanced along the southern bank of the Mayne into the heart of the Alemannic territory. But the enemy wisely avoided opposition in the field, and Julian was compelled by the approach of winter, and the movements of the Franks on the Lower Rhine, to conclude a ten months' truce with the barbarians. After restoring one of the many ruined forts, by which the Romans had not long since held this district in subjection, he recrossed the Rhine and placed his troops in winter quarters.²⁷

Julian invades the Alemannic territories on the right bank of the Rhine;

but retires without coming to an engagement with the enemy.

Some changes had of late years occurred in the north of Gaul, which would be instructive if the writers from whom our information is derived had been in any degree solicitous to acquire a knowledge either of the order of events or even the names of the actors.²⁸ Julian, after his return from the Mayne, took up his winter quarters at Paris. About the same time Severus, the master-general of the cavalry, who was proceeding with a considerable force on his march from Cologne through Juliers to Rheims, encountered a body of Franks who had invaded that region in the hope of accomplishing their projects of devastation before the Cæsar should be disengaged from his wars with the Alemanni; but the sudden appearance of a Roman army induced them to retreat into two dilapidated forts on the Meuse, which they restored as well as circumstances permitted. Julian hastened from Paris to dislodge them. After a gallant defence of fifty-four days, they surrendered at discretion, and were sent to Constantius, who in admira-

Julian takes up his winter quarters at Paris,

but shortly afterwards marches to the Meuse against a body of

²⁶ For the original narrative of this battle see *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvi. c. 12. pp. 151-166. Compare *Hist. Miscell.* loc. cit. p. 76, E. *Aurel. Vict.* Epit. 391. *Libanius* Orat. tom. i. p. 540. Edit. Reiske. *Zosimus*, lib. iii. p. 141, makes the killed alone amount to nearly double the number at which *Amm. Marcell.* rates the whole army of the barbarians. The modern writers who treat of this event are *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 191. *Mascou*, book vi. § 51. *Pfister*, *Gesch.* v. Schwab. vol. i. p. 73 to 77.

²⁷ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvii. c. 1. p. 168.

²⁸ *Zosimus* tells us, that the warlike Saxons had, some time before, sent a body of Quadi, (by which he doubtless meant to designate the

Chauci,) a member of their own nation, to invade Gaul; but that having been refused a passage through their lands by the Franks of the Lower Rhine, they passed down the river and expelled the Salii, a branch of the Frankish union, from the islands of Batavia, as the latter had before expelled the Romans. Julian, he says further, (lib. iii. p. 147,) immediately marched against the intruders, instructing his officers to spare the expatriated Salii, and to direct their hostilities solely against the Saxons; the Salii were so impressed by this unexpected forbearance that they submitted to the Cæsar in a body. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* does not notice this invasion of the Saxons.

Franks, whom he compels to surrender at discretion. In the campaign of the following year, A. D. 358, Julian attacks the Salian Franks on the Scheldt and the Rhine,

and compels them to surrender. He drives the Chamavi across the Rhine;

and secures the free navigation of that river as well as that of the Meuse and Scheldt.

By these measures he obtains supplies

tion of their stature and athletic appearance immediately enrolled them in the army of the empire.²⁹

This exploit was but the prelude to a general war with the Frankish nations settled in the ancient Batavia. The next campaign opened in Belgium, where two Frankish tribes, the Salii on the Scheldt, and the Chamavi now settled between the Rhine and the Meuse, interrupted the navigation of these streams, and cut off the communications by sea with the province of Britain, from which alone, or from the distant Aquitaine, the Roman armies could receive their supplies. It was besides of the utmost importance to the defence of Gaul to clear the mouths of those rivers from the piratical intruders who for the last seventy years had infested the Batavian islands. The Salii were not much disposed to resistance, and dispatched ambassadors to the Cæsar to offer terms of peace. Julian received the envoys at Tongern in the present province of Liege,³⁰ and dismissed them with fair words, and a counterproposition of his own, promising to remain where he then was till they should return with an answer from their people. But as soon as the envoys had departed on their errand of peace, Julian broke up his camp and followed them; the Salii were found totally unprepared for this treachery; they accordingly surrendered at discretion to the Romans with their families and property. Julian then turned his arms against the Chamavi: after an obstinate defence they likewise were compelled to yield, and were permitted, after severe losses in killed and prisoners, to recross the Rhine without further molestation. The picked men among the Chamavian captives were as usual draughted into the Roman armies, and some of them were even received into the foreign body-guard of the emperor.³¹

The free navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt, being thus secured to the Romans, and the communication opened with Britain by sea, the Cæsar, instead of having to wait till the month of June for his supplies from the distant province of Aquitaine, was enabled to commence the campaign upon the Upper Rhine as soon as the winter frosts broke up. The truce with the Alemanni had expired, and Julian

²⁹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvii. c. 2. *Libanius*, Orat. ii. in Juliani necem. c. 2.

³⁰ Mascou conjectures the Toxandria of Ammianus to be identical with the district of Tessenloerloo in the modern diocese of Liege.

³¹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvii. c. 8. p. 185. *Libanius* in Orat. Parental. c. 32. *Notitia imperii* ap. Mascou, book vi. § 58. The *Palatina Auxilia* of the *Notitia*, into which the captive Cha-

mavi were admitted, included, it should seem, separate corps of almost all the Teutonic nations of the Lower Rhine, as Bructeri, Batavi, Ampsivarii, Tubantes, Salii, Tungri, &c. There is good ground for believing that from the age of Constantine downwards the bulk of the Roman armies consisted of barbarian auxiliaries, and those principally Germans.

resolved to secure the future tranquillity of Gaul by the humiliation of the fierce tribes now in possession of the Agri Decumates. He therefore crossed the river near Manheim, and fell upon the cantons of the kings Hortar and Suomar. After a short resistance both these princes submitted; they surrendered all the Roman prisoners they had taken during their late incursions into Gaul; they engaged to furnish provisions for the Roman army, and to provide wood and other building materials for the reconstruction of the Cis-Rhenane cities which they had destroyed. In the course of the years 359 and 360 seven cities, among which we notice those of Neuss, Bonn, Andernach and Bingen,³² were rebuilt; the Germans adhered to the treaty with strict fidelity, and delivered the stipulated provisions and building materials; and the navigation of the Rhine was secured by a fleet of six hundred vessels, under the protection of which the storeships from Britain reached the armies in safety. By these arrangements much time was gained,³³ and the great expense of land-carriage entirely saved; abundance prevailed in the camps of Julian, and the spirits of the troops and of their chief rose as the prospect brightened around them.³⁴

for his army from the province of Britain by sea. He marches against the Alemanni, reduces the kings Hortar and Suomar to obedience, and compels them to rebuild the
A. D. 359.
A. D. 360.
Rhenish cities they had destroyed.

But events were in progress which threatened to withdraw him from the scene of his present activity; and he felt the necessity of providing for the permanent safety of the province before he should commit himself in a contest in which both life and honour must be staked against the power and the craft of his jealous kinsman. The Cæsar therefore rightly deemed his position precarious, and the tranquillity of the provinces ill-secured, as long as the remaining members of the great Alemannic confederacy continued unsubdued. Hortar, and perhaps Suomar, were already in the Roman interest; Hariobaudes, a German officer in the Roman army, had been secretly sent by Julian to obtain information of the political condition of the Alemannic cantons, and if possible to sow dissension among them. As soon as Julian had received the report of his agent, he assembled the army at Mayntz, as it should seem, with the

He attacks the other members of Chnodomar's confederacy.

³² *Castra Herculis, Quadriburgium, Tricesimæ, Novesium, Bonna, Antunnacum et Bingio.* It is difficult to determine the position of the three first: Quadriburgium is believed to be the modern Wörlingen, on the Rhine, between Cologne and Neuss. Tricesimæ is conjectured to be identical with Ultrajecta or Utrecht. See *Hoffm. Lex.* Univ. ad verb.

³³ *Libanius* in *Orat.* Parent. c. 40.

³⁴ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvii. cc. 8, 9, 10.; lib. xviii. c. 2. p. 204. *Zosim.* (lib. iii. p. 145) describes Julian's arrangement for procuring his

supplies from Britain. "At the mouth of the Rhine," he tells us, "distant about nine hundred stadia from the island of Britain, he built eighty barks of heavy burthen. These he dispatched into Britain for grain; and on their return found means to transport it up the stream in smaller river boats. By repeated voyages of this description, (for the navigation was a short one,) he supplied the inhabitants whom he had restored to their towns with abundant means for their own support, and for seed-corn, until the next harvest."

intention of passing the river at that point. But some unknown obstacle, probably the remonstrances of Hortar, whose canton lay along the opposite bank, induced him to desist. Meanwhile the more distant Alemannic cantons assembled their forces, and determining to hold Hortar to his engagements for the common defence, marched through his territory to the Rhine, and took their station opposite to the Romans, intending to dispute the passage of the river. Thus disappointed Julian moved

The Alemanni dispute the passage of the Rhine.

southwards, watched and followed by his opponents on the right bank. A spot was at length found which promised to afford the means of surprising the enemy; or the plans already concerted between him and Hortar were by this time brought to maturity: a picked detachment of three hundred men was embarked at the dead of night in small boats, with directions to proceed in silence directly to the quarters of Hortar, who was that night to feast the Alemannic chiefs, when it was expected that they would indulge in the intemperance usual on such occasions, and thus help to render the surprize the more complete. The carousal lasted till the third night-watch; but before the arrival of the Romans, the assembly had already broken up; most of the chiefs being already mounted, easily escaped their pursuers, and none but a few of their followers fell by the swords of the Romans. But though the immediate object of the expedition had failed, distrust and panic completed the rout of the barbarians; it was plain that treason was in their camp; the chiefs knew not whom to follow or whom to trust; the great body of the army believed that the Romans were already in possession of the country in their rear, and hastened back to protect their wives, children and property. The right bank of the river was in a moment cleared of the enemy, and Julian was enabled to construct his bridge and pass over his entire army without obstruction.³⁵

Julian sends a detachment across the river to surprize the Alemannic chiefs at a banquet;

the chiefs escape; but the barbarian army becomes panic-stricken and retreats, and Julian crosses the Rhine without impediment.

He ravages the territories of the refractory princes.

Though Hortar and Suomar continued in apparent amity with their fellow-chieftains, it is obvious that they had now lent themselves wholly to the schemes of Julian. He traversed their country, (a liberty the Romans at all times believed themselves free to assume with the territories of allies,) in pursuit of the remaining numbers of Chnodomar's confederacy, Vadomar, Urius, Ursicinus and Westralp. As soon as the army had marched through the cantons of the friendly princes, the work of destruction commenced; the lightly-constructed dwellings of the people were burnt, the country ravaged, and the inhabitants remorselessly put to the sword wherever they were met with. No opponent appeared in the field, and

³⁵ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xviii. c. 2. p. 206.

Julian proudly pitched his camp on the extreme confines of their territory, there where it bordered on the cantons then lately occupied by the Burgundians. Vadomar, whose dominions lay far away to the southward, and were probably hitherto untouched, was emboldened by that secret understanding which the court of Milan took care to keep up with the enemies of Julian, whether foreign or domestic, to present himself before the conqueror, armed with commendatory letters from Constantius, and to demand rather than to entreat impunity. Two other chiefs, named Hariobaudes and Macrianus, were likewise received into favour; but a further castigation was deemed necessary to reduce the three remaining princes, Urius, Ursicinus, and Westralp, to a due sense of dependence, and to disable them from further aggression: their harvests and villages were burnt or destroyed, and many of their people were put to death, and they themselves compelled to send a special embassy to sue for peace. It is however singular that of the conditions granted to these humbled and (as the historian describes them) abject suppliants, only one is anywhere alluded to, namely, the restoration of the prisoners they had made in their preceding inroads. The terms, we are told, were the same to all; with these, whatever they were, Julian either was or pretended to be contented. He had indeed urgent reasons to hasten his departure from Germany; he well knew that the machinery for arresting his already too brilliant career was in motion; the suspicious soul of Constantius sickened at the daily report of his successes, and it was determined to deprive him of his strength by removing the best troops of his army into the east to serve against the Persians in Syria and Mesopotamia.³⁶

The Alemannic chief Vadomar obtains a protection from Constantius. The remaining leaders of the confederacy are compelled to sue for peace.

But the all-powerful army determined the question between Julian and his crafty sovereign by its own authoritative voice. The soldiery proclaimed him emperor at Paris; and the distressed condition of the eastern provinces, now seriously menaced by the Persians under Shah-poor, compelled Constantius to forego his threatened vengeance for the present. This temporary truce between him and his kinsman afforded Julian an opportunity of reducing the Attuarian Franks, who had in former times signalized themselves by the number and pertinacity of their inroads. This tribe now lived upon the river Lippe in Westphalia;³⁷ and trusted to the broken and mountainous character of their

The army proclaim Julian emperor.

³⁶ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xviii. c. 2; lib. xx. c. 4. p. 259. Ammian boasts that his patron had rendered the Alemanni both "tributarios et vectigales;" i.e. tributary and customable: the latter word would imply a right to collect tolls or

customs within their territory upon articles of trade or consumption; if so, we might fearlessly deny the *vectigality*.—See *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xviii. c. 4. p. 259.

³⁷ These are the Attuarii of *Velleius Paterculus*,

He attacks the
Atturian
Franks in the
midst of
peace: he con-
quers their
country and
reduces them
to subjection.

Character of
Julian;

prompt, vigi-
lant, and bold;

but crafty and
faithless when
a tempting oc-
casion oc-
curred.

His hatred of
Christianity
attributable to
the errors of
his instruction.

country for their defence against external attack. Like the other members of the Frankish confederacy, they had extended their settlements to the Gallic banks of the Rhine. They were now attacked by Julian in the security of a profound peace, to the breach of which they had given no recent provocation. The conquest of their country was easily accomplished; multitudes were slain, many were dragged into captivity; the remainder implored peace, and obtained it upon such terms as the conqueror thought fit to dictate.³⁸

There are few historical characters of which a greater variety of estimates have been formed than that of Julian. To one class of writers he is something worse than a fiend; to another little less than a hero. His qualities as a military leader cannot be denied; promptitude, vigilance, boldness and foresight were scarcely ever more conspicuously displayed than in his campaign against the Alemannic and Frankish tribes of the Rhine. Of the battle of Strasburg we know enough to feel satisfied that able conduct alone could have insured the victory; of his subsequent measures as a general too much can hardly be said to his praise, though little can be alleged to his credit as a man. In the latter respect he seems to have taken the conduct of his great predecessor, Julius Cæsar, as his guide; and the pupil was not unworthy of his master. Dissimulation and perfidy were the besetting sins of the age in which he lived, as well as of the school in which his youth had been nurtured; and in this view it must be admitted that his transgressions were fewer and less flagrant than such an education and such examples might have led us to expect: he never forfeited his word, or broke his faith, beyond the urgency of the occasion. His hatred of Christianity is easily accounted for; the austere dogmatism of the Christian clergy alienated their acute and lively pupil; he laid the vices and follies of its professors to the charge of the gospel itself, and was thus induced to throw himself in disgust into the arms of those blind leaders of the blind, the Greek sophists. His history illustrates the lamentable truth that the tree of life itself, when planted in a rank soil, may be made to send forth an evil odour, repelling the learned and the intelligent, and attracting only the ignorant, the superstitious and the base.

The last act of Julian's government in Gaul may serve as an illustration of the preceding remarks. Early in the spring of the year 360, he learnt

lib. ii. c. 105, and are probably the same with the Chattuarii or Cassuarii, whose settlements, according to Cluver, lay between the Chatti, the Brueteri and Cherusci. They are mentioned by

Tacitus (Germ. c. 34.) as lying behind (to the eastward of) the Chamavi and Angrivarii, and contiguous to them.

³⁸ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xx. c. 10. p. 276.

that the Alemanni of the Canton of Vadomar were again in motion; an officer, named Libino, was instantly despatched with a body of troops to crush the insurrection in its infancy; but that officer having committed himself in a rash action with superior numbers, was slain, and his troops repulsed with some loss. Constantius, confident in the secrecy and fidelity of Vadomar,³⁹ now proposed to make use of his agency against his enemy Julian, in like manner as on a former occasion he had raised up Chnodomar against the usurper Magnentius. Accordingly he instructed him by letter to harass the frontier districts of Gaul, so as to prevent his adversary from quitting the province. Julian obtained proof of these practices by the capture of the notary intrusted with the letters from the emperor to his agent. Vadomar, on the other hand, seemed to have abandoned his hostile intentions, and had actually recognized Julian as his legitimate sovereign. But the latter, feeling that Constantius was already spreading his snares around him, and looking forward to the approaching contest with an anxiety mingled with a secret dread of the dark and hitherto irresistible policy of his adversary, resolved at any sacrifice to secure the person of Vadomar. He therefore sent his confidential friend the notary Philagrius into the vicinity of the territory of the Alemannic prince, furnished with sealed instructions, which he was not to open or read till he should see Vadomar on the Gallic side of the Rhine. The latter, who probably saw no immediate ground for apprehension, came across the Rhine without fear or hesitation to meet the notary whom he supposed to be charged with public business in which he was interested. He was invited by the officer of the frontier guard to a supper to meet Philagrius, who, as soon as he saw Vadomar, broke the seals of his instructions, and after supper the German prince was seized and immediately conveyed to Spain, where he was kept prisoner till liberated by the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and by them appointed governor of Phœnicia.³⁹ Whether innocent or guilty—and the matter is doubtful, even upon the statement of Ammian, the admirer and friend of Julian—the means at least were equally unjustifiable, in either case; but still they were carried no whit further than the craft of his adversaries and the necessities of his own position might, in the opinion of that age, suggest and palliate.⁴⁰

Constantius
endeavours to
excite Vado-
mar against
Julian.

Vadomar is
ensnared by
Julian, taken
prisoner, and
banished into
Spain.

³⁹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxix. c. 1; and lib. xxi. c. 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* lib. xxi. c. 4. p. 291.—*Libanius* in *Orat. Parental.* c. 52.—*Julian.* *Epist. ad Atheniens.* By none of these writers is the charge of actual conspiracy with Constantius brought home to Vadomar. The intercepted letters were evi-

dence only against the writer; nor is it said that the prince himself took any part in the disturbances committed by his subjects on the Rhætian frontier. Letters from Vadomar to Constantius were, it is true, intercepted; but it is not pretended, even by Julian's friends, that more than a single sentence was found in them of

Julian humbles the Alemanni, who had defeated Libino, and marches against Constantius.

After the capture of Vadomar, Julian undertook a rapid incursion into the territories of those Alemannic clans who had so roughly handled the division of Libino. He crossed the Rhine in the middle of the night, and in profound silence. When the barbarians perceived that they were surrounded on all sides, they surrendered themselves to Julian, yielding up all the booty they had taken, and suing for peace. The emperor granted their prayer; and having, as he believed, provided for the tranquillity of Gaul, he prepared to pursue those projects which the right of self-defence so amply justified.⁴¹

A. D. 361, Constantius dies at Mopsucrene.

In the year 361 he moved his army through Rhætia and Noricum into Pannonia; but fate determined the contest for him; Constantius died at Mopsucrene, a city of Cilicia situated at the foot of Mount Taurus, on the 3d of November, A.D. 361, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, and Julian remained the undisputed lord of the Roman empire.⁴²

Estimate of the amount of Julian's successes against the Germans.

The accounts of Julian's campaigns in Germany, though more circumstantial than those of any period since the age of Tacitus, are still perplexed and liable to suspicion. Ammianus Marcellinus is always wordy and often obscure; the Greeks, Zosimus and Eunapius, wrote from hearsay; the orators studied effect rather than truth, and can only be relied upon when confirmed by the honest but too friendly testimony of Ammianus. Upon the whole we may conclude that Julian's successes against the Germans, though indecisive, were as great as could have been achieved with the limited means at his command. The barbarians were once more impressed with a sense of Roman superiority in the field; the ruin they had occasioned was partially repaired; the Romans were put into peaceable possession of the whole course of the Rhine from its sources to the ocean; and a system of communication and supply was established, by which, with the assistance of numerous garrisons and the naval force set on foot by the emperor, a limited field force might effectually watch the frontier, and repel the desultory inroads of the barbarians.

He recovers all Gaul, and secures the frontier of the Rhine;

That these important advantages were purchased, in part at least, by

a suspicious character; the words were, "Cæsar tuus disciplinam non habet," an exceedingly doubtful phrase, since it is impossible now to ascertain in what sense the word "disciplina" was used or understood. *Schaten* (*Hist. Westph. lib. iv. p. 149.*) shortly and justly appreciates the conduct of Julian: "Not daring," says that historian, "to undertake anything against Va-

domar by open war, he had recourse to fraud," &c. *Pfister* (*Gesch. der Deutschen, vol. i. p. 212.*) passes no judgment. *Idem*, in his *Hist. of Swab., vol. i. p. 80.* See also *Gibb. vol. ii. c. xxii. n. 36. p. 332.*

⁴¹ *Amm. Marcell. lib. xxi. c. 4.*

⁴² *Art. de Vér. les Dates, vol. i. p. 393.*

treachery and cruelty, must be admitted: that the successes of the Romans are frequently exaggerated, their reverses extenuated, and their victories depicted in too brilliant colours, subsequent events appear to indicate. The terms of the various treaties concluded with the German princes, by which the extent of the success of their enemies might be more accurately estimated, are always vaguely given, sometimes wholly omitted. One point is abundantly clear, namely, that the Romans did not regain one foot of ground on the right bank of the Rhine; the forts and castles of Drusus, the lines of Hadrian, the Antonines and Probus were for ever abandoned, the Agri Decumates were lost; every trace of Roman influence, once so powerful among the Trans-Rhenane tribes, was obliterated. From the character, the habits and modes of life of these barbarians, no permanent control could now be maintained over them short of absolute conquest, a task to which the empire in the zenith of its prosperity had proved unequal. No one was more sensible of this than Julian himself. In his own modest summary of his gains by the German wars, they are probably estimated at their true dimensions. "It would be too long a tale," he says in his Epistle to the Athenian people, "to speak of all I have done, and to treat of each act in particular during the four years of my Gallic administration; but the following are the principal heads: while I was yet Cæsar only, I crossed the Rhine three times: I retook twenty thousand Roman captives from the Trans-Rhenane barbarians: in two general battles and one siege I captured one thousand prisoners, and those neither aged nor infirm, but all men in the flower of their age: I sent four picked battalions of barbaric infantry, three squadrons of cavalry not at all inferior to the infantry, and two honourable corps of body-guards⁴³ to Constantius: I have now recovered all the towns (of Gaul): while I was yet Cæsar only, I had made myself master of nearly forty cities."⁴⁴

but regains no part of the old Roman possessions or political influence on the right bank of that river.

Since the death of Chnodomar the barbarians had rarely ventured to meet the Romans in the field; they retired to their hills and their forests, little regarding the damage done to their rude dwellings and valueless property. The readiness, too, with which the Romans granted them terms of peace, is inconsistent with that state of abject humiliation to which the historians would persuade us they were reduced.

⁴³ "Honoratissimæ scholæ" are the words of Julian. The term "schola" was, I believe, exclusively applied to the various corps of officials attached to the imperial palace. By the scholæ here referred to *Palatine troops* must therefore have been meant.

⁴⁴ *Julian*. ad S. P. R. Atheniens. p. 280, ap. *Masc.* vol. i. book vi. § 60. note 3. The stress he

lays upon the barbaric auxiliaries sent to Constantius is remarkable as evidence of the increasing difficulty of recruiting in the provinces, of the actual composition of the Roman armies, and of the facility with which the warlike barbarians consented to transfer their services for occupation and pay.

The recollection of Julian's victories procures a momentary relief only for the distressed province.

The barbarians were indeed repelled from the frontier; they were weakened by losses, and for the moment discouraged by the vigour and promptness with which the emperor met and defeated all their projects; but this peaceable disposition did not outlive the remembrance of Julian's victories; and when a change of rulers occurred to relax the vigilance and to divert the attention of the government, they were upon the alert to renew their devastations, and spread rapine and desolation wherever reviving prosperity and industry held out an adequate temptation.

SECTION III.—A. D. 361 to A. D. 375.

Valentinian I. in Gaul and Germany—His wars with the Alemanni—War with the Quadi—His death.

Julian dies, A.D. 363, 26th or 27th June — (*Art. de Vêr. &c.* vol. i. p. 394.) and is succeeded by Jovian, A.D. 364, 16th or 17th Feb. — (*Ibid.* p. 395.) who dies in the east after a reign of scarcely eight months. Valentinian succeeds him.

The emperor Julian perished in the Persian war, in the thirty-second year of his age and in the eighth of his reign, reckoned from his elevation to the rank of Cæsar. He was succeeded by Flavius Claudius Jovianus; but he likewise died in the east after a reign of scarcely eight months. A few days after the decease of Jovian, the leaders of the Roman army chose Valentinianus, a general officer of the domestic guards, to succeed him. Though not of distinguished extraction, the new emperor was known to the army as the son of one of its bravest captains, and acknowledged to be a person possessed of great military talent, frankness of disposition and unimpeached integrity. But he was also a merciless disciplinarian; his temper was irascible and violent to a degree sometimes mounting almost to phrenzy; in this state of mind he was suspicious, headstrong and cruel, though on ordinary occasions neither ungenerous nor incapable of deferring to the advice of his friends.¹ Shortly after his accession he shared the empire with his weaker brother Valens, abandoning Constantinople and the east to his management, and reserving all the western provinces to himself. From Cibalis in Pannonia, where this division of the government was agreed upon, Valens proceeded to the eastern capital, and Valentinian transferred his residence to Milan.²

The empire is assailed in every direction at the commencement of the new reigns.

The alarming state of the empire at the commencement of the new reigns is well described by Ammian. "At this juncture," he says, "the

¹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvi. c. 1. p. 484. *Zosim.* lib. iii. p. 198.

² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvi. c. 5. p. 496.

alarm of war was sounded along the whole frontier of the Roman world ; the wild tribes overstepped the borders in every direction ; the Alemanni ravaged Gaul and Rhætia ; the Sarmatians and Quadi, Pannonia ; the Picts, Scots, Saxons and Atacotti vexed Britain with continual inroads ; the Austorians and other Moorish races made more violent incursions into the African province than ordinary ; predatory hordes of Goths wasted Thrace ; and lastly, the Persian king lifted his hand against the Armenians, and strove with all his might to reduce them to servitude.³ These invasions have been very commonly treated by historians as the mere effects of that migratory spirit by which the barbaric tribes were agitated throughout this and the following ages. But such a view is at best a partial one : the barbarians loved, it is true, a life of roving adventure ; but the pride and, still more frequently, the poverty of the Roman government often gave them just cause of dissatisfaction, or afforded them a pretext for indulging their predilection for rapine and depredation. The terms of the treaties concluded by Julian with the Alemanni are unknown to us ; but an occurrence which took place shortly after the accession of Valentinian may throw some light upon their character, and perhaps disclose the more important conditions.

Some time in the year 364 the Alemannic tribes sent envoys to the Roman governor of Gaul⁴ to remind him that the customary subsidies were in arrear, and to request they might be discharged. The Master of the Offices, Ursacius, to whom the delegates were referred, endeavoured to silence their importunities by some trifling presents ; and when these were rejected with indignation, he replied to their remonstrances in a scornful and contemptuous tone. Ammian gives us no explanation respecting the nature of these subsidies, or of the right in which they were demanded. That the Germans treated them as a national claim arising out of solemn treaties seems to follow from the fact that the historian himself, so far from denying the right, censures Ursacius for the impropriety of his conduct in the refusal. Judging from this state of things, it is hardly possible to resist the conviction that Julian had not scrupled to purchase the continuance of a peace, so necessary to his own affairs, and which he was no longer in a condition to ensure by his personal presence in the field, by the degrading and dangerous expedients of stipends or subsidies.

After this repulse the Alemannic envoys returned to their countrymen, and roused their anger by the report of the treatment they had met with.⁵

These invasions partly at least attributable to the misconduct of the Roman government.

A.D. 364. The Alemanni demand the payment of arrears of subsidy due to them. The Romans refuse them satisfaction.

The Alemanni, in resentment of this wrong, invade Gaul.

³ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvi. c. 5. p. 495.

⁴ Probably Germanianus, whom Valentinian

had appointed to that post immediately after his election.—See *Amm. Marcell.* *ibid.* p. 496.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 497.

Procopius re-
bels in the east.
A. D. 365.

At this moment Valentinian, who in the interim had arrived at Paris, received the alarming intelligence that Procopius, a descendant of the house of Constantine, had assumed the purple in the east, and was making formidable progress against his brother Valens. At the same time the Alemanni resented the conduct of the Roman government by invading Gaul; Dagalaiphus was hastily despatched to repel them, but before he could overtake them they had already dispersed, after ravaging the districts which lay nearest at hand. Valentinian then prepared to march with the Gallic army to the support of his brother in the east. But the most experienced of his officers opposed this design; and the emperor, after wavering for a time between the interests of his family and those of his people, at length generously declared "that, though Procopius was his own and his brother's foe, yet the Alemanni were the enemies of the empire; and, come what might, he would not abandon the Gauls to their mercy."

Valentinian re-
solves to devote
himself to the
defence of
Gaul.

The Alemanni
again cross the
Rhine.
A.D. 366.

At no time had Gaul stood in greater need of a resident government. At midwinter in the year 366 the Alemanni, who had of late evinced little regard to seasons, crossed the frozen Rhine. Charietto and Severianus,⁶ officers commanding in the Rhenish districts, hastily assembled a force to oppose them. They found the enemy posted behind a brook; the Romans passed it by a bridge, which the barbarians did not defend, and attacked their position. The Alemanni waited till the Roman battalions had exhausted their missiles and were preparing for close combat, and then rushed upon their enemies with such impetuosity as to throw them into confusion. At that moment Severianus fell severely wounded from his horse; and Charietto, who commanded the other wing, was killed in an attempt to rally the fugitives. The standard of the Batavian and Herulan battalion fell into the hands of the Germans, who waved it in triumph in the face of the enemy, and the panic occasioned by this last disaster appears to have completed the defeat of the Romans.⁷

They defeat
the Romans
under Charietto
and Severianus.

They divide
their forces in
search of plun-
der.
Jovian suc-
ceeds to the
command of
the Roman
army of the
Rhine.

The Alemanni were doubtless reinforced during the winter; for in the spring of the year 366 we find them dividing their forces into three bodies, two of which advanced upon the Moselle in the direction of Metz, while the third body penetrated into Gaul as far as the banks of the Marne. Jovinus, the master-general of the horse, marched from his quarters in Upper Germany with a strong force, to wipe away the disgrace which had befallen the Roman arms under Charietto and Severi-

⁶ *Ammian* calls the former *Count of both the Germanies*; the latter, Count of Cabilona (Châlons sur Saône), Divitensis (Dijon), and Tungricana (Tongres).—Lib. xxvii. c. 1. p. 518.

⁷ Here *Ammian's* account of this battle breaks

off abruptly. The standard, he tells us, was retaken—"post certamina magna." The Romans were in general surprisingly successful in recovering their captured standards.—See *Amm. Marcell.* loc. mod. cit. p. 519.

anus. He advanced with great circumspection to a place called Scarponna,⁸ where the incautious barbarians suffered themselves to be surprized and cut to pieces; and Jovinus, having learnt that a larger body of these remorseless marauders was encamped upon the banks of a river at no great distance, immediately put his troops in motion to repeat the surprize. His advance was concealed by a thick wood which flanked the enemy's encampment, and afforded him the opportunity of reconnoitring them unperceived. Unconscious of the presence of an enemy, the barbarians were seen scattered along the banks of the river, some bathing, others dressing and adorning their long yellow hair according to the custom of their country, while others were drinking and carousing in careless security upon the grassy margin of the stream. Jovian no sooner observed the opportunity offered him, than a sudden burst of trumpets, accompanied with loud shouts from every quarter, proclaimed defeat and ruin to the barbarians; but few thought of resistance, and all who did so fell by the swords of the Romans. Many were killed, and the rest saved themselves by dispersing among the hollows and defiles of the country.⁹

He surprizes and cuts in pieces two of the barbarian divisions.

Jovinus lost no time in moving forward his victorious troops in pursuit of the third and main body of the invaders. He found them posted near Catalauni¹⁰ on the river Marne, ready to give him battle. On the following morning at break of day, he drew up his army in an extended line, equal in length but inferior in depth to that of the barbarians. The battle was long and obstinately contested: at one moment the Romans were placed in imminent danger by the flight of a tribune of the barbaric auxiliaries, named Balchobaudes; but the rest of the army stood firm, and before nightfall the Alemanni had left ten thousand killed and wounded upon the field, while not more than twelve hundred Romans are admitted to have fallen. The Germans retreated in the darkness, leaving their wounded to perish with cold on the field of battle. When, on the following morning, Jovinus drew out his troops to renew the combat, he found no living enemy to encounter; intelligence was afterwards brought him that a tribune of the Ascarian body-guard, whom he had despatched the day before to seize upon the enemy's camp, had in the night-time fallen in with and taken prisoner the king of the Alemanni, and hanged or crucified him on the spot, with all his attendants.¹¹ Jovinus, a man of generous feelings, unable to suppress his indigna-

He attacks the third and main body of the Alemanni at Châlons sur Marne, and totally defeats them.

The Romans take the king of the Alemanni prisoner and put him to death, with all his attendants.

⁸ The modern Serpaigne, a small village about six leagues from Metz, in the department of the Moselle.—*Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* ad v. Scarponna.

⁹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. 2. p. 520.

¹⁰ Châlons sur Marne.

¹¹ "Suffixum patibulo" will bear either meaning.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. 2. p. 521.

tion, was about to inflict condign punishment upon the author of this wanton outrage, but was deterred by the menaces of his flushed and ferocious troops, whose temper was as little softened by victory as restrained by discipline. Valentinian was not likely to value a victory the less because sullied by needless bloodshed; the offence was passed by, and the highest honours conferred on the successful general. In addition to this source of satisfaction, he received, about the same time, the head of his opponent Procopius from his brother Valens, in testimony of the victorious termination of the contest in the east; and in the course of the summer all Gaul was cleared of the straggling bands of Alemanni which had separated themselves from the lately-defeated army for the purposes of plunder.¹²

A.D. 367.

Valentinian
clears the Gal-
lic and British
coasts of the
Saxon and
Frankish pi-
rates by whom
they were ha-
rassed;

and retaliates
upon their own
coasts the ra-
vages they had
committed in
the provinces.
A.D. 368.

Rando sur-
prizes and
plunders
Mayntz.

Every year now brought some new enemy into view to harass the distressed empire, and to put the bodily and mental powers of its rulers to the severest trial. There was no peace for Valentinian in Gaul; the Alemanni were indeed repulsed for the moment, but in the following year news was brought to him at Treves, where he had fixed his winter residence, that the coasts of Britain and the opposite Gallic shores had fallen a prey to swarms of Saxon and Frankish pirates, while the Pictish and Scottish nations were overrunning without impediment the northern districts of the British province. The emperor with laudable promptness collected an armament at Boulogne, landed at Sandwich or Richborough, on the Kentish coast,¹³ surprized the scattered detachments of the enemy,¹⁴ and took from them all the booty and slaves they had collected; these were restored to the distressed provincials, and Valentinian entered London amid the joyful acclamations of the populace. The duty of repelling the Scottish invaders and of clearing the Gallic coast of the Saxon freebooters was committed to the able hands of Theodosius, the father of Theodosius the Great, while the emperor in person carried his arms into the swampy regions of the northern Franks and Saxons, and retaliated upon them a part of the evils they had inflicted upon the provinces.¹⁵

But in the interim Rando, a chief of the Alemanni of the Mayne, had surprized the city of Mayntz during the celebration of a great Christian festival, and carried away many captives of all ages and conditions, besides much valuable booty. But it was Vithicab, the son of Vado-

¹² *Amm. Marcell.* loc. cit.

¹³ Rutupiaë Portus.

¹⁴ *Mascou* (Book iii. § 4) quotes a passage from *Claudian* (De iv. Cons. Hon.) in proof that these enemies were Saxons; but I think it may be

equally clearly inferred from the text of *Amm. Marcell.* (lib. xxvii. c. 8. p. 539) that they were so.

¹⁵ *Amm. Marcell.* loc. cit. and lib. xxviii. c. 3. p. 570.—*Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 82. p. 549. See also *Pacatus Drepanius* apud *Mascou*, loc. mod. cit. p. 324.

mar,¹⁶ the king of a district or canton on the Upper Rhine, who now became the great object of the fear and hatred of Valentinian. He was a young man of slender person and infirm health, but of an ardent and daring spirit. Entertaining himself an implacable hostility to the Romans, he had supported the spirits of his countrymen under their late reverses, and become the contriver of every scheme of mischief, and the soul of every enterprize directed against the peace and prosperity of the empire. Hitherto all attempts to propitiate, to circumvent, or to destroy him had failed. Valentinian is said anxiously to have desired his death, whether in honourable warfare or by private assassination; when the wish of the sovereign was known, agents were easily found ready to pursue a course already but too familiar to Roman statesmen of the age: a domestic assassin offered himself to do the deed of blood; and Vithicab was murdered with perhaps no other participation on the part of Valentinian than is attributable to Henry II. in the assassination of Thomas à Becket¹⁷—with this difference, however, that Valentinian might afterwards safely adopt the deed, and protect the person of the assassin.

Vithicab, the son of Vadomar, is assassinated at the instigation of the Romans.

The death of Vithicab was a severe blow to the reviving spirits of that branch of the Alemannic nation which he governed; and the emperor obtained the respite necessary to collect troops and to mature his projects for its subjugation. A large army, amply provided with arms and stores, was assembled, and in the beginning of the summer of the year 368 Valentinian crossed the Rhine and advanced cautiously into the heart of the Alemannic territory. The Germans, according to their invariable custom when contending with a superior enemy,¹⁸ abandoned their fields and dwellings, and retired, collecting their forces as they receded, to the spot selected for the final stand. Meeting with no opponent in the field, Valentinian redoubled his precautions; he reserved all provisions and other booty which might be of use to the army in case of a reverse, and gave up the rest to pillage and the flames. After a protracted march he unexpectedly found his further progress arrested by a steep and rugged ridge, to which Ammian gives the name of Solicinium. Here he perceived the whole force of the Alemannic confederates securely posted; the base of the hill was protected by rocks and precipices to appearance inaccessible on every side but one. Towards the north, the eminence descended gently into the plain, and Valentinian, with a view to divert the attention of the

After depriving the Alemanni of their most active chiefs, the emperor makes preparations for their total subjugation.

He crosses the Rhine, and enters the Alemannic territory.

A.D. 368.

He finds the Alemanni posted on a rugged eminence.

¹⁶ The same Vadomar whom Julian had entrapped and sent away a captive into Spain.

¹⁷ "The assassin," says *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 226), "received the blood-money from the hand of Valentinian, to whom he fled after the deed."

But the words of *Amm. Marcell.* (lib. xxvii. c. 10. p. 543) do not fix the charge personally on the emperor.

¹⁸ See c. v. sect. 2. p. 187 of this History.

He reconnoitres the position,

and resolves to attack the position in front.
Battle of Solicinum.

The Alemanni abandon the field;

Valentinian recrosses the Rhine, and celebrates his victory by

enemy, who expected the attack from that quarter, directed the count Sebastian to occupy this northern approach to the position, while he himself conducted a reconnoissance in person towards the least accessible part, for the purpose of determining whether some pathway might not be found by which the hill might be scaled in a quarter where no attack could be apprehended. In the course of this operation he incurred the most imminent danger from an ambush of the enemy, and nothing but the extraordinary strength and speed of his horse saved him from captivity or death. But he had seen enough to convince him that the difficulties of the ascent were less formidable than they appeared; two gallant soldiers, Salvius and Lupicinus, were selected to lead a kind of forlorn hope, and Sebastian was instructed to second the attack on the left, and, if possible, open a communication with the Roman advance upon the crest of the position. Covered by the thick underwood, and concealed by the sinuosities of the ground, the party crept up the declivity and succeeded in reaching the brow of the hill; the rest of the army then followed them with loud shouts and cheers, while Sebastian on the left put himself into communication with Salvius and Lupicinus, and cleared a space for the main body to form as they arrived upon the ground. By these operations the Germans were exposed to attack at once upon their front and right flank, yet they stood their ground gallantly; the field was contested on both sides with great spirit and perseverance: but the tactics of the Romans prevailed at length, and the Germans quitted their position; one body retreated into the woods in their rear, while a second attempted to cut its way through the corps of Sebastian: the latter, we are told, were driven back with great slaughter; but the loss of the Romans was considerable; two general officers, Valerianus and Natospardus, were killed, and the abruptness with which Ammian closes his report, warrants the supposition that the victory was dearly bought, and the army too much crippled to admit of further operations for that season. At all events Valentinian withdrew to the Rhine, and put his troops in winter-quarters on the Gallic shore.¹⁹ Not an inch of ground was gained on the right bank; the enemy had not even been brought

¹⁹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. 10. p. 545. *M. Luden* (vol. ii. p. 228) affirms that Valentinian made a peace with these Alemanni, whereby he recognized the Rhine as the boundary of the empire. This opinion is obviously an inference from a passage in the 28th book of Ammian (c. 2. p. 568), where, in the following year, 369, the Alemanni complain of a breach of a treaty, for the performance of which the Romans held their

hostages; but *those* Alemanni were the Alemanni of the Mayne, while they who fought at Solicinum were obviously the subjects of Vithicab, and occupied the angle of the Rhine now known by the name of the Breisgan. *M. Luden* is generally too anxious to fix a stigma upon the conduct of the Romans; while he sometimes raises inferences to the advantage of the Germans upon a very slender foundation of fact.

to terms; yet, like his great predecessor Germanicus, the emperor, together with his son Gratian, celebrated his barren victory in the city of Treves by pompous games and shows, and listened with affected complacency to the fulsome panegyrics of orators and poets.²⁰

The conduct of the Roman government subsequently to the battle of Solicinium seems to indicate that the Rhine was thenceforward to be regarded as the boundary of Gaul. In the year following, Valentinian repaired the barrier fortresses along the entire course of the river from the confines of Rhætia to the German ocean; mounds and bulwarks were thrown up at the weaker points, with fortified stations at intervals, and lofty watch-towers in advance of them. "Sometimes," says Ammian, "he even encroached on the barbaric territory;"—he built a strong fort at the mouth of the Neckar, where the city of Manheim now stands, and seized upon an eminence called Pirus, some miles farther inland, as an additional check upon these turbulent border-tribes. An officer, named Hermogenes, was directed to construct a strong castle upon that spot; but as soon as this design became known the Alemanni sent the parents of the hostages, which it seems were held by the Romans for the performance of some previous treaty with the tribes of the Mayne,²¹ to the emperor, as their envoys, to complain of this unprovoked violation of their territory. But Valentinian was deaf to their remonstrances, and the delegates turned away bewailing the now inevitable fate of their captive children. Their departure was a signal to their countrymen to fall suddenly upon the troops of Hermogenes; the foundations of the new fortress were already completed, when the Alemanni, issuing suddenly from the recesses of the neighbouring hills, attacked and slaughtered the Roman working parties; the two commanding officers, Hermogenes and Arator, were both killed, and but one man, named Syagrius, alone escaped to report to the emperor the total destruction of the detachment.²²

public games and exhibitions at Treves.

A.D. 369. Valentinian restores the barrier fortresses of the Rhine.

He builds a fort upon the territories of the Alemanni, of the Mayne, and Neckar.

They attack and destroy a Roman detachment engaged in building a castle within their territory.

While Valentinian was thus providing against external dangers, the internal state of Gaul became a source of constant fatigue and anxiety. Bands of robbers and marauders infested all the highways, no less to the detriment of private intercourse than of the public business. The coasts were at the same time wasted without mercy by the Saxon sea-rovers, who, like the Maratocuprean pirates of Syria,²³ roamed the ocean

A.D. 369. Distracted state of Gaul; the interior infested by bands of robbers; the coasts wasted by pirates and sea-rovers.

²⁰ *Mascou* (book vii. c. 4. p. 324) quotes (note 2) the panegyrist Pacatus Drepanius. *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 534) alludes to an oration of *Symmachus* (In Laud. Valentin.), published by Angelo Maio at Rome in 1823.

²¹ See note 19 of this section.

²² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxviii. c. 2, pp. 567, 568.

²³ The inhabitants of a town named Maratocuprene near Apamæa in Syria, whose cunning and rapacity rendered them the terror of the east. They

without any object but pillage, landing wheresoever opportunity or temptation offered. These visitations had of late become so frequent as to annihilate the prosperity and exhaust the wealth of the maritime districts. The pirates, who were as greedy of blood as of plunder, committed fearful slaughter among the defenceless inhabitants to a considerable distance from the coast.²⁴ They generally chose the night-time for their attacks; in the towns they surprized in this way, it was their practice to select the houses of the richest citizens, and after plundering them and carrying off the most valuable part of their property, to put the owners to death.²⁵

A.D. 370.
Saxons land on
the northern
coasts of
Gaul.

They are sur-
rounded by the
Romans under
Nannenus and
Severus and
make terms.
The Romans
break them and
put the whole
body to the
sword.

Roman
treachery.

Encouraged by the impunity which had hitherto attended their ravages, the Saxon pirates appeared in the course of the following year with a considerable fleet on the northern coasts of Gaul, and landed in great numbers; but after marching to some distance from the sea, they found themselves enclosed between two bodies of Romans under Nannenus and Severus. Negotiations were opened, and it was agreed that a certain number of their select youth should take service in the Roman armies, and that upon this condition the rest should be permitted to re-embark without molestation. But the Romans, who chose to regard these blood-thirsty savages as out of the pale of social law, secretly sent forward a body of infantry to lie in wait for them in a narrow pass which lay in their line of retreat to their ships, while a body of cavalry followed their motions at a distance, ready to charge as soon as the ambush should have taken effect. The infantry however broke from its concealment too soon, and was severely handled by the barbarians; but the cavalry, directed by the cries and shouts of their distressed comrades, attacked the rear of the Saxons, and the latter, now surrounded on all sides, perished to the last man. "Although," says Ammian, "a severe judge might pronounce this transaction an *act of baseness and perfidy*, yet if the matter be maturely considered, and all proper allowances made, he would *not* regard it as *inexpedient* that by these or any other means the murderous hand of these pirates should have been at length arrested." This excuse implies as deplorable an admission of weakness as of wickedness and folly against the government. The provincials had been long since disarmed, and rendered incapable of self-defence by the jealous and despotic policy of the state; and now that by

assumed the disguise of merchants, and even of the imperial troops, and thus gained admittance into towns and villages which they then plundered with much discrimination, selecting the most opulent houses and the richest inhabitants

for pillage.

²⁴ Respecting these pirates see p. 278 of this section; also *Julian*. in Orat. i.; and *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxix. p. 584.

²⁵ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxviii. c. 3. p. 570.

the consequences of its own vices that government was no longer capable of affording protection to the subject, its advocate scruples not to claim for it a right to supply its weakness by the basest treachery.²⁶

But the joy of Valentinian for this success was of short duration. The Alemanni were again in motion: "Surely they are," exclaims Ammian, "a very great and terrible people, which though from its very cradle exposed to so many and such severe losses, is yet undiminished in numbers, always springing up again into youth and vigour, as if for many ages past it had suffered no detriment." The imminence of the approaching danger may be estimated by the perilous expedient which the emperor, after long and anxious deliberation, resolved to adopt. The Burgundians had by this time grown up into a numerous and powerful people. Their territory bordered to the north-eastward on that of the Alemanni,²⁷ with whom they were upon unfriendly terms. Confidential persons were sent to the chiefs of that people, with letters from the emperor, inviting them to co-operate with him for the destruction of the Alemannic power. The Burgundians eagerly embraced a proposal which promised so fairly; and time and place were fixed upon for a junction of their forces with those of the empire, so that they might together overwhelm the common enemy by one united effort.²⁸ But the Burgundians, it appears, outstripped in their zeal both the expectations and the wishes of Valentinian. It seems probable that he was desirous rather of embroiling them with the Alemanni, and thus of fighting his own battles by the hands of his barbarian allies, than of sharing with them either the toils or the honours of the campaign. While he was engaged in superintending the erection of new defensive works, the Burgundians, eighty thousand strong, appeared on the Rhine, to the utter dismay of the people and the government, claiming the fulfilment of the treaty.²⁹ After waiting some time there, and finding that Valentinian neither came to their assistance nor showed any disposition to perform his engagements with them, they requested him at least to send a body

A.D. 370.
The Alemanni
put themselves
again in mo-
tion to invade
Gaul.

Valentinian
calls in the
Burgundians
to his assist-
ance.

The Burgun-
dians appear
on the Rhine
eighty thou-
sand strong,
and claim the
fulfilment of
the treaty.

The emperor
is alarmed
and draws
back. The
Burgundians

²⁶ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxviii. c. 5. p. 585.

²⁷ See c. vi. sec. 2. p. 227, and sec. 3. p. 232 of this History.

²⁸ *Ammian* (lib. xxviii. c. 5. p. 586) gives as the reasons why the Burgundians so readily came into the scheme of Valentinian:—first, that they believed themselves to be originally descended from the Romans; and, secondly, that they had frequent quarrels with the Alemanni about certain salt-springs and about their boundaries. The error respecting the origin of the Burgundians probably arose from the following traditional tale, which we collect from *Isidor*, bishop of His-

palis, (lib. ix. c. 2.) quoted by *Cluv.* (Germ. Ant. lib. iii. p. 643). While the Romans were in possession of the Agri Decumates (the bishop says in the age of Tiberius), the guards placed in garrison in the border castles and forts grew gradually into a numerous people, and took their name from the *burgi* or *burgen* (the vernacular for a fort or castle) which they inhabited. *Orosius* (lib. vii. c. 32. p. 549) adopts the same story. *Amm. Marcell.*, *Orosius* and *Isidor*, were nearly contemporary writers.

²⁹ *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 32. p. 549. *Hist. Miscell.* lib. xii. ap. *Murat.* i. p. 82.

retire in disgust; but the Alemanni are checked, and the Romans reap the advantages without incurring the dangers of barbarian alliance.

of troops to protect their rear during their retreat into their own country. The emperor met this reasonable demand with delays and evasions; the chiefs perceived that they had been made the dupes of Roman artifice; and the army retreated to their homes in disgust and indignation. The Romans indeed, so far from entertaining any notion of aggrandizing one barbaric tribe at the expense of another, rather designed to render them instrumental to their mutual destruction, or at least to reap the advantages without incurring the dangers of barbarian alliance. While the Alemanni were receding before the advancing Burgundians, Theodosius, the master-general of the cavalry, invaded their territory from the Rhætian frontier, and carried off many prisoners, whom he settled as colonists in Cis-Alpine Gaul.³⁰ But though the danger of an immediate invasion of Gaul by the Alemanni had been averted by this dishonest expedient, they had suffered very little by its results, and as soon as the Burgundians retreated, they returned to re-occupy the ground they had yielded for the moment.

A.D. 371.
Valentinian attempts to surprise Macrianus, king of the Alemanni of the Mayne.

The territory of the Alemanni at this time extended considerably to the northward of the Mayne, and included the ridge of Mount Taunus, where the proudest fortresses of Drusus and Tiberius had once stood.³¹ Among them a prince, named Macrianus, now occupied the same distinguished station which Chnodomar in the days of Julian, and Vadomar and Vitricab had filled after him; like them he was the soul of the confederacy, and an object of fear and hatred to the Romans. Valentinian was bent upon the destruction of this man; and an opportunity seemed to present itself, when, upon the report of certain deserters, it was ascertained that the Alemannic prince had taken up his residence near the hot wells of the Mattiaci³² for the benefit of the waters. It was determined to attempt a surprize, and Severus was sent forward with a detachment of light troops to intercept intelligence and prevent the design from transpiring. Valentinian himself, preceded by Theodosius with the cavalry, led on with the main body of his army. Strict injunctions had been given to prevent pillage and its attendant disorders; but no command of their superiors was of force to cure the Roman soldiers of the habits of plunder and destruction they had contracted in these irregular and barbarous border wars; the smoke of the burning villages apprized the Alemanni of their danger; and, placing their sick prince in a light car, they quickly conveyed him beyond the reach of danger. Valentinian, frantic with rage at the escape of his enemy, marched a distance of fifty miles into the country, consuming and destroying everything before him. After exhausting his

But fails through the indiscipline of the troops, and cruelly ravages their country.

³⁰ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxviii. c. 5. p. 586.

³¹ See c. iii. sec. 1. pp. 101 & 103 of this Hist.

³² The modern Wiesbaden in the grand-duchy of Nassau Usingen.

vengeance upon the defenceless land, he retired to Treves in sullen displeasure at his own ill success and the indiscipline of his own troops. The country thus inhumanly ravaged belonged, it seems, to a canton of the Alemanni, known by the name of the Bucinobantes. With a view to supplant Macrianus, and to make sure of a native dependent on the right bank of the river, Fraomar, an Alemannic officer in the service of Rome, was appointed king or chief of this district. But Fraomar found his new territory so utterly ruined, and so exposed to attack from all quarters, that he soon abandoned it. Valentinian sent him with two other chiefs of the same tribe, named Hortar and Bitheric, to serve in Britain, where Hortar, being suspected of a secret correspondence with his countryman Macrianus, was put to the torture to extort a confession, and afterwards burnt alive as a traitor.³³

He installs Fraomar as prince of an Alemannic canton. The latter abandons his new territory and is exiled into Britain.

Every year now discloses some new proof of the state of debility to which the Roman government was reduced. The insolence of power often tramples upon the sanctity of national engagements; but the feebleness of decay resorts to that species of iniquity as to its natural defence. While Valentinian was engaged in surrounding the Gallic province with artificial bulwarks, his lieutenants in Noricum and Pannonia were busied in completing the military lines on the Danube. In the progress of their undertaking, the advantage of advanced posts on the opposite bank of the river became no less apparent here than it had been to Valentinian on the Rhine, and neither party seemed to pay more regard than the other to the rights of their Germanic neighbours. An important post on the left bank, within the territory of the Quadi, was seized and fortified by the military governor of Valeria, the northern district of the province of Pannonia.³⁴ Gabinius, the king of the Quadi, complained of this act as an open infraction of existing treaties, and a dangerous outrage upon the liberties of his people. Maximinus, the governor, affected attention to his remonstrance, and invited the barbarian prince to a personal discussion of the grievance complained of. Gabinius, without suspicion of treachery, came to the banquet given by the governor in conformity to the German custom on such occasions. Violation of hospitality,—the murder of a guest, was a crime far beyond the scope of barbarian forecast, and Gabinius fell by the daggers of assassins who lay in wait for him as he rose from the festive board. The rumour of this atrocious act aroused not only the subjects of the murdered prince, but all the Quadic tribes, to phrenzy; they ran to arms,

A.D. 371.
and
A.D. 372.

The Romans contemplate securing their frontier by artificial bulwarks. They intrench the frontier of the Danube.

The governor of Valeria encroaches upon the territory of the Quadi.

Gabinius, the king of the Quadi, accepts an invitation to a friendly conference upon the point in dispute, and is basely murdered as he rises from the table of the Roman governor.

³³ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxix. c. 4. p. 617.

³⁴ Valeria lay to the eastward of the modern province of Styria, including the whole region

between the Drave and the Danube, and comprising a large part of Lower Hungary.—*Hoff.* Lex. Univ. vol. iv. ad Verb.

The Quadi
overrun Pan-
nonia.

They appear
before Sir-
mium.

They retreat
northwards ;

they annihilate
two Roman
corps, and
make them-
selves masters
of the entire
province of Va-
leria.

Meanwhile
Macrianus
balances the
fortune of Va-
lentinian on
the Rhine.
A.D. 374.

and passed the Danube in vast numbers at points where they were least expected. The inhabitants of the province were surprised and slaughtered while engaged in gathering in their harvest ; their grain, cattle, and property were conveyed across the river, and secured for the future use of the captors. The swarm then hastened onward towards Sirmium, the capital. " A people they were," says Ammian, " well practised in the arts of rapine, carrying off men and women and cattle, and exulting over the burning villages and farms of the slaughtered inhabitants : so sudden were their incursions, that the people could have no intimation of their coming, and were thus deprived of the means either of escaping or opposing them with success." A calamity, the very thought of which appears to have caused a shudder in the loyal breast of the historian, had nearly befallen the empire during this invasion. Julia Constantia, a daughter of the imperial house of Constantine, had proceeded a short distance from Sirmium on her way to join her betrothed husband, the young emperor Gratian, when she narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the advancing barbarians. In Sirmium all was consternation and terror. In consequence of the long period of tranquillity which the province had enjoyed, the walls had been allowed to fall to decay. The breaches were now hastily repaired, the ditches cleared out ; and when the enemy arrived before the gates, he found the place sufficiently secured against their awkward and inartificial mode of attack. Abandoning the hopeless project of besieging the city, they turned back upon Valeria in search of the governor Æquitius, whom they regarded as an accessory, if not a principal, in the murder of Gabinius. On their march they encountered two Roman legions,³⁵ and totally annihilated them ; the entire province lay at their mercy, and the wretched subjects atoned for the crimes of their flagitious rulers by the most appalling sufferings.³⁶

Our information as to the precise period of this invasion is not very distinct. It seems probable however that it occurred in the year 373, and that the Quadic and Sarmatian borderers continued throughout that and the following year the undisputed masters of Valeria. In the interim Macrianus continued to balance the fortunes of Valentinian on the Rhine ; the Romans lost every vestige of their possessions on the right bank, where their forts were destroyed and their machinations thwarted by the talents and vigilance of the Alemannic chief. The emperor therefore transferred the seat of war to the cantons of the

³⁵ We might rather call them *regiments* or *battalions*, since Constantine had reduced the effective strength of the legion from six thou-

sand to about fifteen hundred men.—*Gibbon*, vol. ii. c. 17. p. 47.

³⁶ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxix. c. 6. p. 630.

southern Alemanni (perhaps those of the Lentienses), and, after the usual ravages, built a strong fort near Basle, which he called Robur, to keep them in check. Here he received intelligence of the alarming state of Pannonia: his first impulse was to march without a moment's delay to the rescue of the invaded province; but the advanced period of the season, the disinclination of his troops for a winter campaign, but chiefly the danger of leaving such an enemy as Macrianus behind him, induced him to await the return of spring, and in the meantime to open a negociation for peace with the Alemanni upon such terms as might insure an interval of tranquillity on the Gallic frontier. Macrianus was found not disinclined to treat, and Mayntz was fixed upon as the place of conference. The Alemannic prince, to whom the critical state of the Roman affairs could not have been wholly unknown, naturally regarded himself as the arbiter of the peace. With the fate of Vadomar, and perhaps that of Gabinius, before his eyes, it is not surprising that he should have declined trusting his person to the faith of the Romans. He therefore refused to cross the Rhine to the conference; and Valentinian himself, relaxing the rigour of the imperial forms, passed to the German side, surrounded with all the pomp of military parade, by which he hoped to disguise the real humiliation implied in the derogatory step he was thus compelled to take. Macrianus met him proudly, but courteously; the negotiations, conducted by the two princes in person, terminated, after much discussion, in a treaty which was solemnly sworn to by both, in the presence of each other and their respective followers. As usual, the terms agreed upon are not recorded; but we may infer that they were advantageous to the Germans from the subsequent solicitude of Macrianus to avoid all infraction of them on his own part. "From this time forward," says Ammian, "the king of the Alemanni not only kept the treaty inviolate, but gave proofs of his friendly disposition as striking as those he had previously evinced of his enmity to the Romans."³⁷

While directing operations to keep the southern Alemanni in check, the emperor is alarmed by the report of the invasion of Pannonia. Valentinian proposes a personal conference with Macrianus;

who concurs, but refuses to pass the Rhine. Valentinian crosses to treat with the German prince.

They conclude a treaty of peace,

which is afterwards strictly observed by the Alemanni.

Early in the spring of the following year Valentinian led his army into Pannonia, and took up his head-quarters in the ruined city of Carnuntum. It was thought that his first step would be to inquire into and punish the authors of the murder of Gabinius, and next, that he would rigorously visit the incapacity or treachery of those officers by whom the province had been betrayed to the enemy. But though

A.D. 375. Valentinian marches into Pannonia.

³⁷ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxx. c. 3. p. 640. Ammian says that Macrianus afterwards perished in a predatory expedition against the Franks; in

which, having ventured too forward in pursuit of plunder, he was surrounded and slain in an ambush by Mellobaudes, a chief of that people.

He throws a bridge of boats over the Danube, and ravages the territory of the Quadi.

The mind of Valentinian is affected by the cares and disappointments he has lately undergone.

His temper becomes suspicious and sanguinary.

habitually severe towards the soldiery, we are told that he was indulgent to the superior officers. And in this instance at least his wrath exhausted itself upon a single delinquent, the Prætorian Prefect Probus, whom venality and rapacity had rendered an object of general contempt and hatred. Three months were spent at Carnuntum in preparations for the campaign against the Quadi, and when the emperor took the field the season was already too far advanced for distant or extensive operations. A bridge of boats was, however, thrown across the Danube at Acincum, by which the army crossed into the country of the enemy. The inhabitants fled to the mountains with their wives and children and most valuable effects, whither, it appears, the Romans did not venture to pursue them. The remainder of the season was spent in the work of destruction, with a view to render the country for as long a time as possible uninhabitable. Valentinian then returned to Acincum, but found the province so frightfully wasted by the invasions of the preceding years, that it was difficult to find shelter and provisions for the army during the winter months, and still more so to fix upon proper quarters for the imperial court.³⁸

For himself he had great need of an interval of retirement and tranquillity. The extraordinary exertions, frequent disappointments, and severe mortifications he had undergone of late, had strongly affected his sanguine and irritable temper. At Sabaria,³⁹ in the modern region of Lower Hungary, he found tolerable shelter against the inclemency of the weather ; but he was scarcely settled there when, with the restlessness peculiar to mental disease, he again removed to Bregetio on the Danube, to inspect and superintend the defensive works then in the course of erection along the entire Quadic frontier. After the accomplishment of this task he took some repose at Bregetio : here the distemper of his mind showed itself in groundless suspicions, and vehement bursts of passion ; several persons of rank were put to death on various frivolous charges ;⁴⁰ the natural violence of his disposition increased to ferocity,⁴¹ his sleep was disturbed by feverish dreams, and his waking

³⁸ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxx. c. 5. p. 648.

³⁹ The modern town of Sarvar on the river Raab in Lower Hungary.

⁴⁰ An officer named Faustinus was put to death upon the charge of having killed an ass with an intent to use the carcass for the purposes of necromancy or divination. In addition to this charge, for which in the corrupt state of Roman society there may have been some foundation, it was reported of Faustinus, that having one day in jest asked a person named Nigrinus to procure him a notary's place, the latter replied,

—"If you wish to be a notary, you must first make me emperor," for which Nigrinus and some others were executed.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxx. c. 5. p. 648.

⁴¹ Thus he ordered the hand of one of his equerries to be struck off for having allowed a fiery charger which he was in the act of mounting to rear up and throw him before he was fixed in the saddle.—*Idem, ibid.* "He was," says Zosimus, "a person naturally inclined to wrath, which impelled him to cruelty, even to the verge of insanity."—*Lib. iv. p. 199.* Very

hours haunted by ominous misgivings. In this state of mind the arrival of envoys from the Quadi to sue for peace was announced to him. According to Ammian, these ambassadors evinced the most abject humility when introduced into the imperial presence. "With bodies bent, and feeble and shrunk with fear, they declared, with many protestations, that the chiefs and the great body of the people had taken no part in the late outrages; and that what had happened was attributable, not to the nation at large, but only to certain thievish tribes who inhabited the banks of the river." They ventured to add, as some palliation for the conduct of these tribes, the extreme impropriety of erecting a fortress on their territory, a step, they observed, not unlikely to provoke those ungovernable clans to commit outrage. But this feeble attempt at exculpation, instead of soothing, kindled a paroxysm of fury in the distempered mind of Valentinian. He repelled the excuse with the coarsest invectives; as his passion increased his voice was observed to become husky and feeble, and then, as if struck by lightning, voice and animation failed at once, a death-sweat suffused his brows, blood burst from his mouth and nostrils, he staggered and fell into the arms of his attendants, who conveyed him to an inner apartment, where, in a short time, he breathed his last.⁴²

The Quadi
send envoys to
sue for peace;

they attempt to
palliate the
conduct of
their country-
men.
Their excuses
throw the em-
peror into a
paroxysm of
rage, which
occasions the
rupture of a
blood-vessel
and causes his
death.

A.D. 375,
17th Nov.

Military operations were immediately suspended; the bridge over the Danube was broken away, and the officers of the army proclaimed Valentinianus, the infant son of the late sovereign and brother of Gratian, as emperor and colleague of the latter. Gratian recognized the election, and the Roman world was now governed by three legitimate emperors. Valens still continued to wield the sceptre of the eastern empire: his reign is indeed full of interest in the narrative of the Teutonic migrations; but after the disastrous close of that reign the main current of German history flows in a different direction. After that era the stream of migration will be found setting in mainly to the westward; and though compelled to advert for some time longer to the affairs of the eastern empire, we shall do so with a view to explain the causes which determined the final direction of the mighty torrent, rather than to load the narrative with a multiplicity of events deriving their interest less from their connexion with the history of the Germanic nations than with that of the eastern portion of the Roman world.

Military opera-
tions are sus-
pended, and
Valentinian
III. is pro-
claimed emper-
or by the
army.

shortly after his accession he was attacked with violent fever, accompanied with fits of phrenzy, during which he indulged in the absurdest suspicions, and but for the firmness and prudence of the prætorian prefect Sallust, would have put

several persons of rank to death.

⁴² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxx. c. 6. p. 651. Valentinian died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign.

CHAP. VIII.

SURVEY OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE DECLINE OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY INSTITUTIONS OF ROME, AND THE DECAY OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION — GENERAL MIGRATION OF THE TEUTONIC NATIONS.

Enumeration of the causes of decay in the state of the empire hitherto noticed.

THE preceding pages have disclosed to our view several symptoms of decay in the ancient fabric of the empire. Among these we have particularly noticed the successive violations of the frontiers of Rome by Goths, Franks, Alemanni and Saxons ;—that obvious inability to defend the vast extent of her old limits, which led to the abandonment of Dacia and the Agri Decumates ;—the incapacity for self-defence to which the subject was reduced by the jealous and contracted policy of her government ;—the ruin of the rich cities of Asia Minor, Greece, Illyricum, and Gaul ;—the indecisive victories, the more frequent defeats of the Roman armies, the introduction of barbarian levies to fill up their wasted ranks ;—the perilous expedient adopted to replenish the dispeopled districts by the admission of multitudes of foreign enemies in the ambiguous character of colonists ;—lastly, the unscrupulous denudation of the frontiers whenever the troops stationed there for their defence were required to turn the scale in the frequent contests for the imperial purple.

A retrospective survey of the internal causes of the decline of the empire is necessary to elucidate the part taken by the Germanic nations in that great event ;

On the other hand, the events of the last three centuries have afforded frequent occasions for comparing the natural and youthful condition of the barbaric nations with the artificial and complicated structure, civil and military, of the empire. But as we advance towards the period rendered for ever memorable by the downfall of that stupendous political edifice, we feel how impossible it is to obtain a correct, much less a comprehensive notion of the entire connexion of that great catastrophe with the subject of our narrative, without taking a retrospective survey of those internal causes of decay which were all along seconding the attacks of the foreign enemies of Rome. The natural interlacing of the events by which the empire was shaken to its foundations has already compelled us frequently to advert to those causes incidentally, and in their connexion with the history of the people whose efforts were so perseveringly directed towards accomplishing its downfall. But the retrospect becomes of still higher importance to elucidate the new views which the progress of our story opens out. We are now at length called upon to assign,

with some degree of accuracy, the share which may be truly imputed to the barbaric nations of the north in effecting that gradual, but not less wonderful, revolution in religion, literature and government—in manners, morals, and modes of thought which impart a genuine philosophical interest to the history of the middle ages ; we are called upon to estimate the force of the powers by which that great change was brought about, and to appreciate the moral character of the agents by whom the first impulse was given. By thus tracing the decline of the conservative powers of ancient civilization, we show, in some sort, the nature of the soil upon which the seeds of the new social system were scattered ; we arrive at the connecting links between the old and the new world ; we are enabled to point out what portion of the materials of the ancient edifice have been wrought up into the new : in fine, we place ourselves in a position favourable for a general survey of the great scheme of providential government by which a false and artificial culture was extinguished, and human society reconstructed upon principles, ruder indeed, but more natural and more true, and therefore more susceptible of gradual and durable improvement.¹

to mark the
decline of
ancient civi-
lization ;

and enable us
to ascertain
the founda-
tions upon
which the new
scheme of hu-
man society
was based.

The more elevated position in which many centuries of recorded experience, and the freer circulation of knowledge, have placed us, enables us to ascertain a few general principles relative to government which were little attended to, if known at all to the ancient world. We have seen good reason to conclude that the healthful state of society depends upon a proper distribution of the powers of the state among the many and the few,—among the functionaries employed in legislation and administration, so as to secure the whole against the absorption of all its various powers by any one among the several constituent parts of the government. Instances abound of democratical, of aristocratical and of monarchical revolutions ; yet with all our advantages we are still too young in experience to determine which of the three is most to be dreaded, or to ascertain in which case the ruin is the greatest, the distresses of society the most poignant and intolerable. If the balance be overthrown by the many, it generally involves the ruin of the existing generation, but rarely extends beyond it ; indeed the intensity of the

The Romans
forfeit their
liberties,

¹ Setting out from the downfall of the empire of the west, nearly fourteen centuries have elapsed, during which period civilization has been gradually upon the advance, exhibiting down to the present hour no perceptible symptom of decay. If we go back an equal space in the history of the ancient world, we can trace distinctly those three periods of *rise, progress, and*

decline, which we are accustomed to look for in all earthly things which require time for their development. Are we not entitled then to ascribe this extraordinary uniformity of direction in the progress of modern culture to principles sounder, truer, and therefore more durable than those upon which the ancient world staked the welfare of society ?

calamity acts as a check upon its continuance : if it be destroyed by the privileged or the wealthy classes, the evil is far more durable, but much less intense ; if by the monarch, the process (except as the immediate consequence of democratic violence) is generally gradual—often scarcely perceptible—leading stealthily from concessions in practice to abandonment of principle, until the subject is unfitted to resume his share in the government, and is content to run all the hazards and suffer all the known evils of despotism rather than resort to the perilous remedy of revolt, and undergo the miseries of revolution, without the necessary landmarks to guide him through it in safety.

by permitting the chief of the republic to usurp all the powers of the state.

Consequent decay of the principle of stability.

In this place we are concerned only with this last species of revolution ; and indeed the history of the empire of Rome affords by far the most memorable instance on the record-rolls of the human race of the extent of the ruin it is capable of inflicting upon mankind.

Seven principal causes of decline enumerated.

No period we could select appears to offer a fitter opportunity than the present for an outline of the chief internal causes of the downfall of the empire. We have found the struggle becoming every year more convulsive and painful on the one side,—more vigorous and hopeful on the other. We have seen Rome reduced to the defensive,—every scheme of conquest laid aside,—the triumphs of the later emperors restricted to doubtful victories won over foreign invaders within the territory of the empire itself, and those invaders striking root there in such a way as to make manifest the inability of the government to resist the tide of immigration. We propose now to advert to the causes of this debility in the following order :—I. We shall trace the steps by which the Cæsars succeeded in engrossing all the powers of the state, and obliterating every vestige of the old free constitution : II. We shall notice the progress of the government towards a military despotism : III. The degraded state of the executive officers and magistracy : IV. The corrupt and inefficient administration of justice : V. The oppressive system of revenue and taxation : VI. The decay of municipal institutions : and VII. The general moral and political decrepitude resulting from the combined operation of all these causes.

I. THE STEPS BY WHICH THE CÆSARS SUCCEEDED IN ENGROSSING ALL THE POWERS OF THE STATE, AND OBLITERATING EVERY VESTIGE OF THE OLD FREE CONSTITUTION.

I. The attachment to old republican principles had been declining for nearly a century prior to the accession of Augustus, though the veneration of the people for its forms remained in a great degree undiminished. With this circumstance in his view, the talents and sagacity of that prince devised a scheme of government which maintained him and his adopted successors in possession of the empire for a period of ninety-five years. When the Roman senate and people placed the supreme power in his hands, no one was more sensible than himself that they were

far from intending an unreserved surrender of their rights and liberties. But the position in which he found himself placed rendered it impossible, even if he had been so disposed, to preserve inviolate the forms of a government essentially based upon republican principles. As sovereign, he had no legally-defined prerogative; the power of the senate was not more limited by law now than heretofore; the popular privileges, so far from being impeached by his elevation to the principality, were in fact put forward as the basis of the imperial authority; the *tribunitian power* which he procured to be vested in himself was the ægis behind which he frequently sheltered himself against the consequences of his otherwise naked infractions of his country's laws.² The assumption of this power, though without any of the usual and legal forms, and for a purpose altogether foreign from its original destination, was nevertheless a compliment to popular rights; it had been created for the benefit of the people, and the act of vesting it in the supreme magistrate of the republic seemed to identify his power with their privileges and welfare: it went even further than this—it seemed to acknowledge a title derived from the people as the source of sovereignty. We have reason to believe that, in the earlier ages of the empire, the tribunitian power was regarded as forming the substance of that supreme authority which was vested in the prince, as in the later it became a principal argument for its unlimited extension.³

Augustus assumes the tribunitian power, whereby he acquires a veto upon all legislative acts of the senate and personal inviolability for himself.

That Augustus should have treated this magistracy as the basis of his ascendancy has been always regarded as the master-stroke of his policy. The legislative authority still resided in the senate, but the emperor could well afford to acknowledge that power as long as he was furnished with the *tribunitian veto* wherewith to encounter any opposition to his supreme will,—as long as the *personal inviolability* of the tribune exempted him from all responsibility for the acts of his government. Another not less important advantage attended this easy yet gigantic stride towards arbitrary power: it spared him the choice between the obnoxious, and perhaps dangerous, titles of king and dictator, while it conferred powers nearly as searching and extensive.⁴

Advantages of his position as perpetual tribune.

² The *tribunitia potestas*, or constitutional powers of the tribunes of the people, conferred, among other important personal and political rights and immunities, the right of veto (intercedendi decretis) against all decrees which the consuls or the senate might desire to pass contrary to their wishes: their persons were by law sacred and inviolable; no provocation would justify the killing of a tribune; and it seems as if they were privileged to avenge themselves upon the spot upon any one who might offer

them the slightest insult either by word or deed.

³ “Sed et quod principi placuit,” says Justinian in his *Institutes* (lib. i. tit. ii. § 6), “legis habet vigorem; cum lege regiâ, quæ de ejus imperio lata est, *populus ei et in eum omne imperium suum et potestatem concedat*.” This maxim is adopted from a dictum of Ulpian, preserved in *Digest*. lib. i. tit. ii. § 1. Compare *Codex Justin.* lib. i. tit. xiv. § 12.

⁴ “Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus

He guards
against danger
from the senate
by dismissing
many senators,
and replacing
them with his
own friends ;

but he respects
the outward
forms and dig-
nity of the se-
nate ; he leaves
some real power
and much
patronage in
their hands.

Augustus ac-
cepts the title
of " Princeps "
from the senate.

But while he treated the senate with well-feigned reverence for its venerable name, and affected profound respect for its ancient privileges, he was by no means blind to the danger of a reviving sense of its dignity, or a perverse recurrence to its old constitutional prerogative. Accordingly, under pretence of reducing the inconvenient numbers of the senators to a reasonable and primitive scale, and of purifying the body at the same time from a numerous class of worthless and surreptitious members, he took advantage of his authority as censor to strike out one hundred and ninety names at once from the lists of the senate, and, without any warrant of law, to introduce several of his own friends.⁵ This act of power is properly regarded as the deathblow to the independence of the senate. Still it is clear that Augustus never entertained the remotest intention to dispense with it as an instrument of government, if indeed he was not personally imbued with habitual veneration for its name and functions. He therefore carefully respected its outward forms and dignities. Some real power and a great deal of patronage was allowed to remain in the hands of the senate. Having satisfactorily ascertained the character of the majority, and replenished the house with men of a well-known moral calibre, he found that they would be easily consoled for the loss of substantial and useful power provided they were still looked up to by little men for small favours—provided they were not deprived of the outward trappings of authority, nor mortified by any glaring neglect, nor bereft of those means of personal emolument which patronage and eligibility to the higher offices of government confer.

The powers thus accumulated in the hands of Augustus were of a two-fold character. From the people he derived the tribunitian attributes ; from the senate he accepted the title of " princeps "—a name well calculated to disguise the true nature of his authority. The word, in the liberal acceptation, might signify chief or president merely, and indeed an officer called the *prince of the senate*⁶ was not unknown to the ancient constitution. But while the friends of liberty consoled themselves with shadowy analogies as an excuse for their subserviency, Augustus himself adopted the larger signification ; he dealt with the republic, not as if he regarded him-

reperit ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliquâ cetera imperia premineret."—*Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. c. 56.*

⁵ *Sueton. in August. c. 35. p. 161. Dio Cassius, lib. lii. § 42.*

⁶ "Πρόκριτός τε τῆς γερονσίας, κατὰ το ἄρχαϊον ὠνομάζετο· καὶ πολλάκις γε ἔλεγεν ὅτι δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν πρόκριτος εἰμι." *Dio Cassius, lib. lvii. § 8, 75. p. 853.* "He (Tiberius)

was called *Princeps Senatus*, according to ancient form ; and he himself was used to say that he was *absolute Lord* of the slaves, *Imperator* of the army, and *Prince* of all the rest." The word " princeps," in its original and simplest meaning, signified the *first or foremost among many*, and may not have implied the possession of power.—See *Hoffman's* *Elucidations* in *Lex. Univ. vol. iii. p. 895.*

self as a mere president or organ of the supreme will, but as sovereign of the state.⁷ The princely commission conferred upon him by the senate was quite large enough to obviate all danger from this course of conduct, since it gave him the absolute disposal of the finances and the armies of the republic. Still the senate retained in its own hands the civil and even the military administration of those portions of the empire which we should call the home provinces—the ancient and settled territories—such as Italy, Spain, and Africa :—the confirmation of the senate was still regarded as essential to confer validity upon the legislative acts of the sovereign :—in civil matters the senate continued to form the high court of appeal, and the supreme tribunal in cases of treason and other offences against the public :—and lastly, the sovereign still regarded that body as his great council of state : upon them he rested the responsibility of his own acts, and strengthened his measures by all the sanctions which their ancient and exalted constitutional character could confer.

The senate retains the administration of the provinces of Italy, Spain, and Africa ;

but are regarded by Augustus rather as an instrument to strengthen his own measures than as an independent legislature.

Such indeed was still the amplitude of that prerogative, and such the veneration in which it was held by the people, that to the senate Augustus was constrained to disguise the nature of his power under the form of delegation, while he soothed the people by assuming the character of their constitutional advocate and defender. The chief advantage gained by this device (independently of the almost boundless authority it placed in his hands) consisted in the facility with which he might at pleasure play off the popular against the senatorial commission—and the reverse. But in order to put himself in a condition to deal thus with effect, it was in the first instance necessary to repudiate the appearance of a perpetuity of office, which would have carried with it too close a resemblance to autocracy—a form of government against which (under that name) the Romans still entertained an invincible aversion. He therefore accepted the principality, first for a period of ten years, then for a further term of five years, and afterwards from ten years to ten years until his death.

He at first avoids the appearance of a perpetuity of office ;

Whatever therefore might be wanting in mere matter of form, Augustus was in fact in possession of all the powers of the state, legislative and executive : he centred in himself the consular and tribunitian powers,—the censorship or moral police of the state,—the presidency of all assemblies of the senate and of the people,—the supreme pontificate,—the guardianship of the laws and the conservatorship of the public peace ;—he was empowered to declare war, to ratify treaties, to give audience to public embassies, and to administer the finances of the state. Still the machinery of despotism was imperfect as long as the means of giving it

⁷ “ *Nomine principis sub imperium accepit* ” is the pithy remark of Tacitus.—See Ann. lib. i. c. 1.

but secures
himself against
any attempt to
wrest it from
his grasp

by assuming
the government
of all the fron-
tier provinces,

obtaining the
control over
the armies of
the state,

and the com-
mand of the
garrison of
Rome.

The separation
of interests and
want of sym-
pathy between the
various classes
of society ren-
der the Romans
indifferent to
these usurpa-
tions,

and permit the
successors of
Augustus to

independent stability were wanting. The senate might awaken to a sense of its degradation; the people, though for the present well fed and amused,⁸ could be trusted no longer than the means of gratification could be found. A third power was therefore called into play. Without openly withdrawing the command of the army from the senate, Augustus obtained for himself the sole conduct of the foreign policy of the state and the entire charge of the public defence; and for that purpose he assumed the command, both civil and military, of all the frontier provinces. It had been customary for the generals of the republic, when they took the direction of a foreign war, or were charged with the defence of a threatened frontier, to obtain the uncontrolled disposal of the civil and military resources of the provinces entrusted to them, and in the exercise of those powers to be guided entirely by an arbitrary estimate of their own and the public advantage.⁹ Such a commission therefore had nothing in it repugnant to the preconceptions of the Romans; but in the hands of Augustus it was so much wider and more sweeping in effect, that he obtained by it the entire control over all the armies of the state and the absolute disposal of the whole military force of the empire, with the exception of the few legions stationed in the settled senatorial provinces.¹⁰ And when, in addition to this enormous power, the command of the garrison of Rome was, for the alleged security of his person, committed to his hands, that last frail check upon the tyranny of the government—the *power of insurrection*—was surrendered, and the liberty of Rome was extinct.

So absolute was the separation of feeling, interest, and sympathy between the heads and the members of the state, as well as between the various classes of society, which the civil wars had produced, that no one would trust the other, and all were glad to purchase tranquillity, immunity from oppression, or chance of advantage, at the price of that liberty which for some time past had been productive of little else but peril and suffering. To this cause the most acute observer of the age has attributed the total and contented abandonment of all free institutions.¹¹ None but a few speculative statesmen, like Tacitus himself, now indulged in a retrospect to the old forms, principles and practice of the commonwealth; and even these persons recurred to them rather as subjects of philosophical inquiry, liberal curiosity, or unavailing regret, than as practical guides or examples for the regeneration of the state. The successors of Augustus were therefore allowed to continue in undisputed

⁸ "Populum annonâ, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit."—*Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 2.*

⁹ Pompey's conduct in the war against Mith-

ridates, and that of Cæsar in Gaul, are in point.

¹⁰ See chap. i. sec. 4. p. 64.

¹¹ *Tac. Ann. i. c. 2.*

possession of all the prerogatives he had amassed; the *amount* of the power was rarely afterwards a matter of dispute; thenceforward the only questions which remained were, who should confer and who should possess it; and these questions were alternately referred to the bloody arbitrament of military violence, or the not less calamitous decision of party fury and private ambition.

II. The union of all the ancient magistracies in the person of the emperor led, as a matter of course, to their virtual extinction. There were no longer any popular rights for the imperial tribune to protect, nor any assemblies of the people for him to preside over. The senate dreamt not of resistance to its all-powerful president; the people were indebted for the state of tranquillity and prosperity they enjoyed under the first Cæsars, not to themselves, but to a well-organized despotic policy; and as long as their rulers felt themselves in any degree dependent upon their support to balance the intrigues of the senate or the discontents of the superior classes, care was taken that they should be supplied with cheap food and a variety of sumptuous amusements—that justice should be tolerably well administered—and that they should not be overburthened with taxes. Meanwhile the honours and emoluments of the state were conferred upon the most subservient and servile members of the patrician class, in order to attach them to the new order of things. But at the same time the whole weight of tyranny fell upon this class; their rapacity and corruption in the exercise of the offices committed to them, their shameless solicitations and jobbings, their undisguised sycophancy and haughty affectation of superiority, had deprived them of the sympathy and respect of their inferiors, and left them without a refuge from the caprices of the despot whom they alternately flattered and provoked.¹² By the disuse of public assemblies public spirit died away; the term of national prosperity drew rapidly to a close, despotism began to bear its appropriate fruits; the mass of the people became inert, helpless, and corrupt; the vital powers of the state exhaled themselves in sloth, and the empire was for many ages held together rather by the weight of its own mass,—by dangerous expedients, and crafty policy, than by any remaining sense of attachment to its institutions or gratitude for the benefits they conferred.

The ancient constitutional rulers having abandoned their powers to an absolute master, the people in their turn were glad to throw off all the most burdensome duties of subjects. Of these, military service was felt as the most grievous. The armies of the republic had been originally

continue in undisturbed possession of the powers he had amassed.

II. PROGRESS OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS MILITARY DESPOTISM.

The imperial government cajoles and amuses the populace.

It promotes and enriches the higher classes, connives at their vices and abuses, but makes them feel the whole weight of its tyranny.

All public spirit evaporates by the disuse of public assemblies.

The constitutional rulers having abandoned their functions, the people become

¹² Compare *Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 2*; *Gibbon, vol. i. c. 1*; *Luden, vol. ii. book iv. c. 5*.

desirous of throwing off all the more burdensome duties of subjects, particularly military service. A gradual deterioration in the quality of the new levies takes place.

The army is gradually converted into a mere mercenary force, having little or no connexion of feeling or interest with the rest of the subjects.

composed of Italians only;¹³ but when conquest had so greatly extended the limits of the state, it was found necessary likewise to extend the recruiting districts, and to admit provincials into the legions. Besides the civic and constitutional levies, Augustus raised several other legions for the defence of the frontiers, of a purely mercenary description, and his successors added greatly to this species of force. In times of imminent public danger, not only the most worthless classes of citizens, but even foreigners, gladiators, and slaves were enlisted in the armies,¹⁴ yet without materially impairing their efficiency; for these persons were found quite capable of acquiring all the mere military virtues of courage, discipline and attachment to their standards. But though they made good soldiers, yet, having no stake in the state, and either bad connexions, or none at all, among its members, they felt little interest in the service, except as connected with their prospects of advantage and promotion. The government soon began to feel that the Italian troops were the least effective for its purposes, and that Spain, Gaul, Illyricum, Britain and the Germanies furnished both a hardier and a more manageable description of forces. By degrees the character of citizen and soldier became totally severed; and to this the commutation of personal service for payments in money, and the consequent conversion of the army into a mere mercenary force, contributed most largely.¹⁵ Pay, allowances, donatives and pensions now constituted the whole stake and fortune of the soldier; even the retired veteran did not descend into the class of citizens; he usually spent the remainder of his days in some military colony, educating a family of soldiers on a distant and exposed frontier. The stationary legions contained within themselves a society wholly distinct from that of the subjects; their children intermarried; they associated very little with civilians of any rank; they were in most respects a distinct and privileged caste, exempt from participation either in the rights or the burthens of subjects; the sum of their duties was included in the common precepts of military discipline and obedience to their officers; and thus the army was gradually cut off from all interchange of interest and affection with the great body of the people.

¹³ None but Roman citizens of good birth, and expert in all the exercises of the Campus Martius, were admitted into the legions. Such citizens were alone capable of holding commands, receiving stipend, sharing the booty, and partaking of donations.—*Hoff.* Lex. Univ. quoting *Vegetius*, De Re Militari.

¹⁴ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lv. § 23—25. *Jul. Capit.* in Anton. Philosoph. c. 21. vol. i. p. 369.

¹⁵ Military stipends had indeed been custom-

ary in the earliest ages of the commonwealth. But the money (a very small payment at the best) was given by way of gratuity merely, and was in no wise in the nature of hire; the soldier was still bound to keep himself and provide his own arms and clothing out of his private means. In the later ages of the republic, however, the state had already taken these burdens upon itself.—*Hoffman*, ad verb. "Stipendium" et "Milites."

Though the emperors, from the time of Augustus downwards, had not ceased to court the army, to extend its privileges, and to increase its pay, yet we hear of no complaints of any material relaxation of military discipline till the reign of Septimius Severus. That emperor and his successors, Caracalla and Alexander Severus, exhausted the treasury to enrich the troops.¹⁶ They increased the sumptuousness of their dress; they relaxed the rigour of the military exercises; while in quarters they indulged the soldiery in luxurious ease; they established magazines of provisions to spare them the ordinary burthens of the march, and permitted them to encumber their columns with long trains of mules and beasts of burthen to ease them of the weight of their armour and weapons. With all these distinctions and indulgences it is not to be wondered at that they affected an insolent superiority over the rest of the people, and manifested a licentious disregard of the property and rights of their fellow-citizens. Arrogance had grown into a privilege, and more than one emperor fell a sacrifice to his endeavours to restore the discipline of his troops.¹⁷

The rules of military discipline are relaxed;

the soldiers are indulged and courted by the sovereign;

they become arrogant and mutinous;

The length of the marches which separated one military station from another rendered a change of quarters at all times an expensive operation. Hence as early as the reign of Augustus some legions seem to have had permanent stations.¹⁸ The changes of quarters became more and more rare as the financial resources of the empire declined, and appear at last to have ceased altogether. In the reign of Constantine the divisions of the army had become stationary. The soldiers took to mechanical occupations; they became immersed in luxury, pride and licence, addicted to expensive amusements, baths, theatrical exhibitions and festivities.¹⁹ At the same time the distinction introduced between the *Palatine*, or household troops, and the *Borderers*, or frontier legions, destroyed the moral coherence of the army. The latter in particular frequently deserted their colours; they connived at or favoured the inroads of the neighbouring barbarians, and sometimes even shared with them the spoils of the defenceless provincials.²⁰

the legions assume permanent stations;

they take to mechanical occupations and become immersed in luxury, pride, and licence. The moral coherence of the army impaired by invidious distinctions.

The danger of military revolution by which the state had been so often shaken, added to the growing jealousy of despotism, induced the emperor Constantine and his immediate successors to reduce the comple-

Constantine the Great reduces the numbers of the Roman legion,

¹⁶ *Herodian* in *Hist. August.* lib. iii. p. 115.

¹⁷ Such was the fate of Alexander Severus himself.—See *Lamprid.* in *Vit. Al. Sever.* c. 59. vol. i. p. 1026.

¹⁸ *Dio Cassius*, lib. lv. c. 23, 24.

¹⁹ See particularly *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxii. c. 24. p. 325.

²⁰ See *Codex Theodos.* lib. vii. tit. i. De Re Militari, lib. i. This law is a re-enactment of a part of an ordinance of Constantine the Great, passed in the year 323; whence it may be inferred that the delinquencies in question were of an enduring and inveterate character. See *Gothofrid.* Comment. ad loc. vol. ii. p. 272.

and thereby
injures its effi-
ciency in the
field.

ment of the legions from six thousand men and upwards down to fifteen hundred, and to increase their number from nineteen, to which it amounted in the reign of Septimius Severus, to one hundred and thirty-two. This extraordinary step was taken principally with a view to divide and multiply commands, and thus, by augmenting the number of participators, to enhance the difficulty of conspiracy. But by this measure the effective force of the legion in action was much weakened; the old legion stood in fact in the place of the modern brigade—a contrivance to melt the force of several regiments into one compact body under one commanding officer, and the attention of the commander-in-chief was distracted by the number of independent corps, whose motion he was now obliged to watch and direct.

The difficulty
of recruiting
the army in-
creases with
the necessity
for augmenting
its numbers.

Barbarians are
enrolled among
the legions;

they become
the favourite
body-guards of
the prince;
and their lead-
ers are admit-
ted to the ho-
nours of the
state.

The great increase in the armies, which the incessant attacks of the barbaric nations rendered inevitable, much enhanced the difficulty of recruiting. Such was the horror of the effeminate Italians for the military service that they frequently maimed themselves to evade the conscription laws.²¹ The most sanguinary penalties were thought necessary to put a stop to self-mutilation and desertion.²² At the same time barbarians from every nation, but more particularly from among the Germanic tribes—Franks, Goths, Scythians, Alemanni, Heruli, Batavi and many others—were now embodied in the legions themselves, and not merely attached to them as auxiliaries. These foreigners were admitted not only into the frontier legions or borderers, but into the Palatine or household troops themselves. They became the favourite body-guards of the prince.²³ Their leaders were often admitted to the highest honours of the state both in the field and the cabinet; the more deserving obtained commissions as tribunes; others were raised to the dignity of counts; and thus the armies and the palace swarmed with a class of officers without any natural connexion with the state they served or regard for its institutions or welfare.²⁴

The *Prætorian*
guard

When Augustus had determined to rest his ill-cemented power upon

²¹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 12. p. 115. These persons, says Ammian, were familiarly called "Murci."

²² *Cod. Theodos.* lib. vii. tit. xiii. De Tyronibus. l. 5 and 10. The fifth law punishes the cutting off of fingers by burning alive. The tenth, it is true, establishes a much lighter penalty for the same offence; but this latter law affected the province of Illyricum only. *Gothofrid.* Comment. ad loc. vol. ii. p. 383.

²³ It was the Franks of the body-guard of Constantius who, in the year 355, compelled an inquiry into the treachery practised against Syl-

vanus the præfect of Gaul, which ended in his acquittal, but not before he had committed himself in the rebellion into which it was the object of the conspirators to drive him. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 5. p. 87. See also ante, chap. vii. sect. 2. p. 259. Compare also ante, chap. vii. sect. 2. p. 273., where Julian, in writing to the Athenians, boasts of having sent to Constantius "four picked battalions of barbaric infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and two *scholæ* of body-guards."

²⁴ *Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 2. and vol. ii. c. 17. *Ludden*, vol. ii. p. 87.

the support of the army, the garrison of Rome became by the very fact the most important and powerful body in the state. A corps of fifteen thousand guards was quartered in the adjacent towns and districts. At first a small detachment of three cohorts only was admitted within the walls as a mere palace-guard. These regiments, being reputed in perpetual attendance upon the person of the emperor as commander-in-chief, obtained the name of prætorian cohorts.²⁵ To secure their attachment, Augustus doubled their pay and granted them many personal privileges. Tiberius, whose jealous disposition kept him in constant fear of the senate, introduced the whole body of the prætorian guards into the city, and established them in large permanent barracks placed in a commanding situation and strongly fortified.²⁶ A soldiery thus posted, privileged and courted, could not be long in discovering their own power, and the weakness of the civil government. A conspiracy originating in the prætorian camp deprived Caligula, the worthless successor of Tiberius, of his life,²⁷ and Claudius was raised to the throne by the acclamations of the soldiery, affirmed, after a feeble resistance, by the timid senate.²⁸ For this service the new emperor rewarded his guards with an enormous donative, amounting to one hundred and twenty pounds sterling to each man; "he was the first of the Cæsars," says Suetonius, "who conciliated the favour of the soldiery by bribes." And this precedent, backed by such power as was now placed in their hands, almost immediately acquired the strength of a rightful claim. At each successive accession the ratification of the prætorian guard was looked upon as the best security for the title of the prince; while, on the other hand, the donative being once admitted in practice, the *right of ratification* remained the only security to the troops for its payment. But in such a posture of affairs the confirmatory became in effect the elective power: the senate shrunk into insignificance; the prætorians proclaimed emperor after emperor,—received donative upon donative, till the empire was at length reduced to become the subject of open bargain and sale—it was put up to auction, and adjudged to Didius Julianus as the highest bidder.

are introduced into the city of Rome by Tiberius;

they depose Caligula and raise Claudius to the empire.

Claudius rewards them with an enormous donative.

They assume the right of ratifying the senatorial nomination to the vacant purple, and at length supersede the right of the senate altogether.

But this climax of venality on the part of the imperial guard was too severe a shock to the interests and the vanity of the rest of the army

²⁵ A prætorian cohort was attached to the person of every prætor or governor of a province when he went to take possession of his appointment; it constituted not only his body-guard, but his entire civil and military establishment, and was never separated from his person. It appears therefore that civil appointments were

not inconsistent with the original composition of the prætorium. See *Hoffm.* vol. iii. ad verb.

²⁶ *Tacit.* Ann. lib. iv. c. 2. *Sueton.* in Tib. lib. iii. c. 37.

²⁷ *Sueton.* in Calig. c. 58. p. 469.

²⁸ *Idem.* in Claud. c. 10. p. 489.

Septimius Severus increases the pay and allowances of the prætorians.

They are at length disbanded by Constantine the Great.

A palatine guard takes the place of the disbanded prætorians,

which, though less turbulent, is not less venal nor more warlike, than its predecessors. The Roman armies come at length to consist almost wholly of barbaric mercenaries.

to be silently endured; and the prætorians were reduced to their prior right of disposing of the purple without the obnoxious formality of a public sale. This is not the place to pursue the history of this flagitious military tyranny. It is sufficient to add that Septimius Severus further increased the pay and allowances of the prætorians; he added to their already exorbitant privileges, and raised their number to fifty thousand men. In this state they continued the standing scourge and curse of their country till the measure of their offences was full. Separated at last from all connexion with the armies of the state, they stood for a while wholly upon their own strength; but when *that* was undermined by sloth, luxury and vice, their fall was sudden and irretrievable. When Maxentius, the last of their favourites, was overthrown by Constantine the Great, the conqueror did not delay a moment in disbanning them and abolishing their name for ever.²⁹

Still the prætorians may be said to have survived under another designation; a privileged corps still existed under the name of *Palatines* or palace-guards, by which name they were distinguished from the border legions of the Roman service, and from what we should now call the regiments of the line. The ancient guard had been discarded when it had served the purpose of annihilating every institution and scaring away every feeling favourable to freedom. When that object was accomplished, their existence became fraught with dangers to the established despotism uncompensated by any corresponding advantages. But a government so absolute as that of Rome under the successors of Constantine could not dispense with the ordinary apparatus of tyranny, and the Palatine guard, less turbulent, but neither less venal nor more warlike, than their predecessors the prætorians,³⁰ still formed an essential part of the state establishment.

To complete our hasty sketch of the decline of the military power of Rome, it must be noticed that, as the empire approached its dissolution, the armies numbered every year fewer and fewer native citizens among their ranks. The ancient legion, with its honours and its strength, had dwindled into an insignificant regiment; the auxiliaries, consisting now entirely of hired barbarians, had become the principal strength of every army which took the field. But even this force might perhaps have been so managed as to save the state, had it been directed by upright,

²⁹ Diocletian had previously diminished the number of the prætorians, but he had supplied the place of the disbanded portion by two legions of Illyrians whom he had appointed to the service of the imperial household.—*Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 13.

³⁰ Ammian (lib. xxii. c. 4. p. 325) gives a

rhetorical description of the degradation of the military character in the reign of Constantine. "The soldier of that age," he says, "was valiant enough against his fellow-citizen, but a coward and a dastard in the presence of a foreign enemy." But the description seems from the context to apply to the Palatines only.

or even by able heads. The science of maintaining an empire by the aid of hired foreigners is not unknown to modern policy. Able princes, with the assistance of strong though despotic institutions, might have made a better stand. But in Rome all public spirit was extinct; every institution had decayed; and the sovereign, sunk in sloth, buried in the recesses of his palace, surrounded by eunuchs and sycophants, had become the mere instrument of the vices of others.

III. Even after the innovations of Augustus, the senate might, by an upright and faithful employment of the powers left in its possession, have contrived to retain for a time a considerable degree of real and useful influence. But when it once became manifest that the moving force of the government had been transferred to the army, neither the purest integrity nor the most unlimited confidence of the people could prevent the senate from being degraded into the passive organ of arbitrary power. That it was allowed to subsist at all is explicable only on the score of its utility, not as a power, but as a mere *instrument* of government, and of the respect it commanded as long as any recollection of the old republican forms was preserved among the people. For the first three centuries the emperors still condescended to veil their despotism under the popular designation of “the servants of the senate and people of Rome.” Many of the wiser and more virtuous princes carried their deference for the old constitutional forms to such lengths as to revive for a moment a belief in the existence of liberty. But as these gleams of better things were the mere reflection of the personal character of the reigning prince, the accession of a tyrannical or profligate successor, or the factious interference of the prætorians, speedily dissolved the vision. The senate now intrigued and plotted and conspired to recover the influence of which it had been deprived, and frequently became the victim of its own mean and impotent struggles. Thus Septimius Severus, disdaining to profess himself the servant of a body whom he despised and detested, and by whom he knew himself to be hated with equal rancour, assumed the style and bearing of a conqueror, and took upon himself without disguise the entire legislative and executive power of the state. In his reign the senate lost almost all semblance of authority; he filled it with creatures of his own, selected from among his oriental flatterers and sycophants; and the ministers and organs of the law began to hold language more in accordance with the actuating principles of the government and the sentiments of the sovereign, than with the theoretical system handed down from the days of the republic. They inculcated passive obedience; they even enlarged upon the evils of liberty; they deduced the power

III. THE DE-
GRADED CHA-
RACTER OF
THE EXECU-
TIVE OFFI-
CERS AND
MAGIS-
TRATES.

In the reign
of Septimius
Severus the se-
nate loses al-
most all sem-
blance of au-
thority.

The Roman
lawyers incul-
cate passive

obedience, and deduce the imperial power from the absolute renunciation of the senate and people in its favour.

of the emperor from the *resignation of the senate*,³¹ and the absolute renunciation and delegation made by the whole Roman people in his favour; the prince in whom all these powers centred must, they contended, be superior to the law, and might coerce his subjects, and even dispose of the empire as his undoubted patrimony.

The office of consul is abolished, the name is retained as an empty title of honour.

Still the appointment of the consuls remained down to the reign of Diocletian nominally in the hands of the senate. Afterwards the office was abolished in substance, though the name remained merely to swell the number of empty honours at the disposal of the prince. The *patrician order* had been so thinned by the extinction of families, by civil wars and proscriptions, that both Julius Cæsar and Augustus had found it necessary to replenish it by new admissions. But before the reign of Claudius these recent creations had begun to fail, and that prince recruited their numbers by admitting some ancient senatorial and a few of the more reputable plebeian or equestrian families to the patriciate.³² But these were again swept away by revolution and proscription and natural decay, till not a scion of the older races remained, and the distinction itself sunk into disesteem from the total loss of its ancient pedigree. Before the age of Constantine the name of patrician had become obsolete, till revived by that sovereign as a merely personal honour for the natural life of the bearer.

The orders of Roman nobility fall into disesteem, and become obsolete.

And, in fact, the forms of the ancient republican institutions had been for many successive ages becoming more dim and shadowy down to that of Constantine the Great. In that reign a few names, without substance or meaning, is all that remains to remind us of that splendid popular

³¹ "The emperors," says Dio Cassius (lib. liii. § 18. p. 713), speaking of the legal doctrine and practice of his own time, "are absolved from the laws, as it is held in the Latin (legal) dicta (*Πηματα Λατινικά*); that is, they are free from all legal coercion whatsoever, and are bound by no written statutes. And thus, by reason of those democratic appointments (*Ὀνομάτα δημοκρατικά*), they are indeed clothed with the whole powers of the commonwealth, even such as belong properly to kings, yet without the inconveniences attached to the name." In this representation of Dio there is neither the "art nor the ignorance" imputed to him by "the flippancy of Gibbon's liberality"—to use a phrase not unlike those in which he conveys his censures of others. Dio Cassius was not a lawyer, and cannot therefore be charged with sycophancy or ignorance in adopting the views of prerogative already promulgated by such men as Papinian,

Paulus, and Ulpian: the *Πηματα Λατινικά* he alludes to are in all probability the legal dicta of his illustrious contemporary Ulpian (Digest. lib. i. tit. iv. § 1)—the democratic names—*ὀνομάτα δημοκρατικά*—seem to me to denote the popular offices engrossed by Augustus, particularly the tribunitia potestas. The fidelity of Gibbon must not be trusted implicitly. Of Reimar, the commentator of Dio Cassius (see his edition, p. 713, note 126), he says, that "he (Reimar) joins the universal censure which freedom and criticism have pronounced against that slavish historian." But this is *not* so: Reimar conveys no censure against Dio. but, on the contrary, gives its due weight to the defence set up for him by the learned Everhard Otto in his Preface to tom. iv. Thes. Tut. p. 8.

³² Tac. Ann. lib. xi. c. 25. Dio Cassius, lib. liii. c. 42. p. 693.

tyranny which acknowledged no freedom but in Rome, no rights, no political existence, within the reach of its remorseless power. All its ancient magistracies had become absorbed in the imperial dignity; the last recollections of the popular institutions had sunk beneath an overwhelming sense of present majesty; and instead of them there arose a new description of officers, with such powers as a jealous despotism may tolerate,—powers ill-defined and precarious, and equally dangerous to those who wield and those who are subject to them. The chief of these functionaries was no doubt the *prætorian prefect*. The exercise of civil powers was usual among the officers of the staff, or prætorium of the provincial governors under the republic,³³ and the prefect or chief of their prætorian cohort had been at all times invested with a general power to superintend the execution of the laws. It is therefore the less surprising to find the general of the imperial guard, a person influential in the making and unmaking of princes, intrusted with a similar power at home. In addition to the command of the prætorian body-guards, this great officer became the civil head of the army; then,—step by step, the controller of the finances, the president of the tribunals, the general of the police, the superintendent of all the courts of law and of the conduct of all inferior magistrates; and, lastly, he and his council constituted the great appellate jurisdiction in the last resort as the immediate representative of the emperor.³⁴ But Constantine, when he remodelled the government, finally severed the civil and military branches of the public service from all connexion with each other, and thenceforward the prætorian prefect was restricted to the duties of a civil judge. Instead of one such officer for the whole empire, he increased the number to four, and intrusted them with the administration of justice in the four great divisions into which he parcelled out the Roman world.

Though by thus severing the command of the armies from the civil government of the provinces, he may have accomplished his main object of providing against the dangers of conspiracy, and perhaps have contributed, in no trifling degree, to the better management of public affairs and the more perfect administration of justice, yet this measure was attended with serious mischiefs in another direction. The pernicious misunderstandings which speedily manifested themselves between the civil and military chiefs, materially impeded the movements and im-

A new description of public officers take the place of the extinct functionaries.

The prætorian prefect or general of the body-guard becomes the great law-officer or chief justiciary of the empire.

Constantine creates four prætorian prefects for the four great divisions of the empire.

Dissensions break out between the civil and military governors of the provinces, to the great detriment of the public interests.

³³ See note 25 of this section, p. 301. The name prætorium was applied, in the first instance, to the tent or tabernaculum of the prætor, an officer who in the age of the republic fulfilled the duties of a civil as well as military chief.—See *Hoff-*

man's learned dissertation on the Roman *Prætor*, *Lex. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 880.

³⁴ *Gibbon*, vol. ii. pp. 31-33. Ed. 4to.; compare also *Hoff. Lexic. Univ. ad voc. Præf. Prætor*.

paired the efficiency of the armies ; and many a chance of advantage was lost, many a disaster incurred, for want of that cordiality among the public servants of the empire which can only subsist where the severity of responsibility is tempered by confidence in the justice of the government, and the efforts of all are directed by a sincere attachment to the country they serve. But in Rome the truest as well as the least trustworthy public officer might be summoned from his post to answer imputations, perhaps wholly fictitious, before a tribunal composed of the very authors and contrivers of the charges. No man could faithfully serve a government where intrigue was the only peaceable road to promotion ; no one could love a country where redress could be obtained only by means equally foul with those resorted to by the wrong-doer himself, or by the perils and miseries of open rebellion.³⁵

IV. THE CORRUPT AND INEFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The practice of the law becomes replete with abuses and hardship to the suitors.

IV. Though the prætorian prefects had been deprived of their military commands by the new constitutions of the empire and the suppression of the old guard, they still retained all their functions as prime ministers, chief justiciaries, and chancellors of the emperor for their respective divisions. The system of Roman law, which forms so splendid an exception to the general mental and literary degeneracy of the ages in which they were compiled, grew and prospered under the auspices of the prætorian prefects.³⁶ But though the theory of law had attained to a wonderful degree of perfection, the practice seems to have fallen into utter disrepute. The profession increased prodigiously in numbers, but declined rapidly in respectability ; the most vexatious chicanery became prevalent among the practitioners ; the most barefaced bribery pervaded the courts of justice ;³⁷ the practice of the bar fell into the hands of freedmen and plebeians, who, in the words of Gibbon, “ reduced it to a game in which cunning and venality prevailed over law and justice.” Disputes were encouraged, family feuds fomented, friends set at variance by these pernicious meddlers ; the weak and the unprotected were plundered without mercy ; actions were multiplied, and the hopeless client involved in every intricacy which perverted and interested ingenuity could devise ; “ nor was he,” says Ammian, “ allowed to emerge from

³⁵ We have already referred to the fate of Sylvanus, the prefect of Gaul, who was driven into rebellion by one of the most wicked conspiracies on record.—See ante, c. vii. sect. ii. p. 258.; and note 23 of this section, p. 300. Compare also *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 5. p. 83 ; lib. xix. c. 12. pp. 248, 249 ; and *Gibbon*, vol. ii. c. 19, p. 143, 4to. Ed.

³⁶ Papinian, the friend of Septim. Severus, was prætorian prefect under his successor, Caracalla.

He was reputed the greatest of all the Roman lawyers. Caracalla put him to death for refusing to compose an oration in justification of the murder of Geta.—*Spartian* in *Caracal.* vol. i. c. 4. p. 712.

³⁷ The codes abound in ordinances and regulations for the prevention of these abuses. See particularly Constantine's edicts in the *Cod. Theodos.* lib. i. tit. vii. l. 1.

this labyrinth of trickery for many a lustrum, nor indeed at all, until the lawyers had sucked the very marrow from his bones.”³⁸

The administration of the criminal law, especially in the provinces, partook of the despotic and oppressive spirit of the government, and the corrupt practice of the age. The persons of the Roman citizens, once so jealously protected by law from stripes and bonds and every ignominious punishment, were no longer exempted from these inflictions; the use of the torture in criminal inquiries was no longer confined to provincial subjects and slaves. The very numerous exemptions in favour of particular persons and classes in the legal code of the Romans, prove that in this respect the revolution in the practice had been followed by a change in the law. But whatever indulgences may have been admitted in favour of freemen in the case of ordinary crimes, yet in that of treason all classes were placed on the same level in the eye of the law. The *crimen læsæ majestatis* of despotic Rome was a wide and subtle net, wherein, by the agency of privileged informers,³⁹ the innocent were hardly less likely to become entangled than the guilty. The faintest suspicion of disaffection was sufficient to expose private and public men to the degrading application of torture, a practice which flowed directly from the despotic maxim, that “the safety of the sovereign was to be preferred to every consideration of justice and humanity.”⁴⁰

The persons of Roman citizens are no longer exempt from the application of the torture in criminal inquiries.

V. But the evils springing directly from the caprices of tyranny weighed upon the least numerous classes of society. The iniquities

V. THE OPPRESSIVE SYSTEM OF REVENUE

³⁸ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxx. c. 4, pp. 641 and 648.

³⁹ A class of persons known by the name of “*Agentes in rebus*.”

⁴⁰ Compare *Codex Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. v. Ne præter crimen majestatis, &c. lex 1, 2, 3.—*Ibid.* tit. xxxv. de Quæstionibus, particularly lex 1, with Gothofrid’s commentary, in which the persons and classes exempted from torture are enumerated: “exceptâ tamen majestatis causâ in quâ solâ omnibus æqua conditio est.”—See also the *Digests*, lib. xlviii. tit. iv; “Ad legem Juliam majestatis.”—*Amm. Marcell.* (lib. xix. c. 12. pp. 247 to 252) draws a frightful picture of the atrocities practised at the command of Constantius by his miscreant emissary Paulus, under pretence of detecting and punishing treasonable practices. His proceedings bear no trifling resemblance to an inquisition of witchcraft in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. In one case the grounds of the charge were consulting the oracles of the Egyptian divinity Besa, and other magic practices, with relation to affairs of state.

Ammian, though glowing with indignation at the conduct of the imperial agent, touches very gently upon the law of treason as applicable to the sovereign himself. “Nec enim abnuimus salutem legitimi principis, propugnatoris bonorum et defensoris, unde salus quæritur aliis, consociato studio muniri debere cunctorum: cujus redimendæ causâ validius, ubi *majestas pulsata* defenditur, a *quæstionibus vel cruentis* nullam Cornelie leges exemere fortunam.” The Cornelia lex here alluded to was afterwards amended by Julius Cæsar, and is commented upon in the *Digests* (lib. xlvii. tit. iv.) under the name of the Lex Julia Majestatis. It may be noted here that the word *Majestas*, in the early laws of high treason, designated the state or dignity of the Roman people—*Majestas populi Romani*,—in which sense it is used by Cicero in *Verr.* lib. iv. c. 41; lib. v. c. 20; and in several other passages; but when the whole state centred in the emperor, all the laws of treason at once became referable to his person and power as representing the state.

AND TAXA-
TION.

of public men were felt by the mass rather in their permanent consequences as affecting the whole body of a society so abject and corrupt, and so accustomed to witness the daily misconduct, rapacity, and cruelty of their governors, as to be but little scandalized by individual excesses and enormities, however frequent and flagrant they might be. Under those governors, however, a system of taxation had been gradually growing up, unequalled, probably, in amount and oppressiveness by the financial exactions of any subsequent age. In the reign of Constantine the single province of Gaul paid a sum of about seven millions sterling into the imperial treasury.⁴¹ Under the first Cæsar the estates of the Italians were exempt from all tribute or land-tax; and, in fact, the more oppressive part of the fiscal system sprung into existence after the reign of Septimius Severus; in that of Constantine it was brought to maturity, and in the age of Theodosius and his sons Honorius and Arcadius it bore its natural fruits—ruin, poverty, and desolation. It is sufficient in this place to observe that the tribute consisted of an annual payment charged upon all the lands of the empire, according to a valuation made every fifteen years by officers of the prætorian prefect, called censors: the intervals of time between each census or valuation went by the name of *indictions*.⁴² This census, or return of the value of the lands, when made to the government, determined the annual amount to be paid into the treasury for each portion of land included in one assessment. The land-tax was combined with the ordinary capitation-tax, and both were laid upon the land in such a manner that large estates paid for several heads, and several small ones were united to form one head. The mode in which this union was effected is not very clearly indicated; but in its operation it appears to have been so uncertain and intricate as to open

The Roman mode of taxation uncertain, oppressive, and liable to evasion.

⁴¹ See *Gibbon's Computation*, vol. ii. p. 70. The amount was indeed reduced to two millions by Julian; but the province was at that juncture so exhausted by barbaric invasions as to be no longer able to discharge its prior assessment.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xvi. c. 5. p. 128.

⁴² It is singular that this inconvenient and arbitrary cycle should have maintained its ground so many centuries after the occasion for which it was created had ceased to exist.—See the clear and able dissertation on the Indictions in the *Art de Vér. les Dates*, vol. i. § 4. p. xiv. I cannot however understand why the learned authors should affirm that we are ignorant of the time when, and of the reason why, the indiction was instituted. They themselves supply a sufficient answer to the first question; it cannot be

traced higher, they say, than the reign of Constantine, nor reduced below that of Constantius; that is, the term called “an indiction” was adopted about the time when the last hand was put to the Roman scheme of land-tax; and was no doubt regarded as a convenient term for the revisal of the preceding valuation. Their successful attempt to clear up the first of these difficulties seems to supply a very probable solution of the second. The word “indiction” had no doubt been previously used, but the period was not fixed till it became necessary to fix it for the purpose of regulating the collection of the revenue.—See the opinions of the learned collected in the *Encyclop. Metrop.*, Art. “Indiction.”

the widest field for venality and extortion on the one hand, and on the other to afford considerable facility for evasions by which the state might be defrauded. Accordingly the severest punishments were enacted for concealing the value and the productions of the lands from the view of the censors.⁴³ Such were the baleful effects of this mode of raising a revenue, that before the close of the reign of Theodosius some of the finest and most fertile districts of Italy were deserted by their inhabitants and allowed to run to waste.⁴⁴ We cannot doubt but that the less opulent provinces were still greater sufferers. At the same time industry was burthened with heavy duties upon articles of consumption, known by the name of "vectigalia;" every class of industry, every trade and occupation, even the wretched frequenters of the public stews, were pressed to the earth by the intolerable weight of taxes, and the extortions of the venal tribe of censors, inspectors and other officials employed in their collection. The people looked with hopeless indifference upon the ruin which threatened them; nor do they seem to have felt it as any aggravation of their sufferings, that the revenue thus nefariously and expensively scraped together was immediately squandered by a dishonest government upon a dissolute court, a licentious and inefficient army, and a swarm of rapacious and corrupt public servants.⁴⁵

Proprietors allow their lands to run to waste from inability to discharge the land-tax. Duties of excise upon articles of consumption, licence duties upon trades and professions (vectigalia) are raised to an exorbitant amount to the utter ruin of trade and industry.

VI. We cannot omit noticing the decay of the municipal towns of the empire as a subject intimately connected with the nature of the revenue, and mode of collection. The authorities or corporations of the municipia or privileged towns consisted of a body of magistrates called decurions, originally elected by the people and presided over by officers known by the names of Duumviri, Quatuorviri, or Quinquennales, according to their number or the term of their service. Nothing can afford a

VI. THE DECAY OF MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS.

⁴³ *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xiii. tit. xi. de Censitoribus, Peræquatoribus et Inspectoribus.

⁴⁴ *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. xxviii. de Indulgentiis debitorum lex 2.

⁴⁵ *Zosimus* (lib. ii. p. 115) thus characterizes the conduct of the government in the reign of Constantine. "That emperor," he says, "did not cease to exhaust the vectigalia (customs and excise) by largesses conferred, not upon the deserving, but upon the mean and the worthless. He was very severe upon those who paid tribute while he heaped riches upon such as were of no use in the state; in this, mistaking prodigality for munificence. He likewise imposed large payments in gold and silver (for licenses) upon persons carrying on merchandize in all parts of the empire; likewise upon market people in

the towns, and others down to the very lowest tradesman, not even exempting the miserable prostitutes from this grievance. Hence it happened that as often as the fourth year came round, and the vectigal was about to become payable (or, perhaps, rather when the licenses were about to become renewable), nothing was to be heard throughout the city but sobs and tears; and when the time was come, nothing was seen but the application of the most flagrant tortures to the persons of those who from mere poverty could not bear such a loss." The sequel of this description merely proves the depth of baseness into which oppression often plunges the subject; mothers sold their children, fathers prostituted their own daughters to raise the sums necessary for the renewal of their licences.

The city magistrates shrink from the burthensome and odious duties imposed upon them.

The towns become bereft of a respectable magistracy.

The decurions are made the collectors of taxes, and become responsible to government for the amount assessed on their respective districts.

more vivid conception of the miserable condition of the people under the Christian emperors than the perusal of the numerous ordinances respecting the office of decurion in the Theodosian code.⁴⁶ We find the persons legally eligible for this magistracy anxiously shrinking from observation, while those upon whose shoulders the burthensome honour has fallen eagerly embrace any subterfuge by which they may shake it off again. Many such persons enlisted in the armies : some even sold themselves as slaves to avoid its ruinous duties ; yet were they dragged from this wretched asylum, and forcibly reinstated in office. Criminals were sometimes pushed into these places by the reluctant citizens ; and an express edict of the sovereign was necessary to put a stop to this desperate abuse. The difficulty of obtaining persons to execute the duties of decurions became at length so great, that it was necessary to enlarge the class of eligible persons by extending it to Jews and heretics, a description of men to whom almost all other political rights were denied ; Justinian, it seems, imposed upon them the ruinous duties without bestowing the honours of the office ; men were induced by civil privileges to enrol their names in the curiæ, and even bastards were held to be legitimatized by being clothed with the dignity of decurion.

The hardships attaching to this office, which rendered it an object of such deep dread, were principally the following : the decurions were the official collectors of the imperial taxes within their municipia, and each of them became by virtue of his office accountable to the government for all his colleagues to the amount of the entire assessment made upon his township ; neither did this responsibility cease at the expiration of his office, since he was held liable for the defalcations of his successor : he was, moreover, frequently compelled by the local governors to take capitation lands, which had been deserted by the owners from inability to pay, into his own hands, and to discharge the amount assessed upon them out of his own funds if the community was unable to relieve him. But the grievance lay not so much in the state of the laws by which the burthens were imposed, as in the arbitrary and tyrannical manner in which they were administered by the provincial governors, who from the days of the republic were accustomed to treat the decurions of the municipal towns at once as the instruments and the victims of their extortions ; and thus it occurred that the prætors of the provinces often compelled them, without any delinquency on their part, to make good any deficiency in the amount assessed upon the community under their control out of their private fortunes. This injustice was indeed frequently prohibited by law, but

⁴⁶ See *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xii. tit. xix. "De decurionibus," l. 10, 11, 13, 22, 66 108, &c.

to little purpose; the cities, including the capital itself, bereft of a zealous and reputable magistracy, shorn of their jurisdictions by the encroachments of the imperial courts, harassed by the interposition of vexatious appeals, and exhausted by imposts, gradually fell into total decay; the population deserted them, and the state thus deprived itself of those nurseries of industry,—the last remaining sources from which the health and strength of the tottering empire might have been recruited. In such a state of things scarcely any change could be for the worse, and hence we may account for the passive submission of the Gallic and Italian cities to their barbaric conquerors.⁴⁷

The privileges of the cities are annihilated; they are deserted by their population and fall into poverty and decay.

If the honesty of the historian Zosimus may be trusted, where the conduct of a Christian government is in question,⁴⁸ no oriental despotism ever outstripped the cold-hearted policy of Constantine the Great. “When he had a mind,” says that virulent writer, “to pare down the fortunes of the more opulent citizens, he used to select one or more of them for the dignity of the prætura, and to extort large sums of money under colour of conferring an honour. Accordingly when he approached the towns, one might behold those who were liable to such offices flying in all directions, each one dreading that he might be compelled to purchase dignity at the great cost of his patrimony. He likewise kept a written list of the more opulent, upon whom he imposed contributions; and these he called his *purse*. But by such extortions as these he exhausted the cities. For when, long after Constantine, the same exactions continued to be made, the riches of the towns becoming gradually wasted, the greater number of them were deserted by the inhabitants.” Upon this statement we are at liberty to observe that the *effects* were precisely as stated by the historian, and whether the charge shall attach to the individual conduct of the first Christian emperor, or to the general policy of his despotic successors, is of less importance in an historical sketch like the present than it would be if we were called upon to pass an impartial judgment upon the character of that particular ruler. The specific charge against Constantine may be an unfounded calumny; but great must have been the misconduct of a government which could embolden one of its own officers—one too who had been himself employed in the very department where the greatest

Testimony of Zosimus to the nefarious conduct of Constantine the Great towards the cities.

⁴⁷ *M. v. Savigny, Geschichte des Röm. Rechts im Mittelalter* (Hist. of the Rom. Law in the Middle Ages), vol. i. pp. 22 to 49. This excellent writer has collected and compared all the passages in the various Roman codes relative to the state of the Roman municipia in the later ages of the empire. I have gone through many

of his authorities, and see no reason to question the soundness of his views.—See also *Müller's Gesch. der Schweiz*, &c. vol. i. p. 88, note 22^b.

⁴⁸ *Gibbon* (vol. ii. c. 17. p. 71) admits that it is impossible to justify the testimony of Zosimus from the charge of passion and prejudice.

abuses are alleged to have existed—to rely upon the notoriety of that misconduct to give currency to such an imputation as this.

VII. GENERAL
MORAL AND
POLITICAL
DECREPI-
TUDE RE-
SULTING
FROM THE
PRECEDING
CAUSES OF
DECAY.

Venal and pro-
fligate conduct
of the officers
of the palace.

VII. The modest state of the first Cæsars soon yielded to all the pomp and pride of absolute monarchy. The number of official persons about the court augmented in proportion to the increasing business of the empire,—to the supineness of the monarch, the magnificence of his public exhibitions, and the cravings of his individual vanity. The domestics, body-guards and agents of the court were organized in *scholæ* or disciplined corps, under their respective chiefs or counts. The conduct of these ministers towards their subordinates was as little regulated by law and justice as that of the sovereign towards the members of his own cabinet. Corruption, tyranny, and cruelty was propagated from the interior of the palace, as from the well-head to the farthest extremities of the empire. “It must be admitted,” says Ammian,⁴⁹ “that very few men of probity and regularity of conduct were to be found among the Palatine officers. They were for the most part bred in the palace, that nursery of every species of vice by which the state was infected with depraved habits; and indeed the mischief they did consisted more in the examples they set to others than in the actual offences they were guilty of themselves. Some among them had risen at one leap from the lowest depths of poverty to the greatest affluence, by feeding upon the spoils of the temples, and acutely scenting every opportunity for gain. These persons set neither measure nor bounds to their avarice and prodigality,—to their expense and rapacity. The corruption of the courtiers became the cause of loose conduct in others; a preference for dishonest gains gave rise to perjuries, disregard for character, extravagant self-indulgence and vanity. Gluttony, debauchery, and luxury became prevalent, and the triumphs of the festive board took the place of those of the field.”

Character of
the imperial
agents (*agen-
tes in rebus*).

The *agentes in rebus*, or college of imperial commissioners and messengers, was a pervading source of disorder in every department of the administration. The duties of this body, as defined by law,⁵⁰ were sufficiently vague and extensive to create distrust and alarm in the minds of all connected with the government. These *agentes* were a species of special commissioners through whom the imperial commands were conveyed to the provincial governors; they were themselves often personally empowered to superintend and enforce the execution of their instructions; their commissions extended to all civil and military affairs,

⁴⁹ Lib. xxii. c. 4. p. 325, speaking of the reign of Constantius.

⁵⁰ In the *Cod. Theodos.* lib. vi. tit. xxvii. “De *agentibus in rebus*.” Julian reduced the corps

to seventeen persons. (*Amm. Marcell.* lib. ii. c. 7. p. 331.) But under the nurture of his feeble successors the weed soon sprung up from this slender fibre into all its pristine luxuriance.

and on many occasions they appear to have superseded all the ordinary authorities of the state. Their right of interference was bounded only by the extent of power with which the government thought fit to intrust them;⁵¹ they were regarded as the eyes and ears of the court, and stood in immediate and constant communication with the sovereign. Their general instructions imported that their first duty was to observe, with the utmost diligence, and faithfully and secretly to report to the emperor all matters of moment which might come to their knowledge in the course of their agencies.

They become an organized body of spies and informers.

No better mode could be devised of converting an all-important class of public servants into a hateful gang of spies, eavesdroppers and informers. They were not slow in discovering that the surest road to advancement lay in ministering to the tyrannous jealousy of the sovereign; they took care to enhance their own importance by impressing his mind with a profound distrust of every other class of subjects, and omitted no opportunity of serving their private ends and gratifying their own evil passions by calumny and falsehood.⁵² They watched the unguarded moments of convivial enjoyment, they poured the careless expressions of mutual confidence and friendship into the open ear of jealous despotism,⁵³ till all security for the property, the character, and even the life of the subject was annihilated.⁵⁴

They exasperate the jealousies and feed the apprehensions of the sovereign.

We cannot better conclude this portion of our subject than in the eloquent words of the historian Müller:—"Even prior to the overthrow of the republic," says that eminent writer, "party spirit often induced persons of the best character to cast a veil over the pride and avarice of the higher and wealthier classes of public servants."⁵⁵ Much greater then was the difficulty of obtaining a hearing at the court of the rulers of the world to the poor oppressed husbandman, who could not bring forward any more cogent testimonies against his rich and

The condition of the lower classes depicted.

⁵¹ *Gothofrid. Paratitlon ad Cod. Theodos.* lib. vi. tit. xxvii. De agentib., &c.—See also *Paratit. ad tit. xxix. "De curiosis."* The *curiosi* were the postmasters of the empire, and like the "agentes," stood in direct communication with the court. They were subsequently actually selected from among the agentes, and entrusted with like functions. The complaints of their extortions and depredations induced Honorius to remove them from the provinces of Africa and Dalmatia.

⁵² See the characters of the Notary Paulus and the Receiver of the privy chamber Mercurius, both masters in the arts of delation and slander.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 3. p. 75.

⁵³ See the treatment of Africanus, Governor of

Pannonia Secunda, and of the Convivæ of Sirmium at the delation of the agent Gaudentius. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 3. p. 77.

⁵⁴ See the lively narrative of *Libanius* (In *Necem Juliani*, p. 294) against the "agentes in rebus."—Also in *Orat. adv. Florentium*, p. 425. *Adv. Icarum*, p. 472.

⁵⁵ He instances the conduct of Scipio as reported by *Livy* (lib. xxix. c. 21), alluding probably to the tyranny of Pleminius towards the Locrians. But I do not find that *Livy* charges Scipio with protecting that great public offender. Pleminius, though an officer of Scipio's army, was in fact carried to Rome in chains, and died in prison before the charges against him could be heard.

powerful tyrant than his sighs and his tears. When amid increasing corruption all right feeling had become absorbed in selfishness; when their former wealth had been wrung from the enslaved nations, and when all prospect of new conquests was at an end, the public officer regarded extortion as the only road to fortune still left open to him; cruelty he looked upon as a useful instrument, and that humanity which might check his progress to wealth—as mere imbecility. Moreover the honest servants of the state were ruined without a crime; deserving generals were consigned to death upon bare suspicion; and thus, when the natural superiors and protectors of the poor had all fallen, the citizens of the minor towns, and the miserable husbandmen whom the barbarians themselves had spared, were sure to find each his own especial tyrant among the vast swarm of subordinates who fed upon the plunder of the public.”⁵⁶

Conclusion.

In the preceding sketch of the internal causes to which the fall of the Roman empire of the west has been most usually ascribed, we have classed together facts and events occurring at different periods of time, and belonging to different ages of the commonwealth, but all of them bearing more or less the relation of cause and effect to each other. Much has been of necessity omitted which might have thrown a more perfect light upon the great question we have attempted to elucidate. But even if our plan had permitted us to bring together all that is known upon the subject, we feel that we should have been able to offer but a partial and infirm solution of the great problem:—To what causes are we to ascribe the sudden fall of a vast civilized empire, comprehending all the most beautiful and fertile portions of Europe, the best part of Africa, and a large share of the Asiatic continent, before the assaults of mere barbarians, less numerous, worse disciplined, and infinitely more ignorant than the vanquished population? We have not another instance in history of one entire social structure, embracing the whole civilized world, crumbling at once and suddenly into dust. Curiosity is wound up even to anxiety to learn what were the spells which so utterly paralyzed the arm of *civilization*, that mighty power which in all subsequent ages has proved not merely the surest guarantee of national stability, but the unfailing source of wealth and strength, and the certain

⁵⁵ Müller, Geschichte der Schweiz &c., vol. i. pp. 88, 89. The author quotes the following forcible passage from *Salvian* of Marseilles (De

Gubernatione Dei, lib. v.) “In hoc scelus devoluta est, ut nisi quis malus esset, salvus esse non possit.”

instrument of conquest and dominion? We feel how important it is to the future welfare of our own social system, to learn where the rottenness lay in the whole and in all its parts, that we may be able to point out to the statesmen of the present and of future generations the seat and nature of those diseases in the body politic which most conduce to its dissolution, and by a careful and practical analysis prepare him to discern the mischief before it becomes incurable; to teach him how to substitute sound materials for those which have become decayed by age and abuse; to watch the growing and fluctuating wants of society, and gradually to adapt the interior division and arrangement of his structure to the ever-varying condition of the great human family. Bearing in mind that the ingenuity of no single individual, nor of any single age, ever yet struck out a good government for itself; and that the utmost effort of the wisest and best of statesmen is strictly confined to adaptation and conservation;⁵⁷ those who desire to preserve and secure the institutions of their country, will find themselves instructed and rewarded in proportion to the degree of care they may bestow upon the examination of this portion of the history of the human race.⁵⁸

At the period at which our narrative has arrived, the various diseases under the influence of which the Roman empire was languishing to death, may be thus shortly summed up: all power had become centered in a single irresponsible individual: every trace of the ancient institutions and principles of government was obliterated: public spirit was extinct: the army of the state, enfeebled and broken into incoherency by the jealousy of despotism, was now almost wholly recruited by foreign mercenaries, who entered the service rather with a view to plunder than to protect their employers: a cramping and benumbing system of taxation had banished industry from the towns: extortion, speculation, cabal, calumny, delation, unbounded dissoluteness of manners, prevailed in the palaces of the sovereign and the mansions of the opulent: the magistracy was chosen by venal solicitation and court favour, without regard either to services or merit: the ministers of the sovereign were selected from among his companions in vice, his flatterers, his panders and even his slaves: expensive pomp and abject

⁵⁷ I venture to affirm that the new American constitution of 1787 cannot be regarded in any view of it as an exception to this rule. The central government is all that is new in the constitution of American society, and that part is far from being its most important feature. Every thing else was left standing; and even the constitution of the Union itself is a mere adaptation

of the ancient principles of the British government to the very singular condition of the people for whom it was designed.

⁵⁸ Those who wish to *remodel* will probably save themselves the trouble of recurring to *history* for instruction. The symmetry of theory is sadly disturbed by the despotic interference of experience.

ceremonial attracted popular admiration, and fed the vanity of the prince and his court: the army was kept in good humour, and the people were cajoled by largesses and shows; and the cost of government increased as the means of supply diminished.

While the leaven of decay was thus spreading from the heart to the extremities of the political body, almost every province of the empire was in its turn invaded, ravaged, and depopulated by barbarian enemies. When the foe retired, the swarm of imperial extortioners returned to carry off by systematic spoliation tenfold more than the most rapacious invader could have amassed. Without bringing into account the pretty frequent occurrence of pestilence and famine, the sum of public misery was increased by civil dissensions and struggles for the imperial diadem. As usual on such occasions, the people paid the penalty of the individual ambition and folly of their rulers. The periods of public tranquillity were rare; and when they occurred they may be traced more commonly to exhaustion than to the virtue or vigour of the government, and served but to improve and strengthen that degrading system of domestic tyranny under which public confidence, wealth, morals, and population were gradually sinking into utter decay and ruin.

SECTION I. A.D. 370—395.

State of the Gothic Nations—First appearance of the Huns—Hermanarich—Struggle—Victory of the Huns—Introduction of the Goths into the Empire—They pass the Danube—They are oppressed and insulted by the Romans—They revolt—Defeat of the Romans—The Goths overrun Thrace—Fridegern—Battle of Marcianopolis—Gratian—War with the Lentiensian Alemanni—Rashness of Valens—Battle of Hadrianople—Defeat and Death of Valens—Danger of the Empire—Elevation of Theodosius—Pacification—Athanasius—The Visigoths enter into the service of Rome—Death of Gratian—Valentinian II.—Maximus—Arbogastes—Usurpation of Eugenius—Barbaric Auxiliaries—Defeat and Death of Eugenius and Arbogastes—Death of Theodosius the Great.

REVERTING to the history of the Gothic confederacies, a short review of their actual state, when on the eve of sustaining the assaults of the Hunnic swarm, will, it is hoped, contribute to the clearness of the narrative, and enable us to present this interesting but obscure portion of their story with greater distinctness than would be attainable by merely referring the reader back to preceding details.¹

Since the abandonment of Dacia by the Romans a twofold division of

¹ It may however be advantageous to re-peruse sect. 3. of c. vi.

the Gothic races had taken place:² the more numerous of these had spread itself over the southern provinces of Russia and Poland, from the Volga, the Don, and the Euxine, to the Vistula and the Baltic: they acknowledged Hermanarich, the head of the ancient and powerful family of the Amali,³ as their supreme chief, and became known to Roman and Greek writers by the name of Ostro- or Eastern Goths. The second division of this great family of nations, very shortly after their separation, adopted the name of Visi- or Western Goths. They became by the conquest of Dacia gradually estranged from their more northern kinsfolk, and acknowledged, as their king or supreme judge, Athanarich, the chief of the ancient Balthic race of princes. Their new position brought them into contact with the more civilized Romans both in war and in peace. A long-continued political and commercial intercourse had introduced Christianity among them and some taste for the refinements of civilized life. The Ostrogoths, meanwhile, far removed from these sources of improvement, despised commerce; they heedlessly consumed the luxuries obtained by rapine, without dreaming of any more constant means of supply, and adhered with pertinacity to the rude worship and habits of their ancestors. Hence, by the natural course of events, the two divisions of the great Gothic race became unfitted for a re-union; and thenceforward each pursued its separate career as kindred, but independent nations.⁴

A.D. 274.

Ostrogoths.

Visigoths.

The latter more civilized than the former, who still retain the barbarous habits of their ancestors.

The government of both branches was of that simple and patriarchal kind best suited to the condition and the capacities of barbarous nations. The Gothic confederacies, like those of the Franks and Alemanni,⁵ were composed of several septs and clans, many of them acknowledging a common origin and speaking the same language, but never melting into that species of national unity which the narratives of the Greek and Roman historians seem to imply. The attention of these writers was entirely absorbed by the events which immediately affected the empire; nor did they condescend to inquire into the internal condition and polity of nations whom they regarded as so far beneath them in the scale of civilized life. Hence they were led to attach the name and attributes of pure monarchy to the federative union by which the Gothic races were cemented together under Hermanarich and Athanarich; though the subjection implied in that form of government had no existence either in the nature of the union or in the contemplation of the chiefs themselves.⁶ The *kings* of the Goths were,

Government of both divisions partly patriarchal, partly federative.

Their govern-

² See c. vi. § 2. p. 223.³ Ibid. p. 225.⁴ *Mascov*, vol. i. p. 335.—*Luden*, lib. v. c. 2.⁵ See c. v. § 3. pp. 205-207.⁶ Compare c. vi. § 2. p. 224.

ment a military federative monarchy.

in fact, little more than the leaders of the union in war, with such powers of coercion only as the attachment or the fears of the associated tribes enabled them to exercise over the individuals or septs composing the union. Their authority was cemented by prepossessions peculiar to that early stage of society: the kings of the Goths were the acknowledged descendants of the old deified leaders of the people; they were venerated for the nobility of their birth, and cherished by the nation as the living representatives of those heroic chiefs who had led them out of the northern wilderness into a land of adventure and plenty.

A.D. 370.
Position of the Roxolani and Alani towards the Ostrogothic kingdom. The Ostrogothic confederacy, under Hermanarich, is held together rather by the fears than the inclinations of the nations composing it.

The Alani.

The two great Gothic confederacies were at no period of their history in a more prosperous state than at this moment of impending dissolution. The Ostrogothic kingdom, under Hermanarich, had just reached its greatest extension. But there was more of grandeur than of solidity in the vast expanse of his dominion. Many of the nations it comprised regretted their ancient independence; and the ties which attached the aboriginal tribes to their Gothic conquerors were secured rather by fear than by inclination. The disaffected Rossi, or Roxolani,⁷ occupied the northern frontier of the Ostrogothic kingdom. To the eastward it was covered by the Alani, whose interests and those of the Ostrogoths were connected in no other way than the conditions of companionship in predatory adventure, or the exigencies of defence against a common enemy might point out.

Rumours of movements among the Nomadic races reach the nations bordering on the Caspian about the middle of the fourth century. The Huns. Their repulsive appearance; filthy habits;

Nomadic life;

Towards the middle of the fourth century⁸ indistinct rumours of an extraordinary movement among the Nomadic races of central Asia had already reached the nations bordering upon the Caspian. The description of these races handed down to us answers in most respects to that of the wandering hordes who still inhabit the same regions. The portrait of a Hun as drawn by Ammian might stand for that of the modern Calmuck or Usbeck Tâtar. In stature the Hun was thick-set, squat, and brawny; his neck was strong and muscular, his face flat and round, with thick lips and exceedingly small eyes.⁹ He was filthy in his person, and his whole aspect was repulsive and disgusting.¹⁰ Like the pastoral inhabitant of central Asia in all ages, he was clothed in skins, lived in a tented cart, and subsisted indiscriminately upon every animal that came within his reach.¹¹ His home was the wide and grassy wilderness. His small, high-bred, and enduring steed was his treasure and his pride; he might, indeed, be almost said to have lived upon horseback. Without

⁷ The ancestors of the modern Russians.

⁸ Both the Huns and the Alani were known to the Romans early in the third century. See *Tertull.* (*Adv. Marcion*, lib. i. c. 1.). The Huns are also mentioned in that century by Ptolemy.

⁹ "Habentes magis puncta quam lumina,"

says *Jornandes*, c. xxvi. p. 203.

¹⁰ . . . Turpes habitus, obscœnaque visu Corpora.

Claudian. in *Rufin.* lib. i. vv. 325, 326.

¹¹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 669.

local attachments, abstemious in his food, and inured to fatigue, he was passionately devoted to a life of warlike and predatory adventure. The Huns were expert archers, and they relied upon their unerring aim and the activity of their horses, to baffle the unwieldy tactics, and to introduce confusion among the heavy masses of their Germanic opponents. In the attack the Gothic wedge was effective only against a tangible and stationary body of resistance; when on the defensive, it was easily outflanked by an active enemy, on account of the small space it covered; a chasm in any of the flanks led to certain confusion and defeat.¹² The cavalry of the Huns advanced in a cloud to the attack, and when within a given distance, they expanded themselves like rays from a centre, exhibiting the appearance of an open fan, and threatening their enemies at once in front, flank and rear. The unengaged corps watched the effects of the destructive flights of arrows which the advanced troops poured in upon their adversaries; and, taking advantage of the gaps thus inevitably created in the close array of the enemy, they charged home and completed his discomfiture.

Against a foe so numerous and so active, armed as he was with a missile to which the Goths had nothing to oppose but the weighty javelin or the unwieldy club, offensive or defensive movements presented only a choice of difficulties. Courage and strength were thrown away upon an adversary who eluded their blows; and, indeed, the first encounters of these strangers with Europeans seem to have inspired the latter with a degree of terror and disgust which slackened resistance, and prepared them to yield to so novel and inscrutable an invader. A superstitious awe became mingled with these depressing feelings, and contributed to increase the general dejection. A notion prevailed that the Huns were the offspring of certain sorceresses, known to the Goths by the name of Alrunæ, whom Filimer—the fifth king who reigned after their departure from the shores of the Baltic—had expelled for their mischievous disposition, and driven forth into the Caspian wilderness. These malignant beings, it was believed, had connected themselves with the unclean spirits of the desert, and the Huns were the progeny of that foul intercourse. One of these demons, they said, under the form of a doe, had guided the Huns through the shallows of the Palus Mæotis, and thus introduced them by an unknown and mysterious route into the rich territory of the Goths on the European shore.¹³ Fables like these are at once the offspring and the parents of alarm in the minds of the ignorant of every nation, when perplexed and terrified by sudden and inexplicable calamities.

and extraordinary tactics, disgust and intimidate their opponents.

They become objects of superstitious dread to the Goths,

who believe them to be the offspring of witches and the unclean spirits of the desert.

¹² *Agathias*, lib. v. ap. *Masc.* book viii. § 14. note 3. ¹³ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 671.

The Huns make their first appearance on the confines of Europe about the year 370.

They attack the Alani; but afterwards unite with them in attacking the Ostrogothic kingdom.

The appearance of these terrible barbarians on the confines of Europe was first noticed about the year 370 of the Christian era. Nothing certain is known respecting the cause of their migration, though they may be traced with confidence from the interior of Asia, in the direction of the Caspian Sea, where they first distinguished themselves as the enemies of those tribes of the Alanic race which dwelt or roamed between the chain of the Caucasus and the rivers Don and Volga.¹⁴ Driving their hordes before them, the Huns, under their prince Balamir, crossed the Don and attacked the European division of that race. The struggle was of short duration; the preponderance of the Huns was so overwhelming as to leave no middle course between expatriation and submission. The greater part of the nation adopted the latter alternative, and the combined forces of the Huns and Alani were precipitated in one impetuous attack upon the Ostrogothic kingdom.¹⁵

¹⁴ Following *Desguignes* (*Histoire des Huns*) and *Duhalde* (*Descrip. de la Chine*), Gibbon brings them from the great wall of China, and conducts them, after a migration of three centuries, to the banks of the Tanais. See *Gibbon*, vol. ii. pp. 577-586. "All we know respecting the Huns," says Luden, "is, that *from some unknown cause* they migrated from the interior of Asia," &c. (Book v. c. 3. p. 268.)

¹⁵ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 3. p. 674. The light which modern investigation has thrown upon the origin both of the Huns and Alani, has enabled us to correct the errors respecting them into which the historians of the last century have fallen, chiefly from inadequate acquaintance with the Chinese annals, which present a great variety of facts relative to the history and migration of the central Asiatic races. Occasion will occur hereafter for noticing the later opinions regarding the ethnography of the Huns. With reference to the Alani a short abstract of the opinion now current may not be misplaced in a note.

As to *geographical position*, *Ammian* (lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 671.) informs us that the Alani spread themselves over the Asiatic plains to the northward and eastward of the Caspian Sea; that they bordered to the westward upon the Scythian Goths (Ostrogoths), and extended themselves to the eastward as far as the Indian Caucasus (Himalaya). This tract would therefore comprehend the regions at present occupied by the Kirgees Tatars and the districts of Kokhand and Kashgar to the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. "*Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quos dilatari usque Gangem accepi fluvium.*" The account of *Ammian*, therefore, obviously embraces the *entire* race. That of *Orosius* (lib. i.

c. 2. p. 23.) alludes only to the great *western* or European division; he confines them strictly within the limits of Europe; and assigns to them the vast tract included between the Ural mountains and the Don as the eastern boundary, and the Borysthenes or Dnieper as their most western extension. *Ammian* seems to point to the distinction between the remoter eastern and the European Alani. "*Ibi partiti per utramque (Asiæ et Europæ) mundi partem Alani . . . per pagos, ut Nomades vaguntur,*" &c. In their habits they resembled the Huns, being in this respect altogether Asiatic and Nomadic. "The Alani," says *Ammian* (loc. cit.) "wander in hordes, like Nomades, over the vast regions of both continents. They neither build houses nor till the earth, but live upon the abundance of flesh and milk which their herds afford them. Seated in their waggon-houses, covered in with tented heads made of the bark of trees, they roam whither they like over their boundless wilds. When they arrive at a grassy spot, they draw up their carts in a circular array; and there they live and feed after the manner of wild animals; and when all the grass is consumed, they again move onward with their itinerant city of waggons. In these vehicles their children are begotten and reared . . . Driving their herds before them, they feed in common with their own cattle; but their chief care is bestowed upon the breeding and management of their horses." This description of habits and mode of life applies to almost all the Nomadic nations of central Asia. But these considerations do not, as is too generally assumed, settle the question of descent or origin. Physical conformation, form, feature, language, must be taken into account to deter-

At the approach of the storm, Hermanarich, the sovereign prince of the Greuthungi, still presided over the Ostrogothic confederacy. But age had already deprived him of that bodily activity which the crisis required, and the long possession of power had rendered him arbitrary, suspicious and cruel. By an act of brutal atrocity he had alienated the chiefs of the powerful Roxolani. A prince of that people had, upon some occasion or other, deserted his banners; the unfortunate wife of

Hermanarich
in vain opposes
the advance of
the Huns. He
dies.

mine identity or difference of race. And everything handed down to us regarding the Alani, tends to class them with the great Indo-Germanic families so widely disseminated over the western table-lands of central Asia, from the Ural mountains to the peninsula of India.

"The Alani," says Ammian, as a part of the same description, "were for the most part tall and handsome in their persons; they had fair hair, and a fierce expression of eye." Such a personal appearance as that described in this passage, is inconsistent with a Tâtaric, Turkish, or Fennic origin. *Gibbon* (vol. ii. p. 587) gets over the difficulty by supposing that such a mixture of the German and Sarmatian (Scythian or Asiatic) features took place during the connexion of the Alani with the Goths, as to improve the Tâtar physiognomy of the former, to whiten their swarthy complexion, and tinge their dark hair with yellow. But the Goths were a stationary though unstable people; the Alani continued Nomadic; and the supposed mixture is therefore a merely gratuitous conjecture.

Dr. Pfister (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 221) pronounces the Alani to have been of Teutonic descent; because, "since Peria, the grandfather of the Gothic historian Jornandes, was the *secretary* (Notarius) to Candax, the prince of the Alani, it must be presumed that the language of the Goths and Alani were the same, and that they were therefore of the same race." That their languages were derived from the same root there can be no good reason to doubt, though I should not be inclined to infer from the circumstance relied upon by Pfister, such a close similitude of idiom as to render the languages mutually intelligible. The knowledge of foreign languages, particularly Latin, was probably the qualification of Peria for his post at the court of Candax. The Gothic and Alanic branches of the great Indo-Germanic stock had been too long separated to have retained any other than a general similarity of radical tones and syllables.

The Alani, in fact, belonged to that class of Asiatic nations whom the Chinese historians distinguished from their own nation as well as from

the Turkish and Tâtaric (Mongolic) races, by precisely the same characteristic physical peculiarities as those attributed by Amm. Marcellinus to the Alani. Those Annalists distinguish six fair-haired, blue-eyed Nomadic races inhabiting principally the more western regions of the great table-land of central Asia: viz. the *Ou-Sun*, the *Chou-Le*, the *Houte*, the *Ting-Ling*, the *Kian-Kuen*, and the *Yan-Thsai* or *A-Lan-Na*, subsequently contracted into *A-Lan*. This last people became known to the Chinese about one hundred and twenty years before Christ; they describe the country they inhabited as lying about eighty or one hundred leagues to the north-westward of the Jaxartes, the northern boundary of Sogdiana, and stretching along a vast and almost boundless marsh (no doubt the Caspian Sea). In habits, usages, and dress, they resembled the inhabitants of Sogdiana, to whom they were subject, and, like them, lived in cities and towns. This part of the description applies only to the settled Alani, the *Albani* of the Greeks and Romans. In the fifth century this people stood in frequent communication with the Chinese empire; but no further mention of them occurs after the year 565 of the Christian era. See *Klaproth*, *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, &c., pp. 161, 174, and 179, Conf. Atlas to the same work, No. 5 to 10, inclusive.

Comparing this independent testimony with the incidental notices of *Suetonius* (In Domitiano, c. 1, p. 775.) and *Josephus*, (who always calls them *Αλβανοί*) and the more formal and direct evidence of *Amm. Marcell.* and *Procopius*, the identification of the *A-Lan* of the Chinese, with the *Alani* or *Albani* of the Greeks and Romans, is far more satisfactory than in any case of the same nature I have hitherto met with. It will be my duty hereafter to trace a distinction between the *western* Alani, the conquerors of Spain and Africa, and the *eastern* division of the same nation, which continued to occupy the old Caucasian and Caspian districts at least as late as the twelfth century.

the delinquent had fallen into the power of Hermanarich, and was, by order of the aged tyrant, torn limb from limb by wild horses. Her brothers Jarus and Ammius attempted to avenge the blood of their sister with their daggers; but the wounds they inflicted did not prove mortal, and for a short period, Hermanarich may have made some personal efforts to arrest the progress of the combined Huns and Alani. But finding his allies falling away, his body worn out with age and suffering, and his mind deeply depressed by the successes of his enemies, he at length expired, "old and full of days," says Jornandes, "in the hundred and tenth year of his age; and with him perished the dominion of the Ostrogothic people in Scythia." ¹⁶

A.D. 370. The struggle between the Huns and the Ostrogoths appears to have
to
A.D. 375. lasted about five years from the first appearance of the former upon the
Vithimer, his successor, continues the struggle, but is killed in battle; and frontiers of Europe. Vithimer succeeded to Hermanarich in the command of the Ostrogoths; but soon afterwards fell in battle, leaving an infant son named Vitherich to succeed him. Two chiefs, Alatheus and Saphrax, assumed the direction of affairs as guardians of the minor sovereign. But finding themselves unable to arrest the progress of the victorious Huns, they resolved to abandon the contest, and notwithstanding the long and almost total estrangement of the two races, to throw themselves upon the protection of their Visigothic kinsfolk. With this view they relinquished the regions which they had so long and so prosperously maintained, and retired to the banks of the Danaster or Tyras,¹⁷ which stream formed the boundary between the Greuthungi and Thervingii, the chief tribes of the Ostrogothic and Visigothic confederacies. Here they found Athanarich, the sovereign prince of the Visigoths, prepared to defend the passage of the river against the Huns. The accession of the Ostrogothic forces imparted confidence to his army; and, after fortifying his position, he sent forward a body of troops under two chiefs named Munderich and Lagermann, to reconnoitre in the direction in which the Huns were expected to advance. But in this, as in most other instances, the movements of those barbarians baffled the

the Ostrogoths throw themselves on the protection of the Visigoths on the banks of the Danaster.

Athanarich, king of the Visigoths, attempts to defend the pas-

¹⁶ *Jornandes*, c. xxiv. p. 204. I have preferred the account given by Jornandes of the death of Hermanarich to that of Ammian. It seems certain that Jornandes had the work of Ammian before him when he wrote his Gothic history; and in deviating from his authority in so striking an incident as the death of Hermanarich, the last and the greatest prince of the Seythian Ostrogoths, we cannot doubt that he followed a tradition prevalent among his own people differing from that adopted by Ammian.

The latter tells us that, unable to bear the contemplation of the approaching fall of his kingdom, he took refuge in a voluntary death against the impending calamity. *Lib. xxxi. c. 3. p. 674.* He notices neither the crime nor the punishment of Hermanarich.

¹⁷ The modern Dniester, a broad and deep stream which flows into the Euxine, at its north-western angle, between the mouths of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) and those of the Danube.

prescience of their opponents. Munderich and Lagermann never saw the enemy; the Huns had turned short to the right, and passing up the river, crossed it by moonlight, and now came so unexpectedly upon the Gothic army, that Athanarich lost all confidence in his position; and retreating hastily across the Pruth,¹⁸ abandoned the whole of the Greuthungic territory, the modern Bessarabia, to the enemy. During the retreat to the Pruth, he was deserted by several of the Visigothic tribes; a large detachment under two chiefs named Alavivus and Fridigern, directed their flight towards the banks of the Danube. Athanarich himself took refuge in the Bastarnian mountains which ran along the right bank of the Pruth. The Huns, who were by this time weary of slaughter and satiated with plunder, slackened their pursuit, and afforded time to Athanarich to establish a line of fortifications along the banks of the Pruth, and thus place himself in some degree of security.²⁰

sage of the river. The Huns avoid his position, and render it untenable; he retires across the Pruth.

The Gothic forces separate.

Athanarich takes refuge in the Bastarnian mountains.

Meanwhile the crowd of fugitives under Alavivus and Fridigern urged forward by fear, and attenuated by famine, assembled tumultuously upon the banks of the Danube, between its confluence with the Pruth and the coasts of the Euxine. On the opposite shore lay the fertile plains of Mœsia and Thrace, which promised plentiful pasturage for their herds, and the possession of which would place the broad Danube between them and their ruthless pursuers. Ulphila,²² the first Christian bishop of the Goths, was therefore sent at the head of an embassy to the emperor Valens to ask leave to cultivate the unoccupied lands of Mœsia and Thrace; and to promise, on behalf of his countrymen, that if they were permitted to settle within the territories of the empire, they would in all things conduct themselves as faithful subjects, and be ready to risk their lives and fortunes in its defence.²³ In making these propositions, the Goths cannot be supposed to have contemplated the sacrifice of national freedom, nor even of a separate political existence. The subjection they promised was, unquestionably, no other than that in which they themselves had so long held the subordinate members of their own league; a tie so far from implying personal servitude, that it did not even extend to civil obedience, but solely to tribute, vassalage, and probably such military services as the dominant tribe should call upon them to perform. The proud and martial spirit of the

Alavivus and Fridigern retire to the banks of the Danube, and ask leave of Valens to occupy the waste lands of Mœsia.

The Goths desire to settle as military vassals within the limits of the empire.

¹⁸ The Pruth, ancient Gerasus, once the boundary of the Roman province of Dacia. Not. Vales. ad *Amm. Marcell.* xxxi. c. 3. p. 675. *Cluv.* Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 41. *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 549, note 13.) thinks that the river Pruth divided the Ostrogothic tribe of the Greuthungi from the subject Taifales.

¹⁹ *Eunapius* in Excerpt. de Legat. p. 19. ap.

Stritterum, vol. i. p. 48.

²⁰ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 3. p. 675.

²¹ *Eunapius* (ubi supra) estimates them at 200,000 fighting men, besides women, children, &c.

²² *Sozomen*, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 7.

²³ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 4. p. 675.

nation would have preferred an honourable death in battle with the Huns, to the condition of predial or military slavery under a foreign power.²⁴

The ministers of Valens resolve to entrap the suppliant Goths into slavery,

in order to supply the wasted provinces with labourers,

and the army with recruits, without expense to the treasury.

They give orders to convey the Goths across the Danube—to disarm all, to enrol the able-bodied among the Roman armies, and to disperse the rest.

Licentious conduct of the Roman officers.

The councils of Valens were, at this juncture, directed by venal and worthless sycophants. The frontier guards on the Danube had been reduced to total inefficiency; yet the distressed condition and humble language of the Goths encouraged these ministers to entertain a scheme for entrapping that vast and warlike swarm into slavery. The deficiency of agricultural labourers in the districts which the Goths proposed to colonize had been long severely felt, and, consequently, the revenue arising from them had dwindled almost to nothing. The prospect of so prodigious a supply of labour as that to be derived from the vast numbers of the suppliants, was hailed with unreflecting joy by the interested proprietors of the wasted regions;²⁵ they revelled in anticipation of unlimited gain to themselves, and flattered the emperor with the complete restoration of the revenues of the Mæsan provinces. The army, they urged, might be supplied with recruits in such numbers, and of such a quality, as to render it invincible; and, at the same time, those vast sums²⁶ which were now annually expended in filling up its wasted ranks, might be saved to the treasury.

In conformity with these sinister views, orders were sent to the Roman commanders on the Lower Danube to transport the Goths to the southern banks, to disarm them as they arrived, and instantly to convey away all who were either too young or too old to bear arms, into Asia Minor, as hostages for the future submission of their kinsfolk. They were then directed to enrol the young and able-bodied among the Roman troops, and to disperse the rest throughout the adjacent provinces. The first step of the imperial commanders, in pursuance of these directions, was to bring over a considerable number of the youth of both sexes. While the Roman officers were absorbed in the base occupation of selecting the handsomest youths and maidens for their pleasure and profit,²⁷ many others found their way across the stream, and every fresh arrival seemed but to stimulate their cupidity. The unfortunate refugees, driven to despair by famine and continual apprehension, sacrificed person and property to the momentary consideration of safety. The men of pleasure chose the most beautiful among the wives and daughters of the fugitive Goths; the sordid and rapacious selected the most valuable articles

²⁴ Compare *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 4. p. 676, with *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 224, 225. See also *Eunapius* in *Excerpt. Legat.* p. 12. ap. *Stritt.* vol. i. p. 50.

²⁵ "Negotium lætitiæ fuit potius quam timori." *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 4. p. 676.

²⁶ "Auri cumulus magnus" is the expression of *Ammian.* *ibid.*

²⁷ "Μηδένος δὲ γενομένου ἑτέρου, πλὴν γυναικῶν εὐπροσώπων ἐπιλογῆς, καὶ παιδῶν ὠραίων εἰς αἰσχρότητα θήρας, ἢ οἰκετῶν ἢ γεωργῶν κτήσεως." *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 225.

of property, as the price of exemption from the terms prescribed by the court; all were alike intent upon procuring the greatest number of labourers for their estates, or of colonists for their deserted domains. Amid these selfish and absorbing occupations, the precautions recommended by the government for the public safety were neglected, and many Gothic warriors were permitted to retain their arms. Meanwhile a fresh alarm of the approach of the Huns had raised a phrenzy of apprehension in the minds of the mass which still remained on the opposite bank; the Roman officers began to fear that in this state of terror the whole swarm would disperse, and that they should thus be deprived of the expected advantages. They hastened therefore to supply them with every means of transport within reach. The dense multitude rushed to the water-side, they crowded the boats, or abandoned themselves to the mercy of the stream upon rafts, beams of timber, hollowed trunks of trees, or any other buoyant substance which accident might throw in their way. Many persons perished in the passage, but the great body of the people reached the opposite shore in safety, and the imperial lieutenants now became as much alarmed at the prodigious multitude of their new guests, as if they had had no opportunity of forming any previous estimate of their numbers. As they were wholly unprepared with the means of subsistence for so vast a swarm, they were obliged to abandon the project of disarming them, and the famished Goths were driven to depredation for immediate sustenance.²⁸

The precautions of the government are neglected, and

the whole multitude is permitted to cross the river.

But as the Romans are unprepared with subsistence for them, they are driven to depredation for a sustenance. Lupicinus and Maximus reduce the exiled Goths to despondency by extortion and famine.

Lupicinus the governor, and Maximus the commander of the troops in Mœsia, were foremost in the shameful game of extortion and perfidy which had hitherto been so prosperously carried on. Notwithstanding the altered aspect which affairs had assumed since the admission of the emigrants into the Roman territories, they still thought that they might contrive by art and management to fulfil the intentions of the court, without relinquishing their own projects of gain. They accordingly withheld provisions from the Goths, till a frightful famine prevailed among their stations; they then dealt out sustenance in such small quantities, and at such enormous prices, as to reduce the spirits of the many to the most abject despondency, and exhaust the means of the few who had either money or commodities to part with. Masters now sold their servants, husbands their wives, parents their children, for the vilest morsels of food.²⁹ At length the destitute tribes were permitted to move

²⁸ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 4. p. 677. *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 225. *Eunapius*, ubi sup.

²⁹ *Ammian* (lib. xxxi. c. 5. p. 678.) accuses the Romans of collecting dead dogs, and selling

the carcasses for a slave a-piece to the famished Goths. Among the slaves thus purchased, he tells us, were many daughters of chiefs.

Their eyes are opened to the designs of the Roman governors, who become alarmed.

A swarm of Ostrogoths, under Saphrax and Alatheus, cross the Danube, while the Roman troops are engaged in watching the discontented Visigoths.

The prospect of assistance revives the spirits of the latter. They arrive at Marcianopolis. Lupicinus invites Fridigern and Alavivus to a banquet; meanwhile the Goths without the city become clamorous for food;

Lupicinus puts the escort of the Gothic princes to death. The Goths assault the walls.

Alavivus and Fridigern are liberated

southwards towards the places appointed for their residence. But want and famine accompanied their march. The observations they had now the opportunity of making led them to detect the designs of their entertainers; and to perceive that their miseries had been hitherto purposely prolonged in order to swell the gains of the Roman governors. Lupicinus and Maximus became alarmed by the formidable expression of indignation which this discovery called forth, and endeavoured to intimidate and urge them forwards by an open display of force, and by surrounding them with troops on all sides.³⁰

While the Visigothic multitude of Fridigern and Alavivus were proceeding slowly in the direction of Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Mœsia, the Ostrogoths, under their leaders Saphrax and Alatheus, escorting the young king Vitherich, arrived on the banks of the Danube, and demanded a refuge and lands within the Roman territory for their people to subsist upon. The governor flatly refused their request; but as the generals had been compelled, by the consequences of their own folly and treachery, to remove the troops from the Danube to watch and coerce the injured Visigoths, the followers of Saphrax and Alatheus crossed the river upon rafts and such other floating substances as they could find, and presumed to pitch their camp on the Mœsian territory in defiance of the Roman prohibition.³¹

When the Visigoths were informed of the arrival of the kindred tribes on the right bank of the Danube, they delayed their march to afford time for the latter to join them. But the Ostrogoths did not arrive, and the host encamped before the gates of Marcianopolis. Here the governor Lupicinus invited the princes Fridigern and Alavivus to a banquet within the walls. According to barbarian custom these chiefs came attended by their ordinary retinue of armed followers. While the entertainers and their guests were drowning their faculties in wine and revelry, the famishing multitude without crowded to the suburbs to procure food; brawls and tumults arose; these were speedily followed by bloodshed; and Lupicinus, to whom the state of things was privately communicated, directed the retinues of the Gothic princes to be put to death, lest they should second the supposed designs of their countrymen in the suburbs, and deliver up the city to pillage and slaughter. The rumour of this ruthless murder, aggravated by the addition that their leaders were among the number of the slain, converted the resentment of the Goths into phrenzy. Regardless of death, they madly stormed the city walls, resolved to avenge their slaughtered princes or to perish in the attempt. The danger was removed for the present by the prompt release of Alavivus and Fridigern and their re-appearance among their enraged coun-

³⁰ *Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi. c. 6. p. 67S.*

³¹ *Amm. Marcell. ibid.*

trymen; the city and its inhabitants were saved from destruction; but this act of treachery dissolved all semblance of amity between the Roman government and the Goths; and the latter forthwith provided for their own wants, and avenged the accumulated wrongs they had sustained, by plundering the country, burning the villages, and putting the defenceless inhabitants to the sword.³²

and the city is saved; but all semblance of amity with the Romans is dissolved. The Goths ravage Mœsia.

After totally defeating Lupicinus, who had vainly attempted with inadequate forces to avert the consequences of his own mischievous policy, Frigidern crossed the Hæmus, and extended his ravages to the gates of Hadrianople, the capital of Thrace. Here he found a body of Gothic mercenaries in the Roman service, who had been for some time quartered in the neighbourhood of the city. These troops, provoked by ill-timed suspicions, and unseasonable attempts at coercion on the part of the government, joined their invading countrymen in a body, and the combined army now laid siege to Hadrianople. But the Gothic people and their chiefs were alike unskilled in the attack of fortified places: Frigidern professed himself "at peace with stone walls,"³³ and withdrew his army to the more profitable occupation of overrunning and pillaging the surrounding country. In a short time they were joined by a great many fugitive slaves of their nation, who, in the first moments of distress, had been forced to yield themselves to bondage to support life. The influx of stragglers and vagrants, consisting chiefly of Thracian miners, whom the heavy imposts charged by the government upon their precarious occupation had thrown out of employ,³⁴ contributed to swell their numbers. The perfect knowledge of the country which these persons possessed enabled them to conduct their new friends through all the intricacies of the Thracian highlands; to point out to them the concealed stores and places of refuge of the inhabitants, and thus to place the resources of the province completely at their disposal. The open country became the scene of the most revolting excesses; and, if we may trust the declamatory account of Ammian, Thrace was converted into one great charnel-house for the slaughtered inhabitants.³⁵ The cities and

They pass Mount Hæmus into Thrace.

They are joined by a body of discontented Gothic mercenaries in the service of Rome.

They besiege Hadrianople; but are repulsed.

They ravage Thrace, and reduce the province to a desert.

³² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 5. p. 679.

³³ "Pacem sibi esse cum parietibus," memorans." *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 6. pp. 682, 683.

³⁴ "Sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci, vectigalium perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves." *Amm. Marcell.* loc. mod. cit. p. 683. The principal mines of Thrace were in the neighbourhood of the town of Dathus. The Bessi, a Thracian people, exercised the trade of gold-washers. The Thracian miners are noticed in *Cod. Theodos.* lib. x. tit. xix.; "De Metallis;"

and particularly the gold-washers in *Lege 7^o*; "De Aurilegulis, &c. in Thracibus retrahendis."

³⁵ *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 282.) discredits the frightful picture of carnage and cruelty drawn by Ammian, on the ground that the barbarians could not have designedly perpetrated the total ruin of the country which they already regarded as their own, or the destruction of the useful body of subjects by whom it was cultivated. But if the vindictive passions of mobs, even in civilized ages, are rarely restrained by the most obvious considerations of their own interest, what de-

walled towns indeed enjoyed exemption from these frightful calamities ; but they owed this immunity rather to the unskilfulness of the barbarians in the art of siege, than to the numbers and discipline of the garrisons, or the valour of the inhabitants.

The emperor Valens sends the generals Trajanus and Profiturus from Asia with a body of troops to the Danube.

The western emperor, Gratian, sends Richomer with an army to their assistance.

Fridigern retraces his steps northwards, and encamps not far from Marcianopolis. A.D. 377.

The emperor Valens received the news of the disasters which had befallen his European dominions at Antioch in Syria. He hastened to conclude a peace with the Persians, and dispatched his generals Trajanus and Profiturus, with a body of troops, into Thrace, to check the progress of the Goths. These officers, instead of marching directly against the enemy, conducted their forces into Mæsia, and established themselves between the barbarians and the Danube. The emperor Gratian, meanwhile, at the request of Valens, set two corps in motion against the invaders ; the first, under the Frankish chief Richomer, was destined to reinforce Trajan and Profiturus in Mæsia ; the second, under Frigerid, the general of the German auxiliaries attached to the army of Pannonia, was directed to march into Thrace and to watch the motions of the Gothic host in that province. Richomer embarked his troops upon the Danube, and effected a junction with the generals of Valens at a place called Salices, between Tomæ and Salmuris, in Scythia Parva,³⁶ while Frigerid delayed his march into Thrace under the pretext of indisposition, and thus, no doubt, contributed to derange the plan of the campaign.

Roused from his lair in Thrace by the danger which threatened his communications with the Danube, the ferocious Fridigern called in the scattered parties of his predatory host, and, recrossing the Hæmus, took post in the vicinity of Marcianopolis. Here he fortified himself in a position, which afforded a safe deposit for the booty collected, and a secure place of retreat for his foraging detachments, while it enabled him to watch the motions of his antagonists amid security and plenty. For some time longer a war of posts and detachments occupied both parties. The Roman commanders strove to force the Goths to shift their quarters by cutting off their foraging parties and narrowing their communications, hoping that, in the confusion of removal, an opportunity might present itself of striking a decisive blow. In a country so exhausted as Mæsia, the Goths could not have long maintained a defensive position. Fridigern, therefore, called in all his detachments, and finding his Goths

gree of forbearance can we expect from an infuriated and sanguinary rabble of barbarian warriors ?

³⁶ See the note of *Volesius ad Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 7. p. 684. (note c.) The movements of the armies are exceedingly difficult to collect both from the account of Ammian and that of

Zosimus. It is not indeed expressly said that Richomer sailed down the Danube to effect his junction with Trajan and Profiturus ; but as the river was open, and the advantage it afforded too obvious to be neglected, we may be confident that the Romans availed themselves of it on this, as on former occasions.

clamorous for the combat, no longer avoided a general battle. As if by common consent, both armies put themselves in motion at the same moment. The Romans advanced shouting the loud *Barritus* or Germanic war-cry, adopted from their barbarian auxiliaries; the Goths struck up bardic lays and invocations of the deified Anses, and both armies rushed to the encounter with equal courage and animosity. A huge club, hardened by fire, and wielded with extraordinary strength, was the principal weapon of the Goths. In its descent it shattered the feeble bucklers of the Romans, and committed fearful havoc among their crowded ranks. The Roman left wing was broken, and with difficulty saved from destruction by the timely aid of the troops posted in its rear. No decisive advantage had been obtained by either party up to the time when darkness put an end to mutual carnage. Both armies retired to their camps to count and to deplore their losses. But on the morning after the battle the Roman leaders withdrew their forces within the walls of Marcianopolis, leaving their dead unburied upon the field.³⁷

After some delay the hostile armies come to a general engagement.

After an indecisive but sanguinary battle both parties withdraw from the field. But on the following day the Romans take refuge in Marcianopolis.

Though the issue of the battle of Marcianopolis was upon the whole unfavourable to the Romans, the movements of Richomer and Trajan up to that time had had the effect of drawing away the Goths from Thrace, and concentrating them to the northward of the Hæmus. Frigerid, with the Pannonian army, had in the meantime advanced into Thrace, and endeavoured to close the passes of the mountains against the Goths, hoping by these means to confine them within the exhausted regions of Mœsia. But Fridigern, disembarassed for the present from the enemy in his front, moved the whole host southwards, forced the passage of the mountains, and cut to pieces a considerable detachment of the Roman army which had presumed to oppose his progress near Dibaltum on the river Panisus.³⁸ From this spot he detached a body of Ostrogothic and Visigothic emigrants, mixed with Scythian Taifales, who had lately joined him under a chief named Farnobius, to watch the Roman forces of Frigerid. The latter, reinforced by the general of cavalry Saturninus, took post near Beræa in southern Thrace. Yielding, however, to the impetuosity of the Goths, he retired slowly and deliberately towards the Illyrian passes. The barbarian detachment, rendered rash and confident by their late successes, neglected all caution, and afforded their vigilant enemy an opportunity of inclosing them in the gorges of the mountains, and killing or capturing the entire army. Farnobius fell in the battle; the survivors were conveyed into Italy, and settled as colonists or predial

Another Roman corps, under Frigerid, advances into Thrace, and attempts to close the passes of the Hæmus against Fridigern.

But Fridigern, apprehensive of being confined to the desolated province of Mœsia, forces the passes, and destroys a Roman detachment. Frigerid is pursued by Farnobius with a mixed army of Goths and Taifales.

He defeats and kills Farnobius, and captures the survivors.

³⁷ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. cc. 7 and 8. p. 687. The battle of Marcianopolis was fought in the year 377. *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 283. See also *Art de Vér. les Dates*, vol. i. p. 358. Gratiano iv. et

Merobaude Coss.

³⁸ Probably not far from the modern Boghaz-pass, south of Shumla.

tures the whole
army.

Nevertheless
Fridigern
maintains
himself in
Thrace.
Valens is de-
tained in the
East, Gratian
in the West, by
an irruption of
the Lentiensian
Alemanni,
A.D. 378.

whom he de-
feats and hum-
bles.

slaves in the districts of Modena, Reggio and Parma. "Thus," says Mascou, "Italy admitted into her bosom one colony after another of those very barbarians who were so soon to become her masters."³⁹

The state of affairs in Thrace was not much improved by this success. The intrepid Fridigern maintained his hold upon that province; Valens was still detained in the East, and Gratian was deeply engaged in repelling a dangerous invasion of the Lentiensian Alemanni in the west. Since the expedition of Arbetio in the year 354⁴⁰ nothing is heard of this tribe. It is improbable that between that period and the fourth year of the reign of Gratian, they should have altogether abstained from hostilities against the neighbouring provinces of Rætia and Gaul. Though their name does not occur in the narratives of the wars of Julian and Valentinian with the Alemannic races, it can hardly be doubted but that they took a share in some one or more of the wars of Vadomar or Vithicab or Macrianus. Be this as it may, no sooner was it rumoured among the Alemannic cantons of the modern Lenzgau that Gratian was upon the eve of marching with the greater part of his army to the assistance of his colleague Valens, than they issued suddenly from their forests in mid-winter of the year 378. Gratian immediately recalled the detachments which were already on their march into Pannonia. Meanwhile the barbarians had failed in an attempt to cross the Rhine upon the ice,⁴¹ and the emperor gained time to obtain the assistance of Mellobaudes, a prince of the Franks, then, as ever, the hereditary enemies of the Alemannic race. The vindictive impetuosity of Mellobaudes hurried him into a premature engagement with the enemy, in which he suffered so severe a check, that, but for the prompt advance of Gratian to his succour with the main body of the Roman army, his whole force, including a Roman corps under Nannenus, must have been overwhelmed and destroyed. As it was, the Alemanni, whose military array was broken by their first success, commenced a confused retreat in the presence of a superior enemy, and suffered so severe a defeat, that out of the forty thousand men, to which number their army is said to have amounted, scarcely five thousand escaped death or captivity.⁴² This victory was gained near a place called Argentaria⁴³ in the modern district of Alsace. Gratian

³⁹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 9. p. 659. *Mascou*, book vii. c. 22. *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 285.

⁴⁰ See chap. viii. sect. 2. p. 257 of this Hist.

⁴¹ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 10. p. 690. compared with *Pfister's* exposition (*Geschich. von Schwaben*, vol. i. p. 89.). *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 287.) supposes them to have made good the passage, but to have been subsequently driven back.

⁴² *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 10. p. 690.

⁴³ Most ancient geographers place Argentaria upon the site of the modern city of Colmar in Alsace, and identify it with the Argentaria or Argentuaria of Ptolemy, a town of the Tribocci, noticed in the Itinerary of Antonine; and in the *Tab. Peutingeriana* (Segm. II. C.) under the name of 'Argentouaria.' If we suppose the settlements of the Lentiensian Alemanni to have been to the south of the Lake of Constance and in the modern Lenzgau, they must on this occa-

pursued the fugitives to their mountains ; but here he met with so fierce a resistance that he determined to abandon the contest ; and to grant peace to the Alemanni upon condition that they should furnish him with a body of auxiliary troops. He then marched with the utmost dispatch through Rhætia to the Danube, where he embarked the army, and in a few days reached *Castra Martis* on the confines of *Dacia Ripensis*.⁴⁴

While Gratian was still engaged with the Alemanni, Valens had quitted Antioch and arrived at Constantinople. But here the public dissatisfaction manifested itself so offensively that, after a sojourn of a few days only,⁴⁵ he quitted the capital, and retired to a country palace at a short distance from the city. Here he devolved the command of the infantry upon Sebastianus, an officer of high reputation, whom Gratian had sent into the East at the special request of his colleague.⁴⁶ Valens then advanced to Nice, a town which lay not far from Hadrianople, where he learnt that the Goths, after plundering the rich Rhodopæan districts, had retired to Beroëa and Nicopolis, and were there hastily concentrating their dispersed forces.⁴⁷

While Gratian is occupied by this war, Valens arrives in Constantinople,

where he collects his forces.

The army with which Valens was about to encounter the active and hardy Goths had been too long quartered in the Asiatic provinces, not to have contracted many of the dissolute and enervating habits of the East. Sebastian found the discipline of the troops so seriously impaired, as to render it necessary to introduce a system of greater severity, and in the meantime to abstain from any decisive operations. With these views, he contented himself with watching the movements of the enemy, exercising his raw troops by a war of posts, cutting off stragglers and foraging parties, and confining their ravages to the narrowest possible limits. As discipline gradually revived, he accustomed the soldiers to more frequent encounters, and, on one occasion, cut to pieces a considerable detachment of Goths whom he found carelessly encamped on the banks of the Hebrus.⁴⁸ But both his credit at court and his popularity with the army had suffered by the severity of his reforms. Valens himself appears to have withdrawn his confidence ; and from that moment jealousy and resentment, presumption and folly, outbid each other in the councils of the unfortunate prince.

His army is in a state of indiscipline and insubordination. The master-general Sebastian introduces reforms,

but forfeits his credit at court, and his popularity with the army by his severity.

Valens, it is said, had not yet cordially forgiven his nephew Gratian

sion have either twice crossed the Rhine, or have passed round the bend of the river, by way of Vindonissa and Augusta Rauracorum, into Alsace.

⁴⁴ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. cc. 10 and 11. pp. 693, 694.

⁴⁵ *Zonaras.* tom. ii. pp. 33, 34. ap. *Stritterum*, vol. i. p. 54. According to *Socrates*, (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 31.) he arrived on the

III Cal. Jun. Ipso vi. et Valentin. ii. Coss., and left the city again on the III Id. Jun. which would comprise a space of thirteen days.

⁴⁶ Thus *Amm. Marcell.* loc. mod. cit. But *Zosimus* (lib. iv. p. 228.) says that Sebastian had quitted the court of Gratian in disgust.

⁴⁷ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 11. p. 693.

⁴⁸ *Zosim.* lib. iv. pp. 228, 229. *Amm. Marcell.* ubi sup.

for having, without his concurrence, shared the throne of the West with his younger brother Valentinian. It is even insinuated that his chief motive for introducing the fugitive Goths into the empire had been the criminal hope of dethroning his colleague by their aid, and of acquiring the undivided dominion of the Roman world. Another source of estrangement may be traced to a difference of religious opinion. According to the account of St. Ambrose, the emperor Valens was zealously attached to the Arian sect, while Gratian adhered no less firmly to the Catholic doctrine and party.⁴⁹ The throne of the former was at the same time besieged by a host of designing sycophants who subsisted upon the passions and caprices of their unfortunate master. Stimulated, on the one hand, by the enemies of Sebastian, and stung on the other by the late victories of his junior colleague, he determined by one great effort to erase the memory of his own ill-success, and to eclipse the rising glories of his rival Gratian. Meanwhile Sebastian, who from his advanced position and military experience, possessed the best means of computing the chances of a general action, strongly advocated dilatory measures. The army, he said, was not sufficiently advanced in discipline to encounter a superior enemy in the field without extreme hazard; a battle, he thought, should at all events be avoided; and he proposed a plan for so completely exhausting the resources of the enemy by a cautious and desultory system of warfare, as to reduce them to the alternative of surrendering to the Romans, or of recrossing the Danubé, and throwing themselves once more in the way of their deadly enemies the Huns.⁵⁰

Valens rejects the remonstrances of Gratian at the instigation of his courtiers.

This salutary advice, it is probable, rather stimulated than restrained the headlong purpose of Valens. Dreaming of the utter extirpation of the Goths, he moved up the whole army to the walls of Hadrianople. Here he was met by Richomer with a message from Gratian, requesting a short delay to afford him an opportunity of sharing the dangers and the glory of his colleague, and imploring him not to throw away a certain victory by hazarding single-handed a general battle against a more numerous enemy. Victor, the general of his cavalry, concurred with Richomer in combating the rash scheme of the courtiers; but Valens turned a deaf ear alike to the intelligence of Sebastian, the remonstrances of Gratian, and the councils of Richomer and Victor. The decline of Sebastian's credit restored that of the displaced generals, Trajan and Profuturus; at the same time the sordid and licentious Lupicinus and Maximus again crept back into influence, and the fate of the empire was made to depend upon the issue of a court-cabal. The required delay was rejected by these men, because it was the measure of their opponents,

⁴⁹ See the note (f) of *Valesius ad Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 12. p. 695.

⁵⁰ *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 230. *Comp. Amm. Marcell.* ubi sup.

and because their own fortunes depended upon flattering the momentary inclinations of the sovereign. They therefore advised an immediate attack upon the enemy; the barbarians, they declared, were already more than half vanquished, and they assured the emperor that he might go forth as to a certain and easy victory.⁵¹

And at this moment the situation of the Gothic army, if in fact the courtiers were acquainted with it at all, might have given some colour to these triumphant anticipations. The judicious measures of Sebastian had compelled Fridigern to call in all his detachments, and to take up a defensive position near the town of Calybë.⁵² But it was obvious that, in so concentrated and restricted a situation, he could not hope to support his multitudes for any length of time, and that a battle had become indispensable as much to obviate the dangerous consequences of a junction between Gratian and Valens, as to enable him once more to command the resources of the country for the maintenance of his army. In this state of embarrassment, the conduct of Fridigern indicates an extraordinary acquaintance both with the temper of his adversary, and the state of parties in the imperial court. His position at Calybë, however unfavourable for a permanent defensive station, afforded him the command of an excellent field of battle, overlooking an open and extensive plain, where no movement of the enemy could escape his observation. The position was at the same time strong enough to enable him to choose his own time for giving battle, provided his adversaries could be induced to seek it upon the field he had himself selected. With the view of enticing him to this spot, he affected timidity, and sent an embassy, consisting of persons of no note, to the camp of Valens, with an humble request for secure settlements and a maintenance for himself and his followers. A Christian priest was at the head of the embassy; this person, after delivering his ostensible message, privately placed a letter from Fridigern in the hands of the emperor, in which the former, after assuring him of his own friendly disposition and anxiety for peace, observed that it rested with the emperor to improve that disposition; but that, in order to secure the acquiescence of his stubborn followers, it was necessary to make such an imposing display of the forces of the empire as might abate their confidence, and restore his own control over them. He added, that no step could be

The difficulty of finding sustenance for his multitudes induces Fridigern to wish for a battle before a junction between Valens and Gratian should take place.

He contrives to entice Valens to a field of battle of his own choice.

⁵¹ *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 230. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 12. p. 695.

⁵² Modern geographers have not assigned a place in their maps to the Thracian town of Calybë. I was disappointed in not finding the

Calybë of Strabo (lib. xvii.) in Mr. Cramer's beautiful map of Greece. From the context of Ammian, I should place it some eight or ten miles to the north of Hadrianople.

more conducive to this desirable object, than an immediate and imposing display of the whole imperial army to the front of the Gothic position at Calybë.

Valens deposits his baggage and treasure in Hadrianople,

and presents himself more promptly than was expected in front of the Gothic position.

In order to gain time, Frigidern sets on foot a negotiation with Valens. The emperor dismisses his envoys. He feigns a wish to negotiate in person, and asks a hostage for his safety.

The Frankish general Richomer offers to become the hostage.

During the suspension of hostilities his detachments have gained time to rejoin him.

9th Aug.
A.D. 378.

The Gothic envoys were indeed dismissed without a reply; but the fiction of Frigidern had produced the intended impression. Valens deposited his heavy baggage, the imperial treasure, and the whole court equipage, under the protection of the walls of Hadrianople. A forced march of eight miles, under a scorching sun, and over a rugged and broken country, brought his troops, particularly the cavalry, much fatigued and not a little disordered, within sight of the vast inclosure of the Gothic camp. The army was immediately drawn up in order of battle. As soon as Frigidern had received intelligence that the Romans were moving forwards, he had sent out his Ostrogothic confederates, under Saphrax and Alatheus, to set fire to the standing corn and brushwood to the windward of the enemy, in the hope of distressing them on their march by the smoke and heat which the conflagration would occasion. But the impetuosity of the Romans had outstripped his most sanguine expectations, and he became anxious to gain time for his allies to rejoin him. He therefore sent messengers to Valens once more to repeat his intreaties for peace; but the emperor dismissed them with the intimation, that if he was sincere in his professions he would renew his application through persons of becoming rank and dignity. Frigidern replied with crafty promptitude, that he would come himself, if a person of corresponding importance were but sent to his camp as a hostage for his safety. Valens adopted the proposal, and a courtier, named Æquitius, the minister of the imperial palace, was chosen for the perilous duty. But Æquitius alleging that he had, by his previous conduct, incurred the special resentment of the Goths, declined placing himself in their power. The Frankish chief, Richomer, then offered to undertake the dangerous office, under the conviction, as we may fairly infer, that any personal sacrifice which might prevent or delay a conflict from which, in the present state of the army, nothing but disaster could be anticipated, was equally, with the active exertions of the field, within the duty of a brave and devoted soldier.⁵³

While Richomer was on his way to the camp of the enemy, accompanied by a proper escort, and bearing before him the insignia of his rank as master-general of the infantry, Frigidern had already obtained the advantage which had made him anxious for delay. Alatheus and Saphrax, with their detachment, had returned to the camp, and the Gothic army stood in well-ordered battle-array ready for the

⁵³ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 12. p. 697.

combat. At this moment a body of Roman archers and targeteers, under two officers, named Barcurius and Cassio, broke from the line of battle and attacked the enemy. By this movement of insubordinate impetuosity the order of battle was deranged: Alatheus and Saphrax, strengthened by a body of Alanic confederates, bore down upon the disordered ranks of the Romans; the battle became general, and the whole line waved to and fro with every vicissitude of the conflict. Meanwhile the Roman left wing, consisting principally of cavalry, had penetrated to the Gothic waggon bulwark; but here their progress was suddenly arrested, and, finding themselves unsupported, they became panic-stricken, took to flight, and exposed the flanks of the infantry to the charges of the elated enemy. The Roman ranks became compressed and crowded together, a situation most unfavourable to that freedom and elasticity of motion so necessary to an army which depends upon the use of the sword in close combat.⁵⁴ By the flight of the cavalry the enemy were enabled to avail themselves of their superior numbers; and they enveloped the Roman infantry so completely that they had neither space to fight nor to fly. The bravest strove to sell their lives as dearly as they could; others slew one another that they might not fall into the merciless hands of the Goths; a few, favoured by chance, or their own strength and activity, escaped the carnage. The able Sebastian, the generals Trajan, Æquitius, and Valerianus, with thirty-five tribunes, and more than two-thirds of the army, perished on the field. Richomer, Saturninus, and Victor, gained time to withdraw a part of the troops under their command, and were thus enabled to rally a portion of the fugitives under the walls of Hadrianople.⁵⁵

Amid the distraction of defeat, the emperor Valens had gallantly maintained the dignity of the purple. His body-guard had fallen around him almost to a man; when seen for the last time upon the field of battle, he was observed making a desperate attempt to cut his way through the enemy towards a battalion of infantry which was still bravely defending itself against overwhelming numbers. He fell; but his body, like that of his equally unfortunate predecessor Decius,⁵⁶ was not afterwards found. A report gained credit that he had been borne from the field severely wounded, by a few attendants, and conveyed to a country house hard by, whither he was pursued by the Goths; the latter, it was said, irritated by the desperate defence of his followers, set fire to the house and burnt it to the ground; the wounded emperor and his

A premature attack of the Romans breaks off the negotiation, disorders their own line, and exposes them to the charge of the Ostrogoths under Alatheus and Saphrax.

The Roman cavalry deserts the infantry.

The latter is pressed in upon and surrounded by the Goths; and at length totally defeated and cut to pieces.

The generals Sebastian, Trajan, Æquitius, and Valerianus, with more than two-thirds of the army, perish in the field. Richomer, Saturninus, and Victor, rally the remnant under the walls of Hadrianople. The emperor Valens, after doing his duty as a soldier, is supposed to have been killed in an attempt to quit the field, but his body is not found. He is reported to have been burnt by the Goths, with all his followers,

⁵⁴ The danger of Cæsar's army in the battle with the Nervii arose principally from this circumstance. See chap. i. sec. 3. p. 49. of this

History.

⁵⁵ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 13. p. 698.

⁵⁶ Chap. vi. sec. 1. p. 212. of this History.

in a small house near the field of battle.

The Goths immediately advanced to Hadrianople; and in the hope of capturing the treasures known to be deposited in the city, boldly attempt to storm the ramparts.

They are repulsed after a contest which lasts two days.

Fridigern raises the siege of Hadrianople, and advances to the gates of the capital :

defenders perishing in the flames. A single soldier, it was added, dropped from a window, and by him the Goths were informed of the inestimable prize of which their own impatience had deprived them.⁵⁷

Immediately after the battle the victors pushed for Hadrianople, hoping, in the first confusion and terror of defeat, to make themselves masters of the city, with all the treasures it contained. They assailed the walls with unparalleled fury and perseverance. A body of Roman soldiers basely deserted their posts, and made an effort to join the victorious Goths; but the latter mistook their intentions, and cut them down to the last man before the eyes of their distressed and wavering comrades. This incident had the effect of convincing the defenders that no quarter was to be expected from these frantic savages; they redoubled their exertions, while an opportune storm of rain and thunder somewhat relaxed the ardour of the assailants. Night at length put an end to the combat, and afforded time for completing the arrangements for the defence. In vain did Fridigern attempt to restrain his headstrong countrymen from squandering their lives upon stone walls; on the following morning the Goths again stormed the ramparts with unabated impetuosity. But the military engines of the besieged now crushed and swept them away by hundreds; throughout the day they persevered in these hopeless efforts, till their fury became extinguished in their own blood; and they retired at nightfall, amid sullen discontent and mutual reproaches, to their camp.⁵⁸

The repulse before Hadrianople tempered, without abating, the confidence of Fridigern and his troops. Avoiding the walled towns, his swarms deluged the southern districts of Thrace, and advanced to the walls of Constantinople, where, in the phrase of Ammian, "they shook the bolts of the city-gates." If the Gothic chief ever seriously entertained the project of besieging the capital, the extraordinary strength and extent of the walls, and the preparations for defence he there witnessed, soon dissipated the vision. The Roman historians attribute the retreat of the barbarians in part to the extraordinary tactics and ferocity of a body of Arab or Saracen mercenary cavalry, which Valens had brought with him from Asia, and placed in garrison at Constantinople. These savage warriors are depicted to us as resembling the Huns in their military habits; but better mounted, and their demeanour even more ferocious

⁵⁷ This person, adds *Ammian* (lib. xxxi. c. 14.), afterwards escaped from captivity, and reported to his countrymen the occurrence he had witnessed. The emperor Valens perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of

his reign. The battle of Hadrianople was fought on the 9th of August, A. D. 378. *Art de Vér. les Dates*, vol. i. p. 396. Compare *Stritterus*, vol. i. p. 53.

⁵⁸ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 15. p. 707.

than that of the Tatar races. The fleetness of the Arab horse gave them advantages which the Goths well knew how to value, and were accustomed to dread. These squadrons issued fearlessly from the city, harassing the flanks of the enemy, cutting off his detachments, intimidating him by the suddenness of their onset, by the almost incredible barbarity with which they mangled the bodies of the slain, and by the wonderful facility with which they eluded the blows of their adversaries.⁵⁹

Abandoning therefore all further designs against the capital, Frigidern seized upon the unguarded passes into Illyricum, and spread devastation from the shores of the Bosphorus to the foot of the Julian Alps. In the interim, Victor, the gallant defender of Hadrianople, had traversed Thrace at great hazard with a small body of cavalry, and communicated to Gratian the news of the defeat and death of Valens. The western emperor is said to have received the intelligence with indifference.⁶⁰ The increasing difficulties of his own situation rendered it impossible to do anything at present towards the liberation of the Danubian and Thracian provinces, or even to promise much for the future. Sarmatians, Quadi, and Markmannen, were ravaging Pannonia in his rear; and the Rhenish nations were again in arms, and threatening the frontier cities of Gaul. In this emergency he determined to devolve the honours and hazards of that difficult duty upon Theodosius, a native of Callæciæ Cauca in Spain, and the son of a distinguished officer of the same name. On the 19th of January, in the year 379, Theodosius was proclaimed emperor at Sirmium in Pannonia, and solemnly invested with the government of the eastern provinces. Gratian withdrew into Gaul to resist the progress of barbaric invasion in that quarter of the empire.⁶¹

but retires without attempting to besiege the city. He overruns Thrace, advances into Illyricum, and spreads his ravages to the foot of the Julian Alps.

A.D. 379. Gratian, after learning the death of Valens, elevates Theodosius to the purple; and intrusts him with the government of the eastern provinces.

The task which now devolved upon Theodosius seemed to transcend the scope of any single mind, or the strength of any single arm. The events of his reign will impart a very distinct notion of the impression produced upon the vital powers of the state by the incessant assaults of the Teutonic races, and account for that gradual estrangement of interests

The task of defending those districts is facilitated by the inhabi-

⁵⁹ *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 227.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 16. p. 708. "On one occasion," Ammian tells us, "a squadron of these Saracens sallied from the city against a dense body of the barbarians (Goths); after a long contest both parties separated without advantage on either side. But in the end the eastern warriors obtained the victory by a novel and unheard-of deed: one of their number, namely, with long streaming hair and naked to the waist, uttering a shrill and dismal yell, suddenly plunged, with his drawn dagger, into the thickest of the enemy,

and having stabbed one of them in the neck, threw himself upon him, and attaching his lips to the wound, greedily sucked the blood of his victim: by which deed of monstrous ferocity the barbarians were so terrified that they never after that showed themselves so bold as they had previously done, but made their advances with more caution."

⁶⁰ *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 231.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* loc. mod. cit. *Socrates*, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 6.

lity of the
Goths to mas-
ter the walled-
towns;

whereby the
Goths are dis-
abled from
maintaining
their hold upon
the districts
overrun by
them. They
are deficient in
unity of plan
and operation.

The elevation
of Theodosius
imparts confi-
dence to the
subject.

Asia Minor is
saved from
ravage and
ruin by the
massacre of the
Gothic hos-
tages and set-
tlers in that
region.

A.D. 379.

and connexion between the two great divisions of the empire, which contributed so mainly to accelerate the ruin and extinction of the western moiety. Yet there were not wanting circumstances which, under the able management of a ruler like Theodosius, served for a time to avert impending dissolution, and to impart a unity of effort, without which no human power could have delayed the catastrophe for a single generation. The most prominent, perhaps, of these circumstances was, the inability of the invaders to master a single walled-town, if defended with ordinary skill and courage. The towns therefore afforded a sure asylum to the people of the country, and safe rallying places for the defeated forces of the empire. The total inexperience of the barbarians in the art of attacking fortified places deprived them of a secure basis of operations, by preventing them from fixing their grasp upon any given district, or even any single station from which they might advance, or to which they might retire. Their migratory habits; the want of unity of command, of plan and of execution; their internal dissensions and differences of views and projects, imparted to their invasions the character of a pestilence,—which, however destructive, is temporary in its very nature—rather than of a conquest so permanent as to sever the ties of government and alter the condition of the people. The elevation of Theodosius to the throne imparted confidence to the subject by checking the rule of favouritism, venality and oppression. About the same time the empire was delivered from a peril immediately arising out of the misdeeds of the former sovereign and his ministers. The Gothic prisoners, of both sexes, who had been carried away by the Romans in the year 376,⁶² as hostages for the fidelity of the nation, and by them stationed in the Trans-Taurian regions of Asia Minor, under the superintendence of a magister militiæ named Julius, conspired with the descendants of those Gothic tribes, who, at a much earlier period, had acquired settlements in those regions,⁶³ to deliver themselves from

⁶² At the time of the passage of the Danube. See p. 324. of this section.

⁶³ Probably during the invasions which took place between the years 255 and 270. See chap. vi. sect. 1. of this History. It is not indeed expressly affirmed by Zosimus, that such a communion of purpose existed between the new-comers and the old settlers. But since only three years (the interval between 376 and 379) had elapsed since the children (*puerulos, παῖδας εἰς ἡβην οὕτω προσελθόντας*) of the Goths had been taken from their parents, no great numbers of them could have become qualified by age and experience to plan and conduct the extensive

conspiracy imputed to them by Zosimus (lib. iv. p. 234.). Ammian, indeed, imputes no conspiracy at all,—he describes and justifies the massacre as a measure of policy and expediency (lib. xxxi. c. 16. p. 708.). He likewise places it at least a twelvemonth earlier than Zosimus, which still further narrows the time, and increases the improbability just adverted to. I feel therefore persuaded that the conspiracy (in itself a very probable event) was the work of the older settlers, in conjunction, perhaps, with a small number of the new-comers, and irritated by complaints of their kidnapped countrymen.

Roman bondage. As soon as Julius obtained information of this design, and permission could be obtained from the senate of Constantinople, secret orders were issued to the officers in charge of the exiles to convoke them all on one and the same day, in the market-places of the several towns in which they were quartered, under the pretence of distributing to them money and lands for their support. At the same time soldiers were concealed in the adjoining houses;—the barbarians fell into the snare, and were butchered to the last man.

By this summary method of prevention, Asia Minor was saved from the fate of Mœsia and Thrace. The expediency upon which Ammian defends the measure cannot be called in question,⁶⁴ since no additional provocation could add much to the overflowing indignation which the sordid and faithless policy of the Romans had already excited in the minds of the barbarians. Theodosius, who, after his instalment in the empire, had taken up his abode in Thessalonica, is said to have obtained important advantages over them.⁶⁵ At all events the Gothic force was now enfeebled by divisions. While Fridigern, with his Visigoths, laid waste Thessaly, Epirus and Achaia, the Ostrogoths, under Alatheus and Saphrax, penetrated into Pannonia. Gratian disengaged himself for the moment from his Frankish and Vandalic opponents in Germany to meet the more urgent danger which threatened him on the Illyrian frontier. Meanwhile the storm of vindictive feeling which had hitherto hurried on the Gothic people to the extermination of the Roman name had spent its rage; some, it is true, still remembered the oaths which they had sworn in the hour of wrath;⁶⁶ but the majority was anxious to secure present advantages, and leisure to enjoy the fruits of their unparalleled sufferings and labours. When therefore Gratian evinced a

Theodosius obtains advantage over the Goths. They divide their forces.

Gratian marches against Alatheus and Saphrax in Pannonia; the Goths are inclined to peace.

⁶⁴ *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 16. p. 709. In taking leave of this historian I may be allowed to remark that, though he is often turgid and wordy, and sometimes obscure, the pains it costs fully to comprehend his meaning is generally rewarded. He is richer in facts than Zosimus; and, though not so smooth a writer, he is greatly superior in candour and right feeling. The quarto edit. of his works by Gronovius (Lugd. Batav. 1693. Peter vander Aa) contains a great body of useful geographical and historical notes.

⁶⁵ *Idatius* (In fastis ad Ann. 379) says that "victories were announced over the Goths, Huns and Alani." Similar hints are in *Socrates* (Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 6.) and *Sozomen* (Hist.

Eccles. lib. viii. c. 4.). A strange story is told by *Zonaras*, (ap. *Stritt.* vol. i. p. 55.) a writer of the twelfth century, of a great victory obtained by Theodosius over the Goths, and of an interview between him and Gratian which followed it. But this achievement is noticed neither by Zosimus, the detractor, nor by Eunapius, the panegyrist of Theodosius, and seems in itself wholly unworthy of credit.

⁶⁶ "These oaths," says *Eunapius*, (ap. *Stritt.* vol. i. p. 56.) "were of the most inhuman description, binding them to the commission of every species of cruelty, and justifying every fraud and device and stratagem, by which to circumvent and destroy their enemies, until they should have conquered the whole empire."

Gratian concludes a treaty with the Ostrogoths; he cedes Mœsia and a part of Pannonia to them as military vassals of the empire. Theodosius makes a peace with the Visigoths upon similar terms.

disposition to concession, a treaty was soon concluded, by which they were put in possession of the whole of Mœsia and a part of Pannonia: a large donation in money, and an ample supply of provisions for present wants were added; in return for which they agreed to regard themselves as vassals of the empire, and to yield all such military services as should be required of them.⁶⁷

While these events were passing in Pannonia, Frigidern died in Thessaly, and Theodosius himself was brought to the brink of the grave by a severe disorder. When, contrary to the expectations of his friends, he had shaken off the malady, he gladly accepted and ratified the treaty entered into by Gratian; and dispatched the consul Saturninus to the court of Athanarich,—whose influence among his countrymen had been restored by the removal of the more fortunate Frigidern,—to negotiate with that prince upon similar terms. No material difficulty seems to have occurred to impede the treaty; and as soon as it was concluded, Athanarich accepted the emperor's invitation to visit the imperial capital, and cement their friendship by personal intercourse.

Athanarich visits Theodosius at Constantinople. Jan. 25th A.D. 381.

He is received with the highest honours; but dies a few days after his arrival.

His subjects attach them-

The aged prince, according to the custom of the Goths, came to Constantinople with a numerous retinue; as the train advanced towards the metropolis they treated the country, they had so lately pillaged without mercy, as sacred ground. "They seemed," says the orator Themistius, "to have been suddenly transformed from the bitterest enemies to the most devoted friends." Theodosius went out to meet his guest, surrounded by all the pomp and splendour of the empire. And when, not many days after his arrival in the capital, the "time-honoured" monarch of the Visigoths breathed his last, Theodosius performed his obsequies with the utmost magnificence. The death of Athanarich left his subjects at liberty to make their choice between a life of independent activity and the profitable service of the empire. Theodosius prevailed upon them to renew the compact which had subsisted,—with the exception of a short interruption in the year 367, and the late destructive war,—since the age of Constantine the Great;⁶⁸ the entire body of the Visi-

⁶⁷ *Jornandes*, c. 27. p. 205. *Zosimus* (lib. iv. p. 246.) expends himself in vituperation of Theodosius; he mistakes the Rhine for the Danube; he brings Frigidern, Alatheus and Saphrax from the interior of Germany, and makes them force Gratian to open a way for them into Pannonia and Mœsia, in order to get rid of their molestations!

⁶⁸ See c. vi. sec. 3. p. 233, 4. During a period

of seventy years the peace was not interrupted for more than eight, or, at the utmost, ten years. For the greater part of that time the Goths and Romans were either in actual alliance, or, at least, in the habits of friendly intercourse, which was not a little promoted by the introduction of Christianity (in the Arian form) among the barbarians.

gothic warriors transferred their allegiance and services to the empire, and became attached to the Roman armies with the honourable title of "confederates."⁶⁹

The Roman purple had been almost at all times regarded as a prize to be fought for by those whom courage, or talent, or capacity for intrigue had placed within the sphere of ambitious hope. In the year 383, Maximus, an officer who had served under Theodosius in Britain, assumed the diadem in that province, and by the help of the British legions, succeeded in mastering Gaul and putting the emperor Gratian to death.⁷⁰ The state of the eastern provinces compelled Theodosius for the moment to acknowledge the usurper as his colleague.⁷¹ Maximus retained the imperial dignity for a period of five years, and during that time became involved in a war with the Franks under their dukes Genobaudes, Marcomer and Sunno. But before it was brought to a conclusion, the threatening movements of Theodosius called him into Pannonia, to maintain a contest for life and empire against the powers of the East, now strengthened by the formidable Gothic confederates under their chiefs Alaric, Gainas, and Saul. After a short contest and several successive defeats, Maximus was taken prisoner near Aquileia and put to death;⁷² and Theodosius remained without colleague or rival, the sole supporter of the feeble Colossus of Rome. But this solitary greatness was not suited to the debilitated state of the empire, the decay

selves to the empire as military vassals, under the title of "confederates."

Maximus rebels in Britain; makes himself master of Gaul, and puts the emperor Gratian to death. A.D. 383.

Theodosius marches against him with the Gothic confederates. He defeats him and puts him to death.

⁶⁹ They did not intend to be confounded with the *subjects* of the empire; and therefore adopted this name to preserve the distinction between vassalage and subjection. The word *vassalage* indeed expresses the only kind of subjection intelligible to the Teutonic races. By it the superior acquired a right to command the military services of the inferior to any extent, and to require inviolable fidelity to his cause and person at all times; while, on the other hand, the chief was bound to provide him with support and maintenance, and to cherish him by all the means which fortune might throw into his power. Such, beyond a doubt, was the understanding with which the Teutonic Goths attached themselves to the empire on the several occasions already referred to, and others which will be noticed hereafter,—and such, as it seems to me, was the moral mould in which all their political institutions, the feudal system in particular, were afterwards cast. The Romans appear, in general, either to have disregarded, or wholly misapprehended, the terms of compact in their transactions with the nations of Germany. The government could not throw off its despotical maxims; in peace it too often con-

founded vassals with subjects—in war, confederates with auxiliaries.

As authorities for the facts in the above paragraph of the text, the reader is referred to *Jornandes* (ap. Muratori, i. p. 205.)—*Themistius*, Orat. xvi. Ed. Harduini, p. 207. *Idatius* (in *Fastis*) places the arrival of Athanarich in Constantinople on the viii Kal. Feb. (25th Jan.) of the year 381. The story told by *Zosimus* of an attack by Alatheus and Saphrax upon Athanarich, whereby he was compelled to take refuge at the court of Theodosius, is no doubt a fiction. It was unknown not only to *Jornandes*, but to *Themistius*, the orator of Theodosius. The refugee Athanarich would have been little likely to receive the honours which were lavished upon Athanarich, the powerful monarch of the Goths. See *Zosimus*, lib. iv. p. 246.

⁷⁰ Gratian perished on the 25th Aug., 383, (*Art de Vér. les Dates*, vol. i. p. 397.) in the 25th year of his age.

⁷¹ *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 247. *St. Ambrose*, Epist. 27.

⁷² About the end of August, 388. *Art de Vér. les Dates*, vol. i. p. 397. *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 35. pp. 557, 558.

Theodosius elevates Valentinian II to the empire, and places him under the guardianship of the Frankish general, Arbogastes. Meanwhile Quintinus is defeated in an attempt to invade the territories of the Franks.

of its internal organization, and the diminution of its wealth and population. Theodosius therefore proclaimed Valentinian II.,⁷³ the infant son of Gratian, and sent him into Gaul, under the guardianship of the captain-general Arbogastes, to bring to a conclusion the war with the Franks which had been begun by Maximus.

While the contest between Theodosius and Maximus was still undecided, the generals Nannenus and Quintinus, to whom in his absence Maximus had entrusted the defence of Gaul, assembled their forces at Cologne, for the purpose of intercepting an army of Franks on its return from the interior of Gaul, laden with the property and effects of the unfortunate provincials. But the barbarians eluded their vigilance, and effected their retreat across the Rhine without impediment. When the object of the Roman leaders was thus frustrated, Nannenus prudently abandoned all hope of recovering the booty, and retired to his government at Mayntz. But Quintinus, irritated by ill-success, crossed the Rhine at Neuss⁷⁴ and pursued the Franks into the recesses of their forests; till, like Varus, he became so involved among swamps and thickets as to be unable to extricate or to defend himself. All the issues and passes were carefully blocked up and stockaded by the enemy; a single outlet presented itself where the forest terminated in a deep marsh; and thither the whole army hurried, as affording the only prospect of escape. Here the barbarians are said to have assailed them on every side with showers of poisoned arrows;⁷⁵ infantry and cavalry plunged together into the swamp, where they were either suffocated in the mire, or destroyed by the active enemy; a part sought shelter in the recesses of the forest, but a few only effected their escape across the Rhine.⁷⁶

Arbogastes exacts vengeance for the defeat of Quintinus.

Arbogastes resolved to exact reparation for the dishonour of the Roman arms, and to compel the restoration of the plunder. Marcomer and Sunno acceded to his demands and gave hostages for the fulfilment of their engagement. But the pacification was of no long duration; Arbo-

⁷³ Gibbon (vol. iii. p. 56.) attributes this step to the gratitude of Theodosius for his own elevation, which he owed to Gratian, the father of Valentinian. But the necessity of a partition was certainly not less imperative now than when Diocletian first introduced the practice: every succeeding emperor, excepting Julian and Jovian, whose reigns were of short duration, had submitted to share the empire with one or more colleagues; and Theodosius was not less likely to feel the difficulty of governing alone than any of his predecessors. I am therefore more inclined to attribute his conduct on this occasion to obvious considerations of policy, than

to a delicacy of moral feeling quite foreign to the character of the statesmen of that age.

⁷⁴ Novesium.

⁷⁵ This, as far as occurs to my memory, is the only occasion in German history in which the use of poisoned weapons is imputed to the Teutonic races.

⁷⁶ *Gregorius Turonensis*, lib. ii. c. 9. ap. *D. Bouquet*, *Historiens de France*, vol. ii. p. 164. Gregory of Tours quotes an author named Sulpitius Alexander, of whose works nothing is known but what we collect from the extracts in the Frankish history of Gregory himself.

gastes himself, by birth a Frank, pursued his countrymen with unrelenting animosity; and in mid-winter, when the bare branches could afford no cover for an ambush, or concealment for lurking enemies, and the hard ground afforded a surer footing for his troops, he passed the Rhine, and ravaged the canton of the Bructeri which lay nearest to the banks of the river. That of the Chamavi shared the same treatment, no opposition was attempted, and no enemy was seen excepting a small number of Ampsivarii and Chatti, under the duke Marcomer, who cautiously observed the Roman movements from the ridges of the neighbouring hills.⁷⁷

A.D. 389.
or 390.
He crosses the
Rhine in the
winter time,
and ravages
the country of
the Bructeri
and Chamavi.

Though no information has reached us as to the issue of this war, the facts brought to light afford some important confirmation of the view we have already proposed of the nature and composition of the Frankish association.⁷⁸ We here meet with names familiarly known to Tacitus in the first century of the Christian era, noticed by Sulpitius Alexander, in the fifth, as belonging to nations inhabiting the same regions, and differing neither in name, nor in locality, nor in character, but only in connexion. They are presented to us at this advanced period with their ancient tribe-names superadded to their common appellation, so as to leave no doubt that the name of Franks was a mere name of association, and not, as some writers have contended, the peculiar designation of some one dominant tribe among them.

The accounts
of this war,
though imper-
fect, confirm
our views of
the nature and
composition of
the Frankish
union.

In the year 392, Arbogastes repeated upon the person of the unfortunate Valentinian II. the tragedy which had been enacted by Maximus on that of his father Gratian. Valentinian, a youth of a promising disposition, had for some time been kept by his ambitious guardian in a state of privacy and seclusion which resembled imprisonment. The young prince resented this unworthy treatment, and was shortly afterwards found strangled in an apartment of his palace at Vienne. Arbogastes, without pretending to the purple, gave his suffrage to one Eugenius, a rhetorician by profession, whom he had raised from the office of his domestic secretary to the rank of master of the offices. This person assumed the imperial ornaments; he concluded a hasty peace with the Trans-Rhenane nations, and engaged a considerable body of their warriors in his service. After some measures necessary to strengthen his party in Italy, and to withdraw the crime of his patron from public scrutiny⁷⁹, he sent an embassy to the court of Theodosius to solicit the acknowledgment of his claim to the empire of the west. This request, backed by the popularity of Eugenius, and the military reputation of Arbogastes, could not be

Arbogastes
murders the
emperor Valen-
tinian II.

He elevates the
grammarian
Eugenius to
the purple.

⁷⁷ *Sulpitius Alexander*, ap. Greg. Turon. loc. mod. cit.

⁷⁸ Chap. v. sect. 3. p. 193. of this Hist.

⁷⁹ See *Gibbon*, vol. iii. p. 59.

Theodosius
temporizes.

Arbogastes,
with his Ale-
mannic and
Frankish auxi-
liaries, posts
himself at
Aquileia.
Theodosius,
with the Gothic
confederates
under Gaines,
Saul, and
Alaric, ad-
vances to en-
counter him.

After a san-
guinary but in-
decisive en-
gagement Eu-
genius and
Arbogastes are
betrayed by
their own
troops.
Eugenius is
taken prisoner
and put to
death. Arbo-
gastes falls by
his own hands.

peremptorily rejected, and Theodosius returned a moderate but indecisive reply. The necessary preparations, the distance which separated the contending parties, and the faint prospect of an amicable settlement of differences which might still remain, tended to defer the encounter. While Theodosius was organizing his armies in the east, Arbogastes concentrated his forces, consisting in a great part of Frankish and Alemannic auxiliaries, in a secure position near Aquileia at the foot of the Julian Alps. Theodosius, after conferring upon his sons Arcadius and Honorius the title of Augustus, placed the former under the tuition of Stilicho, a confidential officer; and the latter under that of Rufinus, the master-general of the imperial palace. He bestowed the command of the Roman troops upon Timasius; the Gothic confederates, headed by their princes Gaines and Saul, and the renowned Alaric, acted under the general superintendence of an Armenian officer named Bacurius. Though the interests at issue were exclusively Roman, yet the forces upon which both parties reposed their cause were, in the main, Teutonic. In the sanguinary battle which took place between the competitors near Aquileia, the brunt of the conflict was sustained by the barbaric allies on both sides. The Gothic forces under Gaines lost ten thousand of their number upon the field, and Theodosius sustained so severe a check that, but for the unaccountable treachery of a body of troops which, in the moment of assured victory, deserted the standard of Eugenius, he must himself have undergone the fate which was now reserved for his rival. Eugenius became his prisoner, and was led to instant death; Arbogastes perished by his own hand, and Theodosius thought this great deliverance cheaply purchased by the blood of his gallant but headlong confederates.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The unprincipled exposure of the Goths to almost certain destruction by Theodosius has been inferred from the words of *Orosius* and *Zosimus*. "Ita et hic," says the former, (lib. iii. c. 35, p. 561,) "duorum (Eugenii et Arbogastis) sanguine bellum civile restinctum est; absque illis decem millibus Gothorum, quos, *præmissos a Theodosio*, Arbogastes delisse funditus fertur; quos utique *perdidisse lucrum, et vinci vincere fuit*." Still more broadly *Zosimus* (Lib. iv. c. 56, p. 281,) Οἰηθεὶς δὲ ἄμεινον εἶναι τὰ βαρβάρων ἄγματα τοῖς ἐναντίοις καθεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτοις προτέρων διακινδυνεύειν, Γαίην ἔταξε σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔθνεσιν κ. τ. α. But I take these expressions rather as indicating that instinctive apprehension with which these writers, and the Romans in general, beheld the introduction of

such vast numbers of barbarian warriors into the empire, than as legitimate evidence of a treacherous intent on the part of Theodosius; since it appears to me that the risk he ran, by this merciless exposure of his best troops, was greater than the contingent advantage he might expect to derive from the diminution of their numbers. Yet, when the victory was won, there can be little doubt that he so far participated in the general feeling as not greatly to regret the losses sustained by his formidable allies. The materials for the text have been gathered from *Sulpit. Alex. ap. Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 9; *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 35, p. 561; *Zosim.* lib. iv. p. 261 and 280, compared with *Gibbon*, vol. iii. c. 29.

Theodosius did not long survive the suppression of this dangerous revolt. After installing his son Honorius in possession of the empire of the west, and assigning to Arcadius the sovereignty of the east, he died at Milan on the 17th of January, A.D. 395, of a disease brought on by the vicissitudes of a life of alternate indulgence and violent exertion. As an affectionate and devoted son of the church he has obtained the undivided applauses of the ecclesiastical writers. As a ruler, his great qualities were obscured by defects of temper, and that occasional indolence attendant upon habits of sensual gratification. To us, the reign of Theodosius the Great is chiefly interesting as it exhibits the state of the empire at the moment immediately preceding its sudden and irretrievable disruption. The powers which maintained him on the throne became the immediate instruments of the ruin of his feeble descendants; and the names of Arcadius and Honorius, of Alaric and Gainas, of Stilicho and Rufinus, are intimately associated with the great tragedy of nations which introduces the fifth century of the Christian æra to the notice of history.

Theodosius the Great dies.

The history of this reign is interesting to us, as it exhibits the state of the empire at the point of time immediately preceding its sudden disruption.

SECTION II.—A.D. 395 to A.D. 409.

Arcadius and Honorius—Stilicho and Rufinus—Alaric invades Thessaly and Greece—Stilicho and Gainas—Death of Rufinus—Rebellion of Gainas—His Defeat and Death—Deliverance of the Eastern Empire—Alaric—He is created King of the Visigoths—Condition of the Visigoths—The Oriental Illyricum ceded to him—He invades Italy—Battle of Pollentia—Alaric obtains Pannonia—Stilicho repels the Invasion of Radagaisus—the Hordes of Radagaisus the Forerunners of the great Barbaric Migration—Political Character and Conduct of the Germanic Nations—Motives of Invasion—General Migration—Constantine rebels in Britain—He invades Gaul—He defeats Sarus—Gerontius admits the Vandals, Suevi, and Alani into Spain—Alani—Conquest and Division of Spain by the Barbarians.

At the death of Theodosius, Arcadius, the elder of his two sons, had attained the eighteenth, Honorius, the younger, the twelfth year of his age. The appointment of Rufinus as guardian to the former was an act of ill-judged partiality on the part of the late emperor; since, whatever his abilities may have been, his character was already deeply stained by ambition, venality and extortion. On the other hand, though the talents of Stilicho, the minister or regent of the west, as a statesman, were not called in question; and though he was beloved by the troops as a gallant soldier, and as the friend and near connexion of their late much-regretted

A.D. 395.
Both Rufinus and Stilicho, the guardians of the minor Emperors. Arcadius and Honorius, are unpopular.

sovereign,¹ yet he was by birth a Vandal,² and the Roman vanity took offence at the advancement of a soldier of fortune and a barbarian to almost sovereign power. Thus both regents, though for different reasons, were equally feared and disliked by the subjects.³

Stilicho sets up a pretence to the guardianship of both emperors and the regency of both divisions of the empire.

The characters of both were deeply tainted with the besetting sin of the statesmen of that age,—an insatiate thirst for power and wealth. Neither was satisfied with the share assigned to him by the appointment of Theodosius. Stilicho had scarcely entered upon the administration of the west before he openly set up a pretence to the regency of both divisions of the empire.⁴ He married his daughter Maria⁵ to the youthful Honorius; and, emboldened by the absolute command of the whole force of the empire, which, since the close of the campaign against Eugenius and Arbogastes, had not yet been dispersed to their usual quarters, he made known his intention of visiting the eastern provinces as guardian of both princes⁶ and supreme regent of the empire.

Rufinus disappointed in his project for marrying his daughter to the emperor Arcadius.

There was in the conduct of Stilicho an unflinching boldness of pretension which contrasts favourably with the craft and meanness of his competitor Rufinus. The maintenance of his influence at court appeared to the latter to depend upon the successful execution of a scheme for marrying his daughter to the emperor Arcadius. A cabal, set on foot by the court eunuch Eutropius, consigned the young prince, with his own cordial consent, to the arms of Eudoxia, the playmate and companion of his childhood, a young lady of great talent and beauty. The heart of Rufinus, the dwelling-place,—if we may credit the testimony of his enemy Claudian, confirmed by that of St. Jerome⁷ and Zosimus,—of every evil passion, was maddened by this disappointment. Wounded vanity, and well-grounded apprehension of the projects of Stilicho, determined him to seek vengeance and safety in a close alliance with Alaric, the chief of the restless Visigothic settlers of Pannonia. To

¹ He had married Serena, a niece of Theodosius. *Zosim.* lib. v. c. 3. p. 290.

² *S. Hieronym.* Op. Ep. 91. p. 784. *Oros.* lib. vii. c. 38. p. 571.

³ Neither *Zosimus* (lib. v. c. 1. p. 287.) nor *Orosius* (loc. mod. cit.) take any pains to conceal their contempt for both regents. The former indulges in rather more than his ordinary vehemence of invective.

⁴ On the strength of a strictly secret nomination which he pretended to have been made by Theodosius on his death-bed in his own favour, *Claudian* (In III. Cons. Honor. vv. 151—153.) puts the following address to Stilicho in the mouth of the dying Theodosius:—

“Ergo age, me quoniam cœlestis regia poscit,
Tu curis succede meis, tu pignora solus
Nostra fove, geminos dextrâ tu protege
fratres.”

But at the time when this charge was given, “cunctos discedere jubet.” The poet took the fact from his patron, and—who can doubt it?—the patron from the suggestions of his own ambition.

⁵ By the princess Serena, the niece of Theodosius.

⁶ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 291.

⁷ *Opera*, Edit. Vallarsii, tom. i. p. 342. Ep. ad Heliodorum.

gratify at once his vindictive feelings, and to purchase the support of the barbarians against the snares of his rival, he did not hesitate to sacrifice the yet inviolate regions of Thessaly, Achaia, and the Peloponnesus to Gothic cupidity. Alaric, though in name a confederate, and a public servant of the empire, was not disposed to let any opportunity escape him of making a profitable bargain with the government. The proffer of Rufinus held out to him all the advantages, without the inconveniences of open rebellion. Assembling his motley host of Goths, Trans-Danubian barbarians, and vagrant Huns, he conducted them to the destined scene of pillage and destruction. The passes of Thermopylæ and the Corinthian Isthmus were opened to him by the officers of Rufinus. Athens, Corinth, Argos, Megara and Lacedæmon fell into his hands, and endured all the severity of pillage, or ransomed themselves by enormous payments in money and provisions.⁸ Stilicho indeed landed in the Peloponnesus with an army which he had hastily embarked in the ports of the Adriatic, and soon drove the Goths into a corner of the peninsula, where he confidently hoped shortly to reduce them by hunger and privation. But the same worthless influence which had opened the classic soil of Greece to their fury, now interposed to facilitate their escape. Alaric, availing himself of the security of Stilicho, effected his retreat, with all his booty, to the shores of the Corinthian Gulph, where he found vessels ready to convey him and his hordes to the opposite coast of Epirus.⁹

A.D. 395.
He allies himself with the Gothic chief, Alaric, and betrays to him Thessaly, Achaia, and Peloponnesus.

Stilicho lands in the Peloponnesus and expels the Goths.

While Rufinus was tampering with Alaric for the dethronement of his master, and his own elevation to the purple, Stilicho had secretly secured the friendship of Gaines, the general-in-chief of the Gothic confederates in the service of the eastern emperor. After his return from the Peloponnesus, that minister suggested to Honorius the propriety of marching with a body of Gothic troops to support Arcadius against the traitors by whom he was surrounded, and to deliver the unfortunate provinces from the scourge of barbaric license. Honorius assented, and Stilicho proceeded with the Gothic confederates under Gaines as far as Thessalonica, in Macedonia. Rufinus, in the utmost alarm at the near approach of his

A.D. 397.
Stilicho and Gaines, the chief of the Gothic confederates, conspire against the life of Rufinus.

⁸ *Zosim.* lib. v. cc. 5 and 6. pp. 293—295.

⁹ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 296. Comp. *Gibbon*, c. 30. p. 136. Zosimus is rather more than usually confused and anecdotal in this portion of his narrative. It is no easy task to ascertain from his dateless story either the beginning or the duration of this expedition of Alaric. Gibbon makes it last two years, and places the fall of Rufinus in the interval between the admission of the Goths into Greece and their evacuation of the Peloponnesus. Zosimus, on the contrary,

affirms that Stilicho did not take his measures for the ruin of Rufinus till his return from Greece into Italy. Gibbon follows the arrangement—chronology ought not to be expected from a poet—of Claudian. The authors of the *Art de Vér. les Dates* place the death of Rufinus in 395; but *Moreri* says that there is a difference of opinion, some placing it in 395, and others in 397. My impression is that the latter is the true date, and I have therefore followed the arrangement of Zosimus.

They advance together as far as Thessalonica, where Stilicho is stopped by an order from Arcadius. Gaines proceeds with the confederates to Constantinople.

Gaines demands the honours of a public reception.

Arcadius grants the request. During the review, the Goths surround and put Rufinus to death.

rival, procured an order from Arcadius to arrest his progress. With a view to withdraw the important corps of Gaines from his control, the order was accompanied with directions to Stilicho to send forward the confederates to Constantinople. This mandate fell in opportunely with the design of Stilicho. Secure in the attachment of Gaines, and in the hatred of the Goths for Rufinus, he made a merit of obedience, and dismissed the ministers of his vengeance upon their errand of treachery and blood with all the alacrity of a faithful servant of the state. At a short distance from the capital, Gaines halted his troops and proceeded in person to the court to announce the arrival of the confederates, and to claim the accustomed honours of a public reception. Arcadius, to whom this accession of strength was at this juncture exceedingly welcome, joyfully promised to gratify his faithful vassals and to pay them the usual compliments. Accompanied by Rufinus and all the great officers of his court, he proceeded in imperial state to meet the army, and pass it in review. While thus engaged, the court, with alarm, perceived itself, by a concerted movement of the confederates, suddenly surrounded on every side. The mystery was soon dispelled;—at a signal from Gaines, the nearest Gothic soldiers drew their swords, and plunging them into the body of the hated Rufinus, stretched him lifeless at the foot of his terrified sovereign. Regardless of the imperial presence, these ferocious vassals severed the head and right hand of the murdered minister from the body; exhibiting the former in derision to the gazing multitude; and holding out the hand to all whom they met, called upon them to “Give gold to the insatiable.”¹⁰

It would be difficult to point to any age in the history of the human species more strikingly illustrative of the mental blindness incident to inordinate ambition, than that with which we are now dealing. Without reflecting upon the lawless and intractable habits of the barbarian confederates, Rufinus had vainly hoped to render them the pliant instruments of his guilty designs. With similar views Stilicho had entrusted the execution of his ambitious projects to the hands of Gaines. The latter lent himself with alacrity to that part of the scheme which involved the destruction of a common enemy and the overthrow of the existing order of things, because his personal interest lay in the public confusion. But *that* once accomplished, Gaines took no further pains to promote the separate views of his confederate, and Stilicho found himself not one step nearer to the ultimate object of his pursuit. At the solicitation of the empress Eudoxia, Arcadius raised the eunuch Eutropius to the honours and dignities

But Stilicho is disappointed, and Gaines is disgusted by the elevation

¹⁰ “Ἀργύριον δοῦναι τῷ ἀπληστῷ.” *Zosim.* lib. ii. vv. 101 et seq. See also *Gibbon*, vol. iii. lib. v. p. 297. Comp. *Claudian* in *Rufinum*, c. 29. p. 118 et seq.

lately enjoyed by Rufinus,—a measure which seems to have been equally distasteful to Stilicho and to Gaines. After two years of a feeble and vicious administration, Eutropius fell a victim to the imperious hatred of the Gothic chiefs. The obnoxious minister was exiled to Cyprus, and soon afterwards put to death. But the humiliation to which the government was compelled to submit did not end here. After the plunder and ruin of some of the richest cities of Bithynia and Mysia, Gaines fixed himself at Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, directly opposite to Constantinople; while Tribegild, the commander of a colony of Goths whom Theodosius the Great had planted in Phrygia, took possession of Lampsacus on the Hellespont, and threatened the capital from a different and not less important quarter. In the insolence of success, Gaines peremptorily insisted upon a personal interview with Arcadius. It was felt that a refusal would have led to the instant rupture of the precarious truce, upon the maintenance of which the very existence of the empire seemed to depend. At the conference which followed, Gaines observed the ordinary ceremonial of respect, but required from the trembling emperor that he should instantly surrender to him the persons of his two ministers, Aurelianus and Saturninus, and of his private secretary, John, to be dealt with according to their deserts. Arcadius, now in the hands of his enemies, and deprived of the power of refusal, complied with this insolent demand: Gaines was propitiated with the office of captain-general of the armies of the empire; his troops were conveyed to the European side of the Bosphorus, and quartered around the capital. At his instance the Roman garrison was removed, and a body of seven or eight thousand Goths were admitted into the city. But the venal allegiance of these barbarians was not proof against the temptation to pillage which surrounded them on every side. Tumult and disorder arose: the alarm was sounded in every quarter of the vast metropolis; with extraordinary unanimity of purpose the citizens ran to arms, re-admitted the expelled garrison, closed the gates against the Goths without, and fell with the fury of despair upon those who were stationed within the walls. Overpowered by numbers, seven thousand of these barbarians took sanctuary within the precincts of a Christian church. An assault upon the walls, which their comrades attempted, was repelled by a hail of darts and missiles, and the capital of the empire was delivered, by an involuntary impulse of popular alarm, from a peril which no exertion of the feeble government could have averted.

Arcadius disgraced a victory, in which he had no share, by the cruel slaughter of the seven thousand Goths, whom this sudden turn of fortune had thrown into his power. Gaines, who had been absent from the city

of the eunuch Eutropius to the honours and employments lately enjoyed by Rufinus.

A.D. 399. The confederate chiefs procure the ruin of Eutropius. Gaines and Tribegild blockade the capital;

they compel Arcadius to surrender his obnoxious ministers to their vengeance.

Gaines is created captain-general of the imperial armies, and introduces a body of Goths into the capital.

The barbarians commit disorders. Tumult arises. The citizens rise upon them, close the gates, re-admit the garrison, and massacre the Gothic troops within the walls.

They repel an attack of those without.

Gaines retires.
He is attacked
by Fravitta;

he retreats
across the Da-
nube, and
A.D. 400 or
401,
loses his life in
an encounter
with a body of
mercenary
Huns under
Uldin; who
sends his head
to Arcadius.

The defeat of
Gaines changes
the character
and direction
of the Gothic
migration,
and impels it
against the
western empire.

when the disturbances commenced, found himself suddenly reduced from being the arbiter of an empire, to the condition of a fugitive rebel. Fravitta, the faithful chieftain of an independent corps of Gothic confederates, lent his zealous efforts to complete the expulsion of the disloyal hordes of Gaines and Tribegild. Of the fate of the latter we have no intimation. But Gaines, accompanied by a body of his best-mounted and bravest associates, accomplished his retreat to the Danube,¹¹ and shortly afterwards fell in an encounter with a tribe of mercenary Huns, under their king, Uldin. The Hunnic prince sent the head of the rebellious vassal to the emperor. The welcome trophy was paraded through the city, to the great delight of the populace,—the gratifying evidence of their singular exploit, and an inestimable pledge of safety to the government.¹²

The defeat and death of Gaines form the concluding scene of that remarkable intercourse between eastern Rome and the Gothic emigrants, which had commenced, five-and-twenty years before, with their impolitic and disastrous admission into the territories of the empire. If the project, attributed with great appearance of probability to Gaines, of founding an independent kingdom upon the ruins of the throne of Constantinople had been successful, we cannot doubt that such an event would have altered the direction and changed the character of the barbaric migrations. A fortune so brilliant must have attracted swarms of his adventurous countrymen to share, or to dispute the prize. Greece and Asia Minor would have become the seats of Gothic kingdoms, as extensive and powerful as those which were afterwards founded in Italy, Aquitaine, and Spain. A movement of impatient avidity on the one part,—an unforeseen and unpremeditated popular tumult on the other, turned the current in an instant,—and the mighty wave broke beneath the walls of the eastern metropolis to flow with a less accelerated, but not less irresistible momentum towards the western capital of the empire.

Alaric,

a prince of the
Balthic family,
employed by
Theodosius the
Great,

The Visigothic prince, Alaric, was destined to be the primary instrument of this great revolution. He was born in the Delta of the Danube,¹³ of the princely race of the Balthi; he had been the pupil of Athanarich, and the companion of Fridigern and Gaines, the enemy first, and subsequently the servant of Theodosius the Great, by whom he had been

¹¹ *Zosimus*, lib. v. p. 321.

¹² This short account of the adventures of Gaines has been abridged from *Zosimus*, (lib. v. pp. 304—322.) with such corrections as the narrative of *Gibbon* (vol. iii. c. 32. pp. 295—

300.) appeared to recommend.

¹³ *Claudian* fixes his birth-place in the island of Peucē, at the mouth of the Danube. *De VI. Cons. Honor. Carm.* vv. 105—108.

appointed general of a body of barbaric mercenaries in his perilous expedition against the usurper Eugenius.¹⁴ After the victory of Aquileia, Alaric, it should seem, retired to the settlements of his tribe in Epirus or Pannonia. His character was ill-suited to the state of vassalage to which his countrymen had bound themselves by their compact with Theodosius. Like Gaines, he courted dominion more than wealth, and regarded the offices and emoluments conferred upon him rather as the means of future aggrandizement, than as the materials of present gratification. It is not unlikely that he considered his compact with the empire as determined by the death of his patron, and that he had resolved to treat and be treated with for the future rather as an independent prince than as a vassal. His willing followers conferred upon him the title of *king*, a distinction which seems to have been discontinued among the Gothic tribes from the period at which their political connexion with the empire commenced. The assumption of the royal dignity was probably regarded both by the subjects of Alaric and by the imperial government itself, as a declaration of independence; but the difference between that state of things and the lawless vassalage which the other confederates still acknowledged, was in reality so small, as, in the reduced condition of the state, to excite very little attention. But it was a change pregnant with the most important results to the Visigothic nation. It placed at their head a man of great energy and talent; it gave consistency to their military operations, and imparted to their infant society some of those definite aims and purposes which form the elements of political existence. The Visigoths were as yet destitute of anything for those elements to attach themselves to; they were without a country and without a settled government. The elevation of Alaric gave them the latter in the form best suited to their condition and prospects, yet without impairing the freedom of individual action. The necessary consequence of this first step was the desire to acquire independent territorial possessions, an object with the attainment of which the interests of the prince and the future welfare of the nation were alike indissolubly linked.

dissatisfied
with his condi-
tion of a vassal
of the empire.

His tribe con-
fer upon him
the title of
king.
A.D. 395.

By the eleva-
tion of Alaric
the Visigoths
acquire more
consistency as
a nation,

and become
desirous of an
independent
territorial
existence.

With this purpose in view, Alaric might at once have renounced his engagements with the empire; he might have taken forcible possession of the country in his actual occupation; he might have reduced the inhabitants to servitude, or applied the produce to the support of his followers, and trusted to his sword for the maintenance and enlargement of his dominion. But the Gothic emigrants had hitherto depended

Alaric still
maintains his
connexion with
the empire,

¹⁴ Zosim. lib. v. p. 292. Jornandes, c. 29. p. 205.

mainly for their subsistence upon the supplies and gratuities conferred upon them by the government of the empire; and time was necessary to instruct them in the mode of managing territorial property so as to enable them to live upon it without other aid. Industry was unknown to them, and their own ignorance disqualified them from rendering that of others subservient to any purpose more permanently beneficial than the supply of their immediate wants. The country in which they sojourned was naturally barren and mountainous; the inhabitants were few and scattered, and the walled-towns presented a serious obstacle to a durable conquest. After all, however, the most important impediment to a local settlement arose out of those martial and migratory propensities which a life of adventurous warfare had so deeply impressed upon the national character.

but converts it
into the means
of boundless
extortion,

We cannot wonder that the Goths should have been reluctant at once to renounce their obligations towards the empire, when it is considered that by such a step they must have abandoned all the many lucrative claims which arose out of that connexion,—claims which, owing to their undefined character, were capable of the most arbitrary extension, and which enabled them by dint of insolence and clamour to engross the largest share of the revenues and riches of the government. As long as such a state of things lasted, temptation for extortion could never be wanting; and as no efficient check to military violence existed, so no limit could be opposed to encroachment but absolute satiety. The eager relish of barbarians for physical enjoyments was, perhaps, the only quality in their character strong enough to detach them from those unstable and roving modes of life incident to the earlier stages of social culture. It became therefore manifestly the interest of a leader desirous,—though merely for the gratification of personal ambition,—of founding a kingdom out of barbaric elements, to procure for his subjects those enjoyments in the greatest amount, to acquire for himself the amplest means of gratifying and taming his greedy and turbulent supporters, and therefore to quit, as soon as possible, a barren and inhospitable country, and possess himself of some wide and fertile domain capable of awakening fresh interest, and opening new sources of pleasure; and thus by connecting as many agreeable associations as possible with the land of his choice, gradually bring his subjects to regard it as the home and strong hold of their affections.

with a view to
obtain the
means of gra-
tifying and at-
taching his tur-
bulent and
greedy fol-
lowers.

Soon after the
death of Theo-
dosius the
Great, the

A short time after the death of Theodosius the Goths took occasion to complain that the customary gratuities and donatives had been withheld from the confederates to feed the luxury and extravagance of the court.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Jornandes*, c. 29. p. 205.

Alaric was personally dissatisfied that the reward of his services had been unjustly curtailed, and that he had not been promoted to any higher command than that which he held during the campaign against Eugenius.¹⁶ Jornandes observes that the Goths had become the more inclined to war, because they believed that tranquillity and sloth tended to relax their courage and subdue their martial character.¹⁷ With the degraded state of the Roman armies before their eyes, it is not unnatural that they should have entertained a notion like this. When they saw the native armies reduced to an inert, half-armed, and dispirited rabble,¹⁸ we readily admit that their contempt may have been mingled with the apprehension that, in their own case, a similar degeneracy might flow from the adoption of similar habits. But distant consequences are rarely the ruling motives with barbarians. The mass of the people would have spurned at the thought that they could ever fall to a level with those whom they so heartily despised. And, in truth, incentives so much more powerful lay close at hand, that no refinement is necessary to account for their warlike ardour. The most influential of these motives was, no doubt, the weakness of their adversary. The ancient military spirit of Rome seems to have breathed its last upon the fatal field of Hadrianople. The Gothic warrior could not now listen to the vapouring language of the feeble emperor and his court, without feelings of scorn and contempt, mingled with the most confident hopes of advantage from the fears such language was intended to disguise. St. Chrysostom tells us, that “the barbarians were at no pains to disguise their scorn; and that one of their chiefs expressed his astonishment that the Romans, though more easily slaughtered than sheep, still presumed to prate of victory.”¹⁹ And Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, the contemporary of St. Chrysostom, adds, that “the Goths were now the men,—the Romans, the women of the empire.”²⁰

Gothic confederates become dissatisfied with their treatment. Alaric is discontented.

The Goths are weary of inaction. They despise the Roman arms,

and treat the vaunting pretensions of the government with contempt.

Stimulated as much by his own ambition as by the inclinations of his subjects and the necessity of his position, Alaric had, as we have seen, entered readily into the treasonable scheme of Rufinus. He was, it is true, foiled by the activity of Stilicho, and compelled to renounce his designs upon Greece. But the fall of Rufinus afforded a good opportunity for striking a new bargain with the empire; Stilicho was now as much the enemy of Alaric, as of the new minister Eutropius; the latter therefore gladly consented to purchase the friendship of the Gothic

Alaric strikes a new bargain with the Romans.

¹⁶ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 292.

¹⁷ *Jornand.* ubi supra.

¹⁸ *Vegetius de Re Militari*, lib. i. c. 10.

¹⁹ *Chrysostom.* ad Viduam Juniorem, Op.,

tom. iv. p. 463.

²⁰ *Synesius in Orat. de Regno*, Ed. Petav. p. 22.

He obtains the
cession of Illy-
ricum under
the delusive
title of presi-
dent or impe-
rial lieutenant
of the province,

and thereby
gains a plau-
sible pretext
for invading
Italy.

Alaric invades
Italy,
A.D. 403.

which he finds
unprotected.
Honorius es-
capes to Ra-
venna.
Stilicho with-

prince by the cession of that part of the Illyrican province which lay within the boundaries of the eastern empire. Alaric was created president or imperial lieutenant of Illyricum,²¹ and Stilicho was declared a public enemy by a decree of the obsequious senate of Constantinople.²² By this stroke of policy, Eutropius removed his formidable confederate to a greater distance from the seat of the empire, while he placed him upon the most vulnerable frontier of Italy, where he might most easily afford occupation to his rival. The compact conferred upon Alaric a right to hold himself out as the general of the empire, commissioned to execute the sentence of the sovereign upon a convicted traitor, and thereby imparted a plausible pretext for invading and disposing of the states of Western Rome at his pleasure.²³

Two years were consumed in preparation for this undertaking. The Thracian armourers were compelled to furnish a large quantity of offensive and defensive arms; his troops were admitted into the walled-towns of Illyricum as the friends and allies of their sovereign;²⁴ the resources of the province were placed at his disposal, and a secure retreat was provided in case of failure. Illyricum may indeed be regarded as the first settled territorial acquisition of any barbaric nation within the limits of the empire, since the abandonment of Dacia by Aurelian. Italy was alarmed by the report of Alaric's preparations; the walls of Rome were repaired and strengthened;²⁵ but Stilicho, the hero of Claudian and of Rome,²⁶ was absent; the defence of the court had been strangely neglected; and when Alaric descended from the Julian Alps, he found the roads to Rome and to Milan equally unguarded. Stilicho, who had found serious occupation for his arms in repressing

²¹ *Claudian*. in Eutropium, lib. ii. vv. 213—220. And compare *Claudian* de Bell. Getico Carm. v. 535. et seq.

²² *Zosim*. lib. v. p. 302.

²³ *Mascou* (book viii. § 10. p. 399.) observes that historians are silent as to the motives and pretences of Alaric for the first invasion of Italy. I think *Luden* has rightly explained the *pretences* at least, from a passage in Claudian already referred to. (See *Geschichte der Deutsch.* vol. ii. p. 343 and note 15. p. 571.) It appears to me that the *motives* are sufficiently clear: the *pretext* hardly less so. The decree against Stilicho and Alaric's appointment to the presidency of Illyricum would, I think, incline us to infer that he appealed to his commission from the court of Constantinople as his authority for his irruption into Italy; and *that* even without the express confirmatory evidence of Claudian, (De Bell. Getico, v. 535. et seq.) who puts the

following words into the mouth of Alaric:—

“At nunc Illyrici postquam mihi tradita *jura*,
Meque (Romani) *suum* fecere ducem, tot tela,
tot enses,

Tot galeas multo Thracum sudore paravi,
Inque meos usus vectigal vertere ferri,
Oppida legitimo jussu Romana coëgi.”

Claudian, at least, understood this “*legitimus jussus*” to have been the *pretence* for the invasion. I do not see what these words can refer to but the commission given to Alaric in pursuance of the sentence of the senate against Stilicho.

²⁴ *Claudian*. in Eutrop. lib. ii. vv. 216, 217.

²⁵ *Claudian*. de Sexto Consulate Honorii, v. 531. The sixth Consulate of Honorius falls in the year 404, but the allusion of the poet is evidently to a prior year.

²⁶ *Claudian*. de Bell. Getico, vv. 267—269.

the inroads of the turbulent borderers of Rhætia and Noricum, perceiving at one glance the imminence of the danger, resolved to save his sovereign and himself at the peril of the empire. He directed the armies of Britain and of Gaul, of the Rhine, of Rhætia and Noricum to march simultaneously for Italy. The whole barbaric frontier was left defenceless, and the welfare of every province was sacrificed to the safety of a timorous and incapable government.²⁷

When the general of Honorius had collected a sufficient force, he retraced his steps into Italy. Alaric in the meantime had crossed the Po and marched rapidly upon Milan in the hope of surprising Honorius and the imperial court in that city. The emperor escaped with some difficulty to the town of Asti in Piedmont, where he was besieged by the Goths. But the approach of Stilicho compelled the barbarians to abandon the siege, and to accept a battle, probably upon disadvantageous terms, near a town called Pollentia on the Tanaro about twenty-five miles south of Turin.²⁸ The contest was long and sanguinary; but the victory claimed by the poet Claudian²⁹ for his hero cannot have been of so decisive a character as it is pretended, since Alaric, though for the present compelled to renounce the conquest of Italy,³⁰ was even then or very soon afterwards, in a condition to extort a large sum of money, together with the cession of the remainder of the province of Illyricum, including the greatest part of Pannonia.³¹ The emperor Honorius

draws all the imperial armies from the frontier provinces for the defence of Italy.

Stilicho marches to the rescue of Honorius.

Battle of Pollentia.
A.D. 404.

Alaric is worsted and evacuates Italy, but obtains a large sum of money, and the cession of Western Illyricum from the Romans.

²⁷ *Claudian*. de Bello Getico, vv. 414. et seq. The poet thus describes this fatal step of his patron:—

“Accurrit vicina manus, quam Rhætia nuper
Vindelicis auctam spoliis defensa probavit.
Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.
Agmina quinetiam flavis objecta Sycambris,
Quæque domant Cattos, immansuetosque Cher-
riscos,
Huc (*in Italiam*) omnes vertère minas, tutom-
que remotis
Excubiis Rhenum solo terrore relinquunt.”

The last verse and the seven following must have been written within two years of the recall of the legions, or it would have sounded more like a bitter satire rather than a panegyric upon the conduct of Stilicho.

²⁸ *Cluver*. Ital. Ant. tom. i. p. 83. *Cramer's* Anc. Ital. vol. i. p. 28.

²⁹ De Bell. Getico, v. 645.

³⁰ *Orosius* (lib. xvii. c. 37. p. 567.) is offended with Stilicho for violating the festival of

Easter, and compelling the pious barbarians to fight on that sacred day. But I think he hints at a remoter event than the issue of the battle, by the words “pugnantes vicinus, victores victi sumus.” Upon his testimony, therefore, we might be inclined to infer that the advantage in the field was on the side of the Romans, though their impiety was punished by subsequent defeat and disaster. But *Cassiodorus* (Chron. p. 656. Ed. Ven. 1725) roundly asserts that the Roman army was overthrown, and Stilicho put to flight. *Jornandes* (De Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 206.) makes the defeat of the Romans total and irretrievable. Alaric besieges Honorius in Ravenna—overruns Italy and sacks Rome itself; but it is evident that the Gothic historian confounds incidents belonging to different periods. We cannot doubt that Claudian was better acquainted with the general train of events, and that thus far he may be safely trusted; but we cannot take those circumstantial peculiarities which give the colouring to that train from the mouth of a poet and a panegyrist.

³¹ It is however not very easy to determine

Honorius and Stilicho enact a triumph.

enacted the part of a conqueror, and celebrated the ambiguous victory of Pollentia by a splendid triumph, in which Stilicho figured as the partaker of the imperial glory. The event was perpetuated by a vaunting inscription upon a triumphal arch erected by the senate and people of Rome to commemorate the "eternal overthrow of the Gothic nation!"³²

Radagaisus, with a host of Rhenish and Danubian barbarians, invades Italy and besieges Florence.

Alaric had scarcely withdrawn into Illyricum before the fatal consequence of disgarnishing the frontiers began to appear. A chief named Radagaisus at the head of an innumerable host,³³ consisting wholly of heathen barbarians of the Rhine and Danube, penetrated, without opposition, through the Norican passes into the north of Italy. After ravaging that region without mercy, he advanced into Tuscany, and laid siege to the city of Florence.³⁴ But the reduction of fortified places baffled the

Stilicho collects an army of vagrant Huns and Goths, with which he reduces the barbarians to the necessity of dividing their forces.

Radagaisus himself is surrounded, taken prisoner and put to death.

A.D. 405. Grounds for believing the swarm of Radagaisus to have consisted of the Vandalic tribes settled on the Danube and in the interior of Ger-

simple strategics of these barbarians; Stilicho obtained time to collect a body of mercenary Huns and Goths under their leaders Uldin and Sarus; by whose assistance he was enabled to cut off their supplies and to reduce them to the extremity of famine. The invaders then separated into three bodies; that which Radagaisus commanded was pursued into the mountains of Fæsulæ, and there surrounded and cut to pieces by Uldin and Sarus. The leader himself was taken prisoner and put to death by order of Stilicho.³⁵ We are not told how the other two divisions of the barbaric host immediately disposed of themselves. If, as Zosimus relates, the invading swarm consisted of Germanic nations dwelling upon the Rhine and the Danube,³⁶ Orosius must have been mistaken in calling them Goths. The direction of the invasion coincides with the description given of them by the former; and since no Gothic tribe, either before or after the inroad of Radagaisus ever found its way into Italy through the Norican passes, or was ever settled in the parts of Germany conti-

whether the cession took place at this or a subsequent period. *Ludcn* (vol. ii. p. 572. note 20) contends (upon the authority of *Olympiodorus*, Byzant. Scrip. vol. i. pp. 145 and 146, and of *Zosimus*, lib. v. pp. 330, 331.) that Alaric obtained Pannonia in consequence of his first invasion of Italy. The inference he deduces from the former of these writers is weak; while Zosimus stands in the same predicament with Jornandes,—that is, if we believe *him*, we must altogether reject Claudian. The two narratives cannot be brought into agreement. The confusion, in short, is inextricable, and Gibbon can hardly be said to have erred in trusting, certainly the best informed, if not the most veracious witness.

³² *Mascou*, vol. i. b. viii. § 12. p. 401. "Getharum nationem in omne ævum domuerunt," &c.!

³³ *Zosim.* (lib. v. p. 331.) says it consisted of four hundred thousand men: *Orosius* (lib. vii. c. 37. p. 663.) says two hundred thousand.

³⁴ *Paulinus* in Vita Sancti Ambrosii, c. 50; ap. *Mascou*, b. viii. § 14. p. 407. note 6.

³⁵ *Orosius*, lib. viii. c. 37. p. 569, 570. *Prosp.* in Chron. ad ann. Honor. xi. *Zosimus* (lib. v. p. 331.) removes the seat of war to the Danube. He does not seem to have known that Radagaisus ever found his way into Italy.

³⁶ He describes them as collected "Ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτικῶν τε καὶ Γερμανικῶν ἐθνῶν."

guous to those inlets, it is improbable that this incursion should have formed a solitary exception to the general course of the Gothic migrations.

many in the rear of the Alemannic and Frankish associations.

On the other hand, the actual position of the Vandalic tribes³⁷ accurately corresponds with the locality from whence Zosimus fetches the host of Radagaisus. These tribes had occupied the districts on the northern banks of the Upper Danube, and in the rear of the Alemannic and Frankish nations of the Rhine, ever since the beginning of the fourth century; the Tridentine passes formed the only direct inlet from these regions into Italy; Alaric commanded the passage of the Julian, and the Rhætian, while the Lentiensian Alemanni barred that of the Pennine Alps. These considerations, strengthened perhaps by the fact that the Vandalic tribes, like the swarms of Radagaisus, were still heathens,³⁸ seem to establish a considerable degree of probability in favour of the supposition that those tribes constituted the bulk of the invaders on this occasion.³⁹

A single glance in advance will, perhaps, incline us to the opinion, that the incursion of Radagaisus and his followers was, in fact, the first burst of that terrific tempest which was about to sweep the whole surface of the civilized world; and that his host was but the precursor of those Vandalic swarms now upon the eve of inundating Gaul and Spain and Africa. In the month of January of the following year, the Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, and other Germanic nations, put themselves in motion to invade Gaul.⁴⁰ It seems not improbable that the numbers of these invaders were swelled by the remnant of the army of Radagaisus, two divisions of which, according to the report of Prosper Tyro,⁴¹ had escaped the pursuit of Stilicho, and might easily have found their way back into their own country in time to join in the movement just alluded to. The Franks resisted the attempt to approach the Rhine; the Vandal king Godegisel was slain in battle; and the whole body was only saved

It is probable that a portion of the troops of Radagaisus rejoined their countrymen, and assisted in an abortive attempt to cross the Rhine in the following year. A.D. 406.

³⁷ See chap. vi. sec. 2. p. 228. of this History.

³⁸ The Goths had by this time almost universally adopted the Christian religion.

³⁹ *Mascou* (book viii. § 14. p. 408.) does not think this inference sufficiently supported by historical evidence to be stated as a *fact*. He subjoins a strange tradition preserved by Mareschalus Thurius, a Danish writer, which Gibbon has thought entitled to credit. The latter historian (rightly I think) calls the invaders Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians; but in pursuance of the theory by which he was possessed, that the great Teutonic migrations are all to be ascribed to the pressure of the Huns from behind, he has thought proper to bring Radagaisus, or Rhada-

gast, (the name of the principal divinity of the Obotrites, a Sclavic, *not* a Teutonic race,) immediately from the coasts of the Baltic, whither he had previously dispatched the Huns to expel them. The Vandalic races had, however, for more than a century, ceased to inhabit those regions; and there is not a spark of evidence that the Huns had hitherto extended their conquests so far north. Comp. *Gibbon*, vol. iii. p. 161.

⁴⁰ *Prosp. Chron. Consul. Arcadio vi. et Probo Coss. D. Bouq.* vol. i. p. 627. *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 40. p. 576. *Zosim.* lib. vi. c. 3. p. 373.

⁴¹ In *Chron. ap. D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 637.

from total ruin by the assistance afforded them in their utmost need by Respendial, a prince of the Alani.⁴²

Causes of the general migration.

Two years elapse from the abandonment of the frontier of the Rhine to the first attempt of the Rhenish barbarians to overstep the frontiers of the empire.

The views of the Teutonic nations are not originally directed to conquest,

but guided rather by love of war, dislike of inactivity, and

This was the first menacing movement observed on the Gallic frontier since the removal of the legions for the defence of Italy against Alaric. It can hardly be denied that, of two great evils, Stilicho had chosen the least. The fact that a period of two years elapsed before any disposition was manifested by the Alemannic and Frankish borderers to break the peace with the empire, proves that the danger to the Gallic frontier was the more remote, while the peril with which the imperial court and capital was threatened by Alaric was imminent and immediate.⁴³ The attempt of Godegisel, in the year 406, was unsuccessful; and, in fact, it seems that that vast accumulation of warlike and migratory tribes now collected in the rear of the Frankish and Alemannic unions, had, in the first instance, mistaken its appropriate course, and overflowed in a direction unfavourable to its ill-matured powers. The repulse of Radagaisus impelled his hordes upon the Franks. The latter, indeed, resisted for a time; but a sense of common interest, the common predilection for war and rapine, the urgent necessities of the poorer and more numerous Vandals, and the defenceless state of the Rhine, concurred in overcoming their reluctance; impelling Franks, Alemanni, Vandals, Burgundians, Alani, Heruli, Gepidæ, and Saxons, in one mighty stream, upon the enervated and impoverished inhabitants of Gaul.

Hitherto the changes of place which had occurred among the Teutonic nations had been exceedingly slow and gradual;—at least, the effect of external pressure, as much as of inclination. But now, without any new force to impel them, their advance becomes rapid as a torrent, and assumes a new character. The notion of military glory hitherto prevalent among the Germans was far less connected with the conquest and subjugation of their neighbours than it was among the Romans. Their ruling motives for war appear to have been the love of command⁴⁴ on the part of the chiefs, and anxiety for employment and distinction among the followers; a desire to extend the terror of their name, and to acquire the means of

⁴² Our information is derived from an author named Frigeridus, whose work is only known (like that of Sulpicius Alexander) from the extracts of Gregory of Tours. See *D. Bouquet*, tom. ii. p. 165.

⁴³ *Claudian* (*De Bello Getico*, vv. 422-430.) makes this circumstance a subject of the highest panegyric upon his hero. To be sure he did not trouble himself with the future:—

⁴⁴ *Huc omnes (legiones) vertère minas, tutumque remotis*

Excubiis Rhenum solo terrore relinquunt. Ulla ne posteritas credet? Germania quondam

Illa ferox populis, quæ vix instantibus olim Principibus totâ poterat cum mole teneri, Jam sese placidam præbet Stilichonis habenis, Ut nec præsidiis nudato limine tentet Expositum calcare solum, nec transeat amnem, Incustoditam metuens attingere ripam."

⁴⁴ *Tac. Germ. cc. vii. and xiii.*

physical gratification by plunder and violence, rather than an ambition to make subjects, or to enlarge the limits of their territories. Two remarkable phenomena connected with their political conduct may be traced to this predisposition:—The *first*, that though many nations are frequently found to have followed the standard of one, yet in no known instance did they ever melt into identity with the dominant nation, or acknowledge any other superiority than a precedence and right of command in war: the *second*, that after their most decisive successes in the field, they often relapsed into the most unaccountable inertness, and wholly neglected to improve advantages which, in the hands of a conquering people, must have led to far more important results. In victory, as in defeat, we find them ever ready to accept compositions in money, to take service in the armies of the empire, and to sell their assistance to foreigners, even at times when, by perseverance in hostility, they might have made large territorial acquisitions. These observations lead to the conclusion that the notion of permanent conquest, implying the right to appropriate and govern the country of the vanquished, and to deal arbitrarily with their persons and property, had never presented itself clearly to the minds of the Teutonic nations.⁴⁵

desire of physical enjoyment. Hence their unions are political rather than national;

and hence they are always more anxious for wealth than for territorial aggrandizement.

From the period at which our narrative has arrived, we date a change in most of these respects. But that change was not sudden; the spirit of adventurous warfare still kept its hold upon the national character: nor did the notion of *governing* the countries they overran at once take possession of their imaginations. They were not yet reconciled to the abode in cities and towns, nor familiarized with the tasks of dividing out and cultivating the lands of the vanquished; and accordingly the first conquerors, after a hasty pillage of the invaded provinces, hurried onward in search of new scenes of rapine. This observation may tend to explain that mysterious rapidity with which the Germans pursued their career of migration from the banks of the Rhine to the southern extremity of Spain, and even along the shores of Africa. At no time, either before or after they had quitted their native land, do we find any force to propel them from behind. The Huns were yet far away; nor is there any evidence that those formidable hordes had, up to that period, made a single stride in advance of the Scythian and Sarmatian steppes.⁴⁶ The invasions, in fact, by

But from this period we date a revolution in these respects. Yet the change is gradual.

The barbarians still take no heed to conquest, but hurry onward to new scenes of rapine,

without any apparent external force to impel them.

⁴⁵ As to the political character of the Gothic union, comp. sec. i. p. 317. of this chap.

⁴⁶ Comp. *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 396, with *Gibbon*, vol. iii. c. 30. p. 161. et seq. The former seems to me to have determined with great acuteness the true

geographical and political position of the Huns, both in respect to the empire and to the Germanic nations; and to have very satisfactorily accounted for the appearance of Hunnic auxiliaries in the Roman armies at a period so early as to have

Yet modern historians, misled by the magnitude of the results, persist in attributing their unresisted inroads to some extrinsic power impelling them from behind.

A.D. 407.
GREAT MI-
GRATION OF
THE BAR-
BARIC NA-
TIONS.
Gaul is over-
run by Van-
dals, Burgun-
dians, Suevi,
Alani, Heruli,
Gepidæ and
Saxons.

Mayntz,
Worms,
Spire, and
Strasburg on
the Rhine;

which the dissolution of the western empire was brought to pass, do not differ materially either in character or in motive from those terrible irruptions which had been successfully repelled by Marius and by Cæsar, by the Antonines, by Claudius, and by Aurelian.⁴⁷ The invaders were now neither more numerous, nor more ferocious; neither better combined, nor more united in their efforts than on the occasions just adverted to. The magnitude and importance of the results in the last instance seem to have dazzled most modern historians, and induced them to look for adventitious and extrinsic causes to account for effects which are in fact referable to the natural operations of the barbaric character,—to predisposition, locality, and a variety of circumstances which, for centuries past, had undergone no material change. Hence it is that we are constantly referred to the overwhelming tide of the Hunnic migration, to uncontrollable pressure from behind, impelling nation upon nation, till the accumulated mass burst its barriers, and poured itself over the empire in one irresistible torrent. A closer examination of the facts will, it is presumed, dispel this exaggerated impression, and induce us to ascribe the great European revolution of the fifth century rather to the decrepitude of ancient civilization, than to the augmented impetus of barbarism.

The year of Christ 407 marks the commencement of that *great migration of nations* from which, rather than from the extinction of the name, we are disposed to date the downfall of the Roman empire of the west. In that year almost every district of Gaul between the Rhine, the Atlantic and the Pyrenees, was simultaneously overrun, and frightfully ravaged by Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, Alani, Heruli, Gepidæ and Saxons. The inhabitants seem to have been so incapacitated by terror, or by long disuse of arms, that the walled-towns no longer afforded protection.⁴⁷ The important city of Mayntz was taken and destroyed; many thousands perished in the principal church. Worms offered an obstinate resistance, but was at length taken and totally ruined. Spire and Strasburg shared the same fate. In the north of Gaul the inhabi-

induced Gibbon, and the historians who follow him, to suppose them to have made much greater progress westward than the evidence warrants. There is indeed an entry in the meagre chronicle of Count Marcellinus, (compiled in the reign of Justinian,) implying that, as early as the year 427, the Huns had already been fifty years in possession of Pannonia! See *Art de Vér. les Dates*, tom. i. p. 395. But this is manifestly an error; since, in the year 377, to which we are thus carried back, they had hardly yet settled themselves in the Scythian possessions of the

Ostrogoths. See sect i. of this chap.

⁴⁷ See chap. i. sect. 1 and 2.; chap. v. sect. 1. pp. 177—183.; chap. vi. sect. 1. p. 219. and sect. 2. p. 228.

⁴⁷ It will perhaps be called to mind that, in the reign of Constantius, the barbarians had taken or destroyed forty cities of Gaul, which were afterwards retaken and rebuilt by Julian. See chap. vii. sect. 2. pp. 260 and 273. So that even the fall of so many fortified places is no new feature in the history of this, to distinguish it from former invasions.

tants of Rheims, Arras, Amiens, Tournay, were dragged into captivity ; in the south, the provinces of Aquitaine, Gallia Lugdunensis, Novempopulana and Narbonensis, were, with the exception of some few towns, totally depopulated. "It is of the Lord's mercy," exclaims St. Jerome, "and not of our own deserts, that a few of us are yet left alive !" A famine, more destructive than the sword of the barbarians, consumed the strength of the wretched remnant.⁴⁸ The rural population, driven to extremity by hunger and the total suspension of industry, adopted the most desperate modes of procuring subsistence ; they congregated in marauding bands, and infested the country under the name of Bagaudes.⁴⁹

Rheims, Arras, Amiens, and Tournay in the north of Gaul, are destroyed. Aquitaine, Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Novempopulana are depopulated.

In the midst of these frightful calamities, the Romans still found space and leisure for civil dissensions. By the removal of the Gallic legions for the defence of Italy, the communication with Britain had been interrupted. The troops left there to check the irruptions of the Picts and Scots, disencumbered from the pressure of the central authority, determined to set up an emperor for themselves. Two officers, named Marcus and Gratian, were successively elevated to the purple, deposed and murdered by the military rabble. They next selected Constantine, an obscure person, taken from the lowest ranks of the soldiery, for no better reason than that he bore a name which recalled the memory of a ruler peculiarly revered and cherished in the island.⁵⁰ But in order that the prognostic might not lose its effect, it became necessary that the name and the conduct should correspond. In imitation, therefore, of his great namesake, the new emperor embarked with his army for Gaul, and landed at Boulogne. The indolent inhabitants of that country recognised

At the same time Constantine revolts in Britain.

He is recognised in Gaul.

⁴⁸ *S. Hieronym.* Op. Ed. Vallarsii, tom. i. p. 908. in *Epistol. ad Ageruchiam Viduam de Monogamiâ*. The saint, no doubt, made the most of these tragic incidents in order to produce the desired impression upon his pupil, a young widow named Ageruchia, whom he wished to dissuade from taking a second husband: "Responde mihi, carissima in Christo filia, inter ista nuptura es? Quem acceptura virum? Cedo: Fugitum an pugnatum?" &c.

⁴⁹ A roving banditti consisting of the lowest class of the Gallic peasantry. They were known as early as the reign of Diocletian. *Aurel. Victor, De Cæsaribus*, c. 39. *Eusebius* in *Chron.* ad Olymp. 269. Ann. 4to Dioclet. They retained their name and habits down to the year 439, as we learn from the *Chron. of Prosp. Tyro* ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 639. See also *Salvian. Massiliensis Episc. De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. v. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 779. *Luden* (vol. i. p. 575.

note 27.) quotes a tract entitled "*Historia Calamitatum Galliæ*," ap. *Du Chesne. Ss. Rr. Gall.* tom. i. p. 72.

⁵⁰ That of Constantine the Great, the son of Constantius Chlorus, both equally popular with the stationary legions of Britain; and by them handed down with honour to their successors. I suspect a poetical flourish in Claudian when he tells us that Stilicho removed the legions from Britain. He could hardly have marched them into Italy in time to take any share in the contest against Alaric, and unless he could accomplish that, the removal would have been worse than useless. Besides the army of Constantine was too powerful to have consisted of a mere frontier guard against the Picts and Scots; unless indeed we suppose Stilicho to have sent them back again after the termination of the war, as Gibbon appears to have done. See vol. iii. p. 173.

Honorius dispatches the Gothic confederate Sarus against him.

Constantine defeats him by the aid of the barbaric invaders of Gaul, and adds Spain likewise to his dominions.

But the Roman general Gerontius rebels against him in that country, and opens the passes of the Pyrenees to the barbarians.
A.D. 409.

The Vandals, Suevi, and Alani overrun the Peninsula.

his claim to the diadem, and all that remained to Rome of her Gallic dominions hailed him as its sovereign and deliverer. The court of Ravenna, on the other hand, proclaimed him a usurper and a traitor, and dispatched Sarus, a chief of the Gothic confederates, to arrest his progress. Constantine, after the example of his predecessors, legitimate or spurious, had managed to attach the barbaric invaders to his standard. The latter did not yet think fit to dispute the nominal sovereignty of the Romans over the territory of which they enjoyed the substantial benefit, and were as ready to dip their hands into the coffers of the usurper, as they would have been to accept the gold of Honorius, if he had been so fortunate as to make the first offer. By their aid Sarus was defeated and driven for shelter into the city of Valence; whence, after sustaining a siege, he was compelled to retire into Italy and abandon the province to his competitor.⁵¹ Constantine was equally successful in Spain; his son Constans, whom he sent into that country, overcame the imperial officers Didymus and Verinianus, who attempted to retain the province in obedience to Honorius, and added it to the dominion of his father.

The barbaric conquerors of Gaul had not yet violated the soil of Spain. Though it is not to be supposed that a prize so rich had escaped their attention, or that it could long have withstood their onset; yet the Pyrenees still presented a formidable barrier, and some time and preparation would have been requisite to ensure success. But the senseless dissensions—the puerile ambition of the Roman leaders—threw the gates of the Peninsula wide open to them, and invited them to the banquet of blood and rapine. Constans, at his triumphant departure from the province, had left the duke Gerontius behind him to guard the passes of the Pyrenees. The latter was no sooner rid of his patron, than he threw off his allegiance, and invested an officer named Maximus with the purple. Doubting his power to maintain himself at once against the usurper, the Roman court and the barbarians of Aquitaine, he struck a bargain with the latter, and without hesitation opened the passes of the mountains to his new allies. In the month of September or October of the year 409, rather more therefore than two years after the general irruption into Gaul,⁵² vast swarms of Vandals, Alani, and Suevi, under their chiefs Gunderich, Hermerich and Respendial, poured themselves out over the

⁵¹ *Zosim.* lib. vi. cc. 2 and 3. pp. 371-373. *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 40. p. 577. The Venerable Bede (*Hist. Eccles.* ad Ann. 407. lib. i. c. 9.) has followed the latter. *Comp. Prosp. Chron.* Honor. vii. et Theodos. ii. Coss. (A.D. 407.)

⁵² *Annotat. Du Cange ad Zonaram* ap. *Stritter*, vol. i. p. 276. note 3. *Comp. Idatii Chron.* ad

Ann. xv. Honor. *Idem* in *Fastis*. Honor. viii. et Theodos. iii. Coss.; and the numerous authorities for this date, ap. *Lembke*, *Geschichte von Spanien*, vol. i. p. 15. See also the note of *Basnage* ad *Prosp. Aquil.* *Chron.* ad Ann. Honor. viii. et Theodos. iii. Coss. ap. *Canisium* *Lectiones Antiquæ*. tom. i. p. 298.

Spanish Peninsula. Wheresoever they came, their presence was marked by the most appalling devastations. The cities were reduced to ashes; the fruits of the fields wantonly trodden under foot and destroyed; famine and pestilence followed their footsteps; the wolf and the vulture tracked their path, and the life of Spanish civilization, industry, and wealth became extinct amid unutterable sufferings and woes.⁵³

Very few details of this destructive conquest have been handed down to us. Of the nations which achieved it we have only the general names,—Vandals, Suevi, and Alani. It has been already attempted to determine the various changes of locality which took place in regard to the two former,⁵⁴ and taking the conclusions already arrived at for well founded, the Suevi in question were a numerous offset from that great race whose name they bore; and consisted of a miscellaneous assemblage collected from all or most of the Suevic tribes of central Germany; of Hermunduri, Quadi, Marcomanni, Semnones, and others, whether they be distinguished by their generic names, their tribe names, or their names of association. The same remark applies to their companions, the Vandals; and we may, without fear of error, presume the latter swarm to have been made up in like manner of those Heruli, Longobardi, Burgundians, Lygians, Juthungi, Lemovii, and Rugii, who had receded before the tide of Gothic conquest from the shores of the Baltic and the Vistula to those of the Rhine. The points at which they crossed that stream are the subject of conjecture merely. The locality of the city first destroyed may perhaps mark the principal point. The district between the rivers Mayne and Neckar divided the territories of the Alemanni and the Franks. Into this interval, it should seem, the Vandalic invaders penetrated, and destroyed Mayntz first, and subsequently Worms, Spire and Strasburg in succession: they then struck off to the south westward and ravaged the maritime and Pyrenean district of Gaul; while the Franks took a more westerly course, and pillaged Rheims, Arras, Amiens and Tournay. The Alemanni, whose territory was not violated by the migrating tribes, appear to have remained stationary; or, at the most, to have contented themselves with taking possession of the nearest districts of Gaul bordering upon the Upper Rhine.⁵⁵

The direction
of the barbaric
migrations.

It is probable
that they first
crossed the
Rhine, some-
where between
the discharges
of the Mayne
and Neckar.
The Suevi,
Vandals, and
Alani ravage
the southern,
the Franks the
northern dis-
tricts of Gaul.

⁵³ *Zosim.* lib. vi. cc. 3, 4, 5. *Olympiodor.* as quoted by *Lembke*, ubi sup. *Orosius*, lib. vi. c. 40. p. 578. *Isidor.* Hispal. Chron. Vandal. ad Æram 446, p. 732. (*Grotii.*) *St. Augustin*, (Epist. 3, ad Victorianum,) and *Salvian* (De Gub. Dei, lib. vii. p. 137.) ascribe all these miseries to the

heresies of the clergy, and the incontinence of the people of Spain.

⁵⁴ See c. vi. sect. 2. p. 227.

⁵⁵ In other words, the old Roman province of Upper Germany. Comp. *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 350.

The presence of the Alani among the conquerors of Gaul and Spain is difficult to account for.

There remains no doubt upon our minds as to the identity of the two great central and northern nations of Germany,—the Suevi and Vandals of Cæsar, Tacitus and Pliny,—with the conquerors of Spain and Africa. The prior movements of these nations, the direction of their migration, and the unanimity of historians, form a very complete chain of evidence. But it is a more difficult task to explain the presence of the Alani among them. The difficulty springs chiefly from want of precise information regarding that singular race; from our inability to trace them at any one step in their progress from the Sarmatian plains to the banks of the Rhine; and from the apparently perplexing fact that for centuries, both before and after their alleged migration, they are found occupying the same regions, pursuing the same mode of life, and exercising the same influence in the affairs of their neighbours.

Alani, or *Albani*, is a generic name used by the Greeks and Romans to designate the fair-haired Nomadic tribes dwelling to the northward of the Caspian Sea.

The name Alani, or Albani, was, in fact, a generic name by which the Greek and Roman writers were accustomed to designate all the Nomadic tribes which roamed over the plains of the Don and Volga, and thence southward and south-eastward to the Caucasian mountains, even as far as the Hindu Cûsh, over the western table-lands of central Asia.⁵⁶ Orosius, indeed, seems to confine them within the limits of Europe,⁵⁷ between the river Don and the boundary of Dacia; but it is obvious that he refers to the European portion only of that widely disseminated and numerous race. And, in truth, these Alani, or Albani, are with a great degree of probability identified with those ancient Massagetæ whose geography is so accurately settled by Herodotus and Ptolemy.⁵⁸ Again, a nation of Alani, or Albani, was attacked and vanquished a first time by Pompey, sixty-five years before Christ, and a second time by the emperor Hadrian, one hundred and thirty-six years after that epoch. In the third, fourth, and fifth centuries of the Christian era they appear as the allies of the Goths: again, after the overthrow of the Sarmato-Gothic kingdom as the subjects of the Huns; and a few years later as the conquerors of Spain, in conjunction with the Vandals and Suevi. At a still later period the Byzantine historians mention them as the constant inhabitants of very nearly the same regions assigned to them from

⁵⁶ Compare *Jul. Capitolin.*, in *M. Antonio*, c. 22. *Procop.* Hist. Goth. lib. iv. p. 415. Ed. Grotii. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 671.

⁵⁷ *Oros.* lib. i. c. 2. p. 23.

⁵⁸ *Klaproth*, *Tableaux Histor. de l'Asie*, p. 176. See also *Herod.* *Clio*, c. 204, 205. We meet with notices respecting the Alani in *Lucan*,

(*Pharsalia*, lib. viii. v. 223.) in *Martial*, (*Epigramm.* lib. vii. epig. 29.) and *Josephus* (*De Bell. Jud.* lib. vii.). The latter places them on the Tanais and Palus Mæotis. The names of "Alani" and "Albani" are expressly treated as synonymous by *Zonaras*. (*Ss. Hist. Byz.* tom. ii. p. 100.)

the most ancient times. They treat of them invariably as an aboriginal race, distinct from the nations around them: and trace them in uninterrupted possession of their ancient settlements down to the middle of the twelfth century at least.⁵⁹

The information of which we are now in possession respecting the Nomadic tribes of central Asia, derived from a more familiar acquaintance with the Chinese annalists, enables us, in a great degree, to supply the deficiencies of the Greek writers, and to recognize in the Alani an ancient and powerful branch of that great Indo-Germanic stock so widely disseminated over the surface of central Asia. According to these authorities, the people called *Yan-Thsai*, or *A-Lan*, were known to the Chinese at least one hundred and twenty years before the Christian era.⁶⁰ They dwelt on the northern confines of Sogdiana and the Caspian Sea: they were a tall, well-built, and fair-haired race:⁶¹ in personal appearance they strongly resembled their neighbours the *Sogdians*, the *Ou-Sun*, and the other tribes of the same stock; but offered a striking contrast to the low stature, squat figures, flat noses, depressed foreheads, high cheek-bones, and thin lanky hair of the Turkish, Mongolic, Tâtaric, and Chinese races.

Combining the accounts of the ancients with the information we derive from the Chinese annals, we recognize in the Alani an ancient branch of the great Indo-Germanic race of central Asia.

These geographical and physical particulars, compared with the accounts of Ammian, Orosius, and Procopius, leave no doubt of the identity of the A-Lan of the Chinese, and the Alani, or Albani, of the Greeks and Romans. From the physical structure, the features and habits attributed to this race, they have been classed with those numerous Indo-Germanic nations from which a vast portion of the population of Europe is descended. The inferences deduced from these and other more general considerations establish a common descent, and an affinity of language between the Alani and their late masters the Goths,—circumstances which help us likewise to account for that facility with which they afterwards associated with a strictly Germanic tribe like the Vandals.

The Chinese annalists refer, however, exclusively to the Asiatic portion of the Alanic race, and their notices come down to the year 565 of our era. The Byzantine historians assign to them the same locality, and a similar social and political condition, but bring down their history to a much later period. It is highly probable that this division of the nation retired southward before the Huns into the Caucasian isthmus, while the European portion attempted an ineffectual resistance,

They separate into two divisions. The eastern half retires before the Huns into the Caucasian mountains,

while the western tribes are

⁵⁹ The passages referred to will be found in *Stritter's Digest of the Byzantine Historians*, tom. iv. pp. 335-358.

⁶⁰ See note 15 of the preceding section.

⁶¹ Compare the personal description of the Alani by *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 670.

carried onwards
by the invaders
to the banks of
the Pruth.
From this
point they are
lost till they
re-appear on
the Rhine with
the Vandals
and Suevi in
407.

and after a while coalesced with the invaders whose power they could not withstand. With the Huns they advanced, in the year 375, to the banks of the Pruth; but here all trace of them is lost, till, in the year 407, we find them in the heart of Germany in close alliance with the Teutonic Vandals and Suevi for the acquisition of new settlements, or, perhaps, rather for the enlargement of their sphere of migration and rapine. The Nomadic character of the people tends to dispel the doubts which the want of connecting incidents in their history, the great length of their march, and the variety of obstacles they must have encountered, naturally call up in our minds. Those ties of kindred origin, and that affinity of language which had united them for so long a period with their former masters the Goths, now contributed to facilitate amalgamation with their Vandalic and Suevic associates, and the character of these Caspian shepherds gradually underwent that change which their new political and social condition required.⁶²

The Vandals,
Suevi, and
Alani, partition
Spain.

Two years after the conquest of Spain, the associated nations resolved upon a partition of the country. The Suevi and Vandals appropriated the whole of Galicia and all the north-western districts of the Peninsula. A branch of the latter, under the name of Selingii, settled in Bætica. Lusitania and the Carthaginensian provinces fell to the share of the Alani. The Romans were still permitted to hold the Tarracoenensian districts; but the time was approaching when this last fragment of their Spanish dominions was to be wrested from their feeble grasp—when the now victorious Vandals were to be once more driven forth as wanderers, and compelled to carve out an indemnity for the loss of Spain at the further expense of the decaying empire. The progress of the powerful foe, by whom this second revolution was to be effected, calls our attention back to Italy, where we shall find almost every element of moral, political, and social evil in a state of violent and destructive fermentation.⁶³

⁶² We are indebted for this remarkable comparison of the Greek and Chinese testimonies regarding the Alanic race, and the instructive coincidences they present, to *M. Klaproth's* dissertation on the fairhaired or Indo-Germanic races of Central Asia, inserted in the text to his "Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie," pp. 161 to 186, a work of extraordinary labour and research, written in a surprisingly clear and unpretending

manner. His ethnographical charts, exhibiting the successive changes in the locality of the several races and nations of Central Asia, are a monument of patient industry and learning, for which we can hardly be too grateful.

⁶³ See *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 40. p. 578. *Idatius* in *Chron.* ad Ann. 411. *Isidor.* *Hispal. Chron.* Vandal. Edit. Grotii, p. 733.

SECTION III.—A. D. 404 to A. D. 412.

League between Stilicho and Alaric for the re-union of Eastern Illyricum with the Western Empire. —Breach between Alaric and the empire—Death of Stilicho—Massacre of the barbarian Families —Alaric invades Italy and blockades Rome—Ransom of the City—Alaric and Jovius—Alaric's proposals rejected—Elevation and deposition of Attalus—Terms of Alaric again rejected—He plunders Rome—Views and policy of Alaric—He abandons Rome—Dies in Calabria—Elevation of Ataulf—He marries Placidia and evacuates Italy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the state of exhaustion to which the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople were reduced,—the former by the invasion of Alaric, the latter by the revolt of Gainas,—the miserable cabals by which they strove to overreach and weaken each other proceeded without abatement. Stilicho had not profited, as he expected, by the ruin of Rufinus and Eutropius; yet neither these disappointments nor the precarious state of public affairs could induce him to forego his projects against the independence of the East. The claim to the regency of both divisions of the empire, which he derived from the pretended bequest of Theodosius, had, indeed, abated by the lapse of time and the full age of both emperors. But he knew that, among the causes of dissension existing between the two courts, the alienation of the eastern moiety of the Illyrian prefecture by the emperor Gratian was the most grievous¹ to Honorius. He therefore flattered the emperor with the

Stilicho proposes to Honorius a project for re-annexing the eastern moiety of the Illyrian province to the empire of the west;

¹ Diocletian (A. D. 292.) assigned a prætorian prefect to each of his four colleagues. In that division Galerius obtained Illyricum and Thrace. Constantine made no alteration in the divisions of Diocletian, excepting that he detached the province of Thrace, and added it to the prefecture of the East. The province of Illyricum originally consisted of Dalmatia, the two Japiddias, Carnia (Carniola), Istria, and Liburnia. Augustus restricted these limits by annexing the two Japiddias, Carnia and Istria, to Italy. Under Diocletian the *province* gave its name to the *prefecture* of Illyricum. The prefecture then comprised the entire provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Savia, Valeria, Dalmatia, Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Greece, Mœsia, Dardania, Prævalitana, and Crete. At the first partition of the empire between Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364.), the entire prefecture of

Illyricum was assigned to the western division. But at the elevation of Theodosius, Gratian divided off the eastern half, consisting of the provinces of Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Greece, Mœsia, Dardania, Prævalitana, and Crete. in favour of his new colleague (A. D. 379.); and the latter, at his death in 395, left it to his children as he received it from his benefactor. See *Zosim.* lib. ii. pp. 109, 110. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvi. c. 5. p. 496. *Mascon*, vol. i. pp. 359 and 387; and the passage from *Sozomen*, (lib. viii. c. 4.), quoted at length in *Mascon*. Compare also *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.*, and *Gibbon*, vol. ii. p. 489. See also *Mannert*, *Geogr. &c.* vol. vii. p. 322. The oriental Illyricum, therefore, had been detached from the western empire for a period of at least twenty-five years, when Stilicho projected its recovery.

and treats with Alaric for his assistance.

Alaric disengages himself from his connexion with the East,

prospect of recovering that extensive region, and obtained his consent to a negociation with Alaric for his aid in carrying this project into effect.²

It may surprise us that Alaric should have entertained the proposal of Stilicho at all, much more so that he should have entered readily into the views of the Roman minister. He had but a short time before accepted the cession of a portion of Illyricum,³ the presidency of the province, and the command of the army of the prefecture from the government of the East; at his instance Stilicho himself had been declared an outlaw; and he had zealously co-operated in thwarting the designs of the latter upon the regency of the East. These considerations were now all at once disregarded, and Alaric, without apparent cause, stepped forth as the open enemy of the power by which he had been trusted and rewarded. Such changes had, however, taken place in the East⁴ as to suspend, if not wholly to break off, his connexion with that division of the empire. Eutropius had fallen,—the power of that minister had passed into the hands of other favourites, to be transferred, after a few months of precarious enjoyment, to those of Gainas and his lawless associates. By the first invasion of Italy, Alaric might regard his obligations towards the eastern court as satisfied. At all events the issue of that expedition wholly changed his relation towards the western empire. After his doubtful victory at Pollentia, Stilicho had submitted to purchase a peace by the cession of Pannonia, and Alaric thus became the vassal of the West, as he was already of the East. It is even affirmed, that with a view to the scheme of recovering the prefecture of Illyricum, he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout that division of the empire.⁵ Amid this entanglement of obligations, it may be taken for granted that the barbarian would not be very solicitous to discover the exact middle path of duty. He had, in fact, placed himself in a situation with respect to both parties, in which plausible excuses to justify the course which his interests or inclinations might dictate, could not be wanting. Whatever the promises made to him by Stilicho may have been, it is clear that the court of Constantinople could not outbid them; and whether the minister of Honorius performed or forfeited his engagements, the advantage to Alaric was great either way, and in the emphatic language of Scripture—"he reaped where he had not sown, and gathered where he had not strewed."

and embraces the proposal of Stilicho.

² *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 332.

³ Of the province, not the prefecture of Illyricum. See note 1.

⁴ In the year 393.

⁵ *Gibbon*, vol. iii. p. 178. The author relies upon the *Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, by the Comte de Buat, whose laborious accuracy he praises.

According to the account of Zosimus⁶ this negotiation with Alaric had been brought to a conclusion prior to the invasion of Radagaisus in 405; and in pursuance of the understanding with Stilicho, Alaric advanced to the confines of Italy, as if in attendance upon the motions of his new ally. Meanwhile the irruption of the Vandals suspended the common scheme for that and the ensuing year; and when, in 407, the disastrous news arrived of the total ruin of Gaul by the Rhenish barbarians, and of the threatened dismemberment of the empire by the revolt of Constantine, Stilicho must have felt that the abandonment of his designs upon the East was now no longer a matter of choice.⁷ The time, therefore, for Alaric to act had arrived, and he resolved to extract the utmost advantage from the juncture. It can hardly be doubted that he was thoroughly informed of the embarrassments of the court, and well inclined to profit by them. After tarrying a while at *Æmona*,⁸ a town of Carnia, conveniently situated for communication either with Italy or Noricum, he suddenly moved his army to the westward, and possessed himself of the Tridentine passes,⁹ from whence he dispatched envoys to Ravenna to demand a large sum of money as an indemnity for the expenses incurred, as well by the delay of the Illyrican expedition, as by the long marches he had undertaken at the instance of the minister.

The amount required so far exceeded the ability of the court, and yet the danger of a refusal was so imminent, that Stilicho was compelled to resort to the now almost obsolete credit of the senate at Rome for a supply. But it was now obvious that the power of the minister was upon the decline. With great difficulty, and at no small personal risk, he obtained from the reluctant fathers the sum of four thousand pounds of gold as the price of peace. At the conclusion of the debates, Honorius, who had accompanied him to Rome, broke from the trammels in which he had been hitherto retained by the art or the talents of Stilicho; and, in spite of the minister's opposition, precipitately set forth on his return to Ravenna. The death of Arcadius in the East, which took place on the 1st of May of the year 408, seems for a moment to have revived the ambitious projects of Stilicho upon that division of the empire. With the assent of Honorius, measures were adopted for collecting a force sufficient to enable him to assume the regency of the East during the minority of

But the enterprise against the eastern court is interrupted by a dangerous invasion of Italy by the Vandalic hordes under Radagaisus,

A. D. 405.

and Stilicho finds himself compelled to abandon the scheme.

But Alaric resolves not to forego the advantages of the treaty. He makes threatening movements on the northern frontier of Italy,

and demands an indemnity for the expenses and delays incurred at the instance of the minister.

To meet this demand Stilicho applies to the senate at Rome for a public grant.

The senate reluctantly assents to the sum of four thousand pounds of gold to purchase a peace with Alaric.

Honorius meanwhile withdraws himself from the tutelage of Stilicho.

The emperor Arcadius dies, 1st May, A. D. 408.

⁶ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 330.

⁷ The false report of the death of Alaric, to which Zosimus in part attributes the hesitation of Stilicho, was soon contradicted, and could not have affected the designs of the latter. But see *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 332.

⁸ The site of *Æmona* is supposed to have lain

near the modern city of Laybach, at the débouche of the roads over the Julian and Carnian Alps.

* With what view it is difficult to determine, unless it were for the purpose of strengthening his force by adding to it the roving bands of Danubian barbarians, whom the abandonment of the frontiers by Stilicho had let loose.

An army is collected at Pavia, and thither Honorius is improvidently permitted to repair.

Olympius poisons the mind of the emperor against Stilicho.

The troops are instigated to fall upon the adherents of the minister. His friends are put to death.

Stilicho hesitates to commit himself in a war with his sovereign.

He is deserted by his partizans and put to death at Ravenna.

A. D. 408.
23d August.
Olympius per-

Theodosius II., the infant son of the deceased emperor, while Alaric was to be prevailed upon to march against the usurper Constantine in Gaul, and reduce that province to the obedience of Rome. With this view an army was already collected at Ticinum,¹⁰ and thither Honorius was improvidently permitted to repair, for the alleged purpose of encouraging the troops by the presence and exhortations of the sovereign. When the court cabal, headed by the worthless sycophant Olympius, had thus succeeded in separating the feeble Honorius from his friend and adviser, the ruin of the latter followed almost as a matter of course. The credulous emperor was easily persuaded that the secret object of the good understanding now once more established between Stilicho and Alaric was the elevation of Eucherius, the son of the former, to the throne of the East. Under this impression he abandoned himself to the councils of Olympius. A few days after his arrival at Ticinum he harangued the assembled troops; the latter, predisposed by the intrigues of the new favourite, fell upon all who had been pointed out to them as the friends of Stilicho and put them to death. Their fury extended itself to all the great officers of state; generals, prefects, civilians of every rank, were dragged from their houses, and mercilessly butchered to glut the blood-thirsty rage of the pusillanimous savages of whom the native armies of Rome were now composed.¹¹

Stilicho was at Bologna when he received the news of the slaughter of his friends at Ticinum. Here, surrounded by his faithful bands of confederate Goths, he might not only have defied, but have exacted vengeance upon his enemies. The assembled chiefs unanimously advised him to march directly against the seditious army, and to exercise the severest retribution upon the murderers of their countrymen. But Stilicho hesitated to commit his own fortunes, his adopted country, and the life of his sovereign to the mercy of these fierce adherents. Time, he thought, might restore the affections of Honorius; but he did not reflect that it might also abate the zeal of his own friends. In this mood he retired to Ravenna, to negotiate from thence for his restoration to favour. But the cabal was more active: an order arrived from the court to arrest him; and his partizans, disheartened by his want of decision, and prepared for his fall, abstained from interfering in his defence. In this extremity he took refuge in a church, whence, on the following day, he was perfidiously enticed away and led to instant death.¹²

By the murder of Stilicho the empire was deprived of the only one

¹⁰ Pavia.

¹¹ *Zosim.* lib. v. pp. 341, 342.

¹² *Idem*, *Ibid.* 345. The narrative of *Orosius*

(lib. vii. c. 38.) is a mere invective against Stilicho.

among its generals and statesmen who displayed any knowledge of its interests, or capacity for the management of its affairs. The first task of the new favourite was to load the memory of his predecessor with every obloquy which malice could invent, or cruelty extort from the reluctant lips of his surviving friends.¹³ All who had ever adhered to Stilicho, or been promoted by him, were removed, persecuted, or tortured, to extract imputations injurious to his fame. His son, Eucherius, was hunted down and murdered; his friends and relatives dispersed, impoverished, put to death, till none remained to whisper a defence for the victim of posthumous defamation.¹⁴ The conduct of the army exhibited a close copy of the crimes of the court. The Roman soldiery, originally excited to insubordination to serve the purposes of the court, wherever they were quartered, received the news of the death of Stilicho with wild exultation. They could find no more appropriate mode of testifying their joy than by murdering the wives and children, and pillaging the property of the barbarian auxiliaries entrusted to their protection. The court was probably too much confounded by this proof of the ardent zeal of its supporters to take the needful measures for preventing the outburst of vengeance such deeds could not fail to engender. The kindred and relatives of the slain flocked together from every quarter, and simultaneously threw themselves into the arms of Alaric for redress and retribution.¹⁵ Upwards of thirty thousand con-

secutes the
surviving
friends of Sti-
lichio.

The army mur-
ders the wives
and children of
the barbaric
auxiliaries.

The latter
throw them-
selves upon the
protection of
Alaric.

¹³ It is curious to compare the narrative of *Zosimus* with that of his contemporary *Orosius* (lib. vii. c. 38.) Olympius is obviously regarded by the latter as the champion of the church, though he does not name him. The toleration, possibly the secret inclination, of Stilicho for the old religion was manifestly the principal charge against him; and no doubt Olympius made the best use of it to poison the mind of Honorius against his minister. *Orosius* is, in fact, the representative of Olympius and his party; and the secret history of the age might possibly trace the fall of Stilicho to the suspicions and dislike of the churchmen. This may be what *Gibbon* (vol. iii. p. 184, note 105.) means by the "supplemental hints to be gathered from Olympiodorus, *Orosius*, *Sozomen*, and *Philostorgius*." *Mascon* (vol. i. p. 415, notes 7, 8, 9.) adds the names of *Prosper*, *Jerome*, and *Marcellinus*,—he might have added *Augustine* to boot—to the number of hostile witnesses. But he (pp. 415 and 416.) has also administered the corrective in the plain and sensible remarks inserted in the nineteenth chapter of the eighth book of his his-

tory. *Baronius* (tom. vi. pp. 544, 545.) has given to the adverse testimonies all the weight which the numbers, without regard to the temper and interests of the witnesses, would bear. The numerous ordinances against the adherents of Stilicho, contained in the *Codex Theodos.*, are set out by *Baronius* and his commentator *Pagi*. The pains and penalties of these enactments are extended to all who had ever had any connexion with, or received any benefit from, Stilicho. We can scarcely desire stronger testimony to the bitter hatred of the party of Olympius and the churchmen.

¹⁴ We are strongly inclined to forgive the manifold sins of *Zosimus* in consideration of his manly and eloquent defence of this distinguished person, whose fame must otherwise have rested upon the infirm testimony of a poet and professed panegyrist against a host of adverse witnesses whose prejudices were inflamed by charges clearly traceable to the slanders of his enemy and murderer Olympius.

¹⁵ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 347.

federate Goths and barbarians carried their wrongs and resentments to the camp of the Visigothic king, with proffers of devoted service in his wars against their perfidious employers.

Alaric hesitates to break the peace concluded with Stilicho.

But the cause of the injured mercenaries of Rome was not the cause of Alaric or his people. It appears that he wished for time to ascertain what aspect affairs would assume in Italy by the death of Stilicho, before he committed himself in a war with his successor. The treaty of peace with the late minister was yet too recent to be broken without some specious provocation; and it was as yet by no means certain that greater advantages might not be derived from a dexterous use of the pretexts for interference which the misconduct of the court and the army had placed in his hands, than could be reasonably expected from the most successful war.¹⁶

He asks of the court a moderate compensation in money for the injured confederates.

In this disposition he sent envoys to Honorius, demanding only a moderate sum of money as a compensation to the injured confederates, and an exchange of hostages for the performance of this condition, and the maintenance of peace for the future. But the brain of the court party was yet reeling with joy at their unexpected and undeserved elevation; the chiefs were absorbed in the engrossing task of dividing the spoils of their antagonists; the pusillanimous troops mistook bloodshed for triumph; and the passive Honorius simply adopted the feelings and views of those around him. The proposals of Alaric were rejected, and the only chance of safety to Italy and Rome was wantonly thrown away. Honesty, conduct, courage, authority, were all wanting: the chief commands were committed to sycophants and place-hunters: on the eve of the invasion the troops were permitted to remain dispersed in their quarters as if no danger were at hand: Sarus, the only confederate leader of known talents who still continued faithful to his engagements, was not trusted: no army was in the field, and

The court refuses his demand, though divested of every means of effectual resistance.

¹⁶ I have been surprised to find that almost all the modern historians have (in part at least) ascribed the second war between the Goths and the western empire to the non-payment of the four thousand pounds of gold voted to Alaric by the senate shortly before the death of Stilicho. Gibbon (vol. iii. p. 192.), Luden (vol. ii. p. 357.), Mascon (vol. i. p. 416.), *The Ancient Universal History* (vol. xix. p. 295) appear, all of them, to have drawn that inference from the following passage of Zosimus (lib. v. p. 347.): Στείλας δὲ πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ χρήμασιν οὐ πολλοῖς, εἰρήνην ᾗτοι γενέσθαι, κ. τ. λ.—the accurate Mascon indeed not so boldly as the rest. But, in the *first* place, these words imply *a new demand*; and in the *next*, the inference seems inconsistent with the

express words of Zosimus in reference to the grant. After relating the acquiescence of the senate, and the grant of four thousand pounds of gold, he proceeds: Ο μὲν οὖν Στελίων, τὴν πρὸς Ἀλάρικον εἰρήνην τοιῷδε τρόπῳ καταπραΰμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ὤρμητο, κ. τ. λ. (lib. v. p. 336.) Stilicho can hardly be said to have effected a peace with Alaric, and particularly such a peace as would warrant joint operations against a common enemy, before the performance of the conditions upon which it was based. At all events, Alaric would, in the latter case, naturally have urged the performance of the old, rather than have resorted to a new demand. Zosimus is the only author in whom, after diligent search, I can find any reference to this transaction.

no precautions taken to oppose even a momentary obstacle to the progress of Alaric.¹⁷

As the storm approached, doubt and alarm took possession of the public mind ; vain confidence was succeeded by dejection and dismay ; Alaric derided the tardy show of resistance now got up by the feeble government. After directing Ataulf, his wife's brother, with the army he commanded in Upper Pannonia, to occupy the frontier posts in Noricum and Carnia, which he was himself about to evacuate, he advanced rapidly into Italy ; and, leaving Aquileia in his rear, crossed the Po at Cremona without encountering an enemy. Such was his contempt of the Roman field-forces, that he did not even think the possession of a single fortified place necessary to keep open his communication. Leaving Ravenna and Ariminum behind him, he advanced directly to the gates of Rome. After mastering the castles and open towns of Latium, he occupied all the approaches of the city, established himself on the Tiber, and cut off every avenue by which the daily supplies for the enormous population could reach the capital. A few days of close blockade sufficed to reduce the dense mass of human beings to the extremity of misery and famine. Pestilence, the ordinary effect of want and constant apprehension, wasted their numbers. The defence was, however, protracted in the vain hope of relief from Ravenna ; meanwhile Serena, the niece of Theodosius the Great, and the widow of Stilicho, then residing at Rome, became the object of general suspicion : " she it was who had allured Alaric to Rome : a secret correspondence was carried on between them : upon her he relied as his only chance of obtaining an entrance into the city : if she were removed, his hopes would abate, he would raise the blockade, he would quit the country, or even retire altogether from Italy." Serena was put to death : but Alaric showed no disposition to slacken his grasp ; and this useless crime, after buoying up the spirits of the people for a few days longer, served but to embitter disappointment, and augment the public dejection. The famine had increased to so frightful a height that the people began to feed upon human flesh. In this extremity it was determined to treat with Alaric for the ransom of the city. Basilus and Johannes, the former a retired or displaced provincial president, the latter an acquaintance, and formerly a guest of Alaric, were selected for that duty. They were instructed to intimate to the Gothic prince that the Romans were ready to subscribe to reasonable terms of peace ; but that if such terms were not granted, the whole population stood prepared with arms in their hands to work out their own deliverance.¹⁸

Alaric invades Italy ; leaves Aquileia, Ravenna and Ariminum in his rear, and advances directly upon Rome.

He cuts off all supplies from the city, and soon reduces the vast population to the extreme of famine and distress.

The people murder Serena, the widow of Stilicho ;

and attempt to negotiate a peace with Alaric.

¹⁷ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 348.

¹⁸ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 354.

But Alaric repels the advances of the Romans, and dismisses their envoys with haughty derision.

Alaric was less anxious for the possession of the city than for the means of rewarding and enriching his warriors; but it was necessary to the accomplishment of his designs upon the wealth of the citizens to reduce them to the most abject humiliation. He therefore repelled with derision the menace of an armed insurrection:—"The thicker the crop," he exclaimed, "the more joyful the reaper!" and burst into a loud and scornful laugh. During the whole negotiation he assumed an exaggerated tone of overbearing haughtiness, and declared roundly that the blockade should not be raised until every pound of gold and silver, every article of value, and every barbarian slave within the walls, should have been surrendered. "And when all these things," asked the envoys, "are taken from us, what will then be left to us?" "Your lives!" replied Alaric; and with this message the delegates returned to consult the senate and people.

The people lose all fortitude. The Pagan party raises its head, and assumes for a moment the direction of public affairs.

Hope and fortitude and religion had yielded neither to the repinings of famine nor the sufferings of disease. But the threatened loss of their wealth surpassed the measure of Roman endurance. The fickle multitude cast a wistful eye to the abrogated rites of Pagan superstition; a remnant of the senate still clung to the old polytheism; and thus by connivance, rather than open licence, certain Tuscan soothsayers were permitted to perform the ceremonies enjoined by the pontifical books for propitiating the neglected deities, and prevailing upon them to shower down their thunders upon their enemies. In this irritable temper of the people it was dangerous to thwart the delirium of the moment; no serious or lasting apostacy was to be apprehended; the Christian hierarchy prudently drew back, and yielded the management of affairs to the Pagan party, to whom the disordered state of the public mind had procured a momentary ascendancy. The Tuscan soothsayers, and their patron, the senator Pompeianus, relied less upon the visible interference of their divinities, than upon their own shrewdness and knowledge of the barbarian character. They revived the negotiations with Alaric, and dropped the confident tone by which their predecessors had provoked the conqueror, and at length succeeded in obtaining from him terms such as could be proposed to the people without that dangerous irritation which the prospect of utter destitution had produced upon them. It was agreed that the city should pay for its ransom the sum of four thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand silken robes, three thousand fleeces of scarlet wool, and three thousand pounds of spices. These terms were acceded to by the senate and people; but it was soon found that, by reason of the concealment of property, as well as in consequence of the general poverty engendered

Pompeianus, the chief of the party, negotiates with Alaric,

and agrees with him for the ransom of the city,

by the exactions of the imperial treasury,¹⁹ the private fortunes of those who were willing to contribute did not suffice to raise the sums required. In this difficulty the commissioners employed to collect the money stripped the gold and silver ornaments from the remaining images of the ancient divinities, and melted down the idols of gold and silver still preserved in the shrines of the old religion.²⁰ When the amount of the ransom was thus raised, a deputation was sent to Ravenna to obtain the emperor's sanction for the payment, and at the same time to lay before him the terms upon which Alaric was disposed to a definitive treaty of peace and amity with the empire. These terms were the immediate payment of the ransom, the delivery of hostages, the nomination of Alaric to the chief command of the imperial armies, and the permanent adoption of the Gothic troops into the service of the empire. Honorius accepted the proposals, and the ransom was paid over to Alaric. True to his engagements, the barbaric prince raised the blockade of Rome; and the wonted supplies found their way into the famished city. The Goths, enriched by the enormous booty, and strengthened by the accession of forty thousand emancipated slaves, retired into Tuscany, there to await the performance of the remaining conditions imposed upon the reluctant court.²¹

but when difficulty arises in raising the money, the heathen sanctuaries are despoiled of their treasures by the ungrateful citizens. The Romans send a deputation to Honorius to obtain his sanction to the treaty, and to lay before him the terms proposed by Alaric for a general peace. Honorius accepts the terms. The ransom is paid, the slaves are released, and Alaric retires with his army into Tuscany.

While Alaric was pursuing his destructive career in Italy, Constantine, the usurper of Gaul, had availed himself of the helpless condition of Honorius to extort from him the recognition of his claim to the purple.²² As the court did not regard its engagements with either as definitive or

The emperor recognizes, Constantine the usurper of Gaul.

¹⁹ See introduction to this chapter, p. 307.

The pound Troy of English standard gold consists of 11 oz. of pure gold mixed with 1 oz. of alloy, and is coined into $44\frac{1}{2}$ guineas, or 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

The Roman pound was of the weight of 10 oz. 18 dwts. $13\frac{1}{7}$ grs. Troy; and was therefore of the intrinsic value of 46*l.* 8*s.* $3\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* $\frac{4}{5}$ *q.*; since in that sum of English current gold coin would be found precisely one Roman pound of pure gold joined to $\frac{1}{11}$ th of a Roman pound in alloy.

4000 Roman pounds of pure gold are therefore of the intrinsic value of 185,666*l.* 2*s.* $8\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *q.*

It is remarkable that the pound Troy of English standard gold, differing so greatly in weight and quality from the Roman pound of pure gold, should yet approach it so nearly in intrinsic value, only exceeding it by 6*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{8}$ *q.* in so large a sum.

The pound Troy of English standard silver consists of 11 oz. 2 dwts. of pure silver mixed with 18 dwts. of alloy, and is coined into 66 shillings. It is not a legal tender, however, be-

yond 40 shillings, and the value of such silver in bars has varied lately from 55 to 60 shillings the pound Troy.

30,000 Roman pounds of silver might be about the value of 90,000*l.* sterling at present, varying from day to day, and might exceed or fall short of that sum very considerably.

The silk, scarlet wool, and spices would be of great value from their scarcity in ancient times.

²⁰ See the lamentations of *Zosimus* (lib. v. p. 357.) at these sacrilegious proceedings. Among the images melted down was that of the Roman "Virtus:"—"Ὁὐπερ διαφθαρέντος, ὅσα τῆς ἀνδρείας ἦν καὶ ἀρετῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀπέσβη· τοῦτο τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰς πατρίους ἀγιστείας ἐσχολακότων, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου προφητευσάντων." The Roman Virtus had taken her departure some time before the profanation of her image.

²¹ *Zosim.* lib. v. pp. 358, 359.

²² *Ibid.* loc. cit. p. 359. *Masceu*, book viii. § 21. p. 419.

The court finally rejects the terms proposed by Alaric,

who intercepts a reinforcement on its march to strengthen the garrison of Rome, and once more blockades the city.

Olympius intercepts Ataulf on his march to join Alaric, and defeats him.

A change of

binding, and had, in fact, resolved not to be bound by them any further than the interests of the moment might dictate, two courses alone remained for the choice of Honorius: the first, frankly to adopt the alliance of Alaric, and, by his aid, to re-unite Gaul to the empire; the second, to endeavour, by a politic reconciliation with Constantine, to secure his co-operation for the expulsion of the Goths from Italy. But these expedients, though both of them dishonest and perilous, were not rejected by the court from any regard either to the danger or turpitude attached to them. Olympius was still busily engaged in hunting down the remnant of Stilicho's party. The vanity of Honorius shrunk from the recognition of a colleague; and all expectants joined in resenting the proposal for raising a barbarian to the command of the imperial armies, though not one among themselves was fitted for the rank to which all aspired. The fulfilment of the treaty with Alaric, though urgently recommended by a deputation from the Roman senate, was indefinitely postponed. With a view to the greater security of the capital, a body of six thousand Dalmatians, consisting of the best troops of the Roman armies, under the command of Valens, was sent off to reinforce the garrison. Alaric intercepted them on their march, and the entire corps, with the exception of the leader and about one hundred men, fell into his hands. The Goths again closed around Rome, and once more shut up the inhabitants within the walls. The senate again deputed envoys, with Innocentius, the bishop of Rome, at their head, to the emperor; and Alaric, still intent rather upon the acquisition of wealth and influence than of territorial power, granted an escort to protect them on their road to Ravenna.²³

In the interim, Alaric had sent directions to his kinsman Ataulf to quit his position on the Norican frontier and join him with all his forces. Though the numbers of Ataulf were not formidable, the court thought it of importance to prevent the junction; and Olympius was despatched with all the troops at the disposal of the government to intercept and overwhelm the Gothic division. Ataulf, it seems, was defeated with the loss of eleven hundred men; but his communications with his relative cannot have been interrupted for any length of time, since, in the following year, he took an active share in the operations of Alaric in the Æmilian²⁴ and Latian provinces. Shortly after this success Olympius himself fell a victim to the fickleness of the court.

The change of the ministry²⁵ introduced the pretorian prefect Jovius

²³ *Zosim.* loc. cit. p. 362.

²⁴ Regio Æmilia, so called from the Æmilia via which passed through it. The road com-

menced at Ariminum and terminated at Placentia. *Hoffm. Lex. Univ.* tom. i. 85.

²⁵ The narrative of Zosimus gives a picture

into the cabinet of Honorius. This officer was the friend, and had been the guest of Alaric in Epirus; and he immediately devoted himself to the establishment of a solid peace with the Goths. In order fully to ascertain the views of Alaric, Jovius requested and obtained his consent to a personal interview. The conference took place in the vicinity of Ariminum. Alaric demanded the absolute cession of the districts of Venetia and the provinces of Dalmatia and Noricum, the payment of an annual subsidy, and the delivery of a given quantity of provisions for the maintenance of the Gothic army. Jovius assented to these terms; and in the report of the result transmitted to the emperor, he added, at the request of Alaric, a suggestion, that the king of the Goths should be invested with the command-in-chief of the Roman armies. Jovius, no doubt, hoped, by imparting an honourable and permanent character to the engagements of Alaric with the empire, not only to obtain some relaxation of the terms proposed, but, in the total absence of other military resources, to raise up an army for the state by a mere word. Alaric, on the other hand, regarded all the other advantages of the treaty as trivial compared with an appointment which would in substance invest him with the control of the government. The court suspected that Jovius had either suffered himself to be overreached by the cunning barbarian, or that he was biassed by a dangerous partiality for the public enemy, and resolved to convince him that he had taken a step highly displeasing to his government and dangerous to his own interests. The reply to the offensive communication was delivered to Jovius in the presence of Alaric. The prefect, confident of the acquiescence of the court, read the letter aloud to the Gothic prince, without previously acquainting himself with its contents. The letter intimated the imperial ratification of the terms as to the pecuniary payments and the supplies of provisions demanded, but severely reproved Jovius for his temerity in suggesting the elevation of a barbarian to the high station of captain-general of the empire. Upon that suggestion Honorius protested that no consideration should ever induce him to exalt Alaric, or any of his race, to dignity so transcendent, or to confide to any barbarian duties of such vital importance to the state. This announcement was received by Alaric with haughty indignation. Orders were issued upon the spot to put the army in motion towards Rome. Jovius, perceiving the precipice upon the brink of which he stood, offered neither excuse

ministry at the imperial court places Jovius at the head of affairs.

Jovius obtains an interview with Alaric.

The court assents to his demands of money and territory, but rejects his request to be made captain-general of the Roman armies.

Jovius abruptly and incautiously communicates this determination to Alaric, and thereby excites his vehement indignation.

The negotiations are broken off, and Alaric marches towards Rome.

which (*mutatis mutandis*) very accurately represents the prescriptive method of effecting changes in the cabinet of the Ottoman sovereigns. One feature in the general resemblance is striking—the act of embarking the deposed ministers on

board a ship, under the most solemn promises of personal safety, and then strangling them, or cutting their throats at sea. See *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 366.

Jovius raises
an army and
threatens the
rear of Alaric.

nor palliation. With greater energy and talent than had been displayed by any general since the fall of Stilicho, he promptly applied himself to the adoption of the measures necessary to encounter the tempest which his own inadvertence had raised. A body of ten thousand mercenary Huns were taken into pay; great quantities of provisions were procured from Dalmatia; troops were collected from every quarter; and Alaric was alarmed by the appearance of a force in his rear which threatened to shut him up in the exhausted regions of Tuscany and Latium, or drive him for supplies into the extremity of Italy, where the climate was unpropitious to the barbaric constitution, and the distance too great to admit of communication with his countrymen in Pannonia.²⁶

Alaric, apprehensive of danger, suspends his march and moderates his demands.

The conduct of rude nations is more influenced by passing events, more variable and less subject to calculation, than that of more civilized communities. The policy of the barbarian statesman is rarely more than an effort to supply the immediate wants and gratify the present inclinations of the society over which he presides, combined with a quick and shrewd perception of the nearest road to the attainment of the ends in view. His art commonly consists in a prompt and straightforward use of the means at his disposal; under adverse circumstances he is capable of deep dissimulation; but forbearance and moderation, the offspring of dispassionate reflection and calculation, are as remote from his temper as from his understanding. The conduct of Alaric is remarkable as an instance of energetic action, rather than of deep or intelligent policy; yet he comprehended the expediency of yielding when he perceived the ground he had taken up to be dangerous or untenable. Jovius was a more formidable enemy than the feeble Olympius, and Alaric had reason to regret the fiery haste with which he had put an end to the conference at Ariminum. He therefore suspended his march, and sent an embassy, consisting of several Christian bishops, to Honorius, to remonstrate against the impolicy and cruelty of consigning a city, for a period of more than a thousand years the mistress of the world, to inevitable destruction, its inhabitants to slaughter, and its sumptuous edifices to the devouring flames, rather than consent to moderate conditions of peace. He reduced his claims to the cession of Noricum, a reasonable annual stipend, and a permanent engagement for himself and his people in the service of the empire.

But the court rejects them peremptorily, and declares that it will make neither

But these terms, though more moderate than those which Honorius himself had assented to in reply to the late demands of Alaric, were rejected now without hesitation. The council of ministers, with Jovius at their head, declared that neither peace nor truce could henceforward be made

²⁶ *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 368. Ataulf probably did not join him for some months after the rupture.

with Alaric; and *this* they had sworn upon the sacred head of the emperor.²⁷ Jovius, no doubt, had long since perceived, that unless he could speedily heal the wound which his inadvertent suggestions in favour of Alaric had inflicted upon the irritable vanity of Honorius and his eunuchs, his favour would be but of short duration. It was therefore necessary, not only with a view to sustain his interest at court, but to shelter himself against the fate which had of late befallen every disgraced minister, to pledge himself to the extreme opinions and measures of the emperor, and of the sycophants who shared his favour. The refusal of Alaric's proposals bears the stamp of puerile infatuation, while the conduct of the Gothic prince may be traced to feelings of a more creditable description. It will appear hereafter that he was really reluctant to expose the capital of the Christian world to the calamities of a storm and capture; but in his actual position Rome was the only pledge for his own and his people's safety, and he boldly determined to resort to it.

In this temper he once more encompassed the city with his myriads, and intimated to the senate, that upon one condition alone he would spare them the present miseries of a siege, and the destruction which must eventually befall them and their city. And that condition was nothing less than the immediate renunciation of their allegiance to Honorius, and a cordial union with the Goths for the overthrow of the tyrant of Ravenna. The senate hesitated; and Alaric, to quicken their resolution, suddenly invested the port of Ostia, where all the stores of corn from Africa and Sicily were deposited. After a few days' siege the town fell into his hands; and it was well known in the capital that a few days more would suffice to renew the frightful scenes of the late siege, which were still fresh in the memories of the surviving sufferers. The senate assented to the terms proposed; and, at the desire of Alaric, they placed Attalus, the prefect of the city, upon the throne of the Cæsars. The new emperor immediately appointed his friends, Lampadius and Marcianus, to the civil magistracies; he conferred the military prefectures upon Valens, the general of the Dalmatians, and upon Alaric himself,

peace nor truce
with Alaric.

The Gothic
king again be-
siegues Rome,

and compels
the citizens to
renounce their
allegiance to
Honorius, and
to acknowledge
Attalus as em-
peror.

²⁷ *Zosimus* (lib. v. p. 369.) suggests that the oath thus taken was regarded as of such sanctity, that no power, either in heaven or in earth, could absolve from it. The same oath, he tells us, *had it been sworn to God merely*, might have been disregarded; since such was the opinion entertained (by the Christians) of the benignity of the divine character, that He could be easily prevailed upon to pardon the compulsory breach of vows made in His name. Gibbon is grateful for the information, (see vol. iii. p. 229.) and con-

firms it by reference to a learned but forgotten dissertation in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*. Both *Zosimus* and *Gibbon* were partisans. But though the *doctrine* of the church was directly opposed to this wretched sophistry, yet we are too well acquainted with the havoc which loose practice introduces into the purest religious system not to admit that, in the dissolute age referred to, it is far from improbable that such an opinion was entertained, perhaps defended, at the court of Honorius.

and made many other appointments in conformity to the wishes of his patron.²⁸

Alaric urges the new government to effect the reduction of Africa.

Attalus neglects the advice of Alaric,

and fails in his attempt to expel the lieutenant of Honorius from Africa. Scarcity in Rome.

Attalus rejects the advances of Honorius; he displeases the Romans and disgusts Alaric.

The Romans were extravagantly delighted with the new order of things; and Alaric, so lately their terror, was in a train to become the favourite of the populace. The reduction of Africa appeared to the king of the Goths as the most important duty of the new government. He therefore urged that measure with earnestness. But Attalus, a man infected with the meanest vices of the Roman character, was far more intent upon injuring and mortifying his rival Honorius, than upon promoting the sound views of his patron. Both the men and the measures recommended by Alaric were alike slighted and neglected. An inefficient expedition, under the command of an incapable favourite named Constantine, was despatched for the reduction of Africa; Heraclius, the prefect of that province, found little difficulty in maintaining it in obedience to Honorius; every port was closed and secured by a double garrison; the export of corn and oil, and other articles of consumption, was rigorously prohibited; and an alarming scarcity soon began to prevail in Rome.

Meanwhile Attalus threatened the court of Ravenna with a siege, and Alaric employed himself in reducing the provinces of Æmilia and Liguria to obedience. In this emergency Honorius privately offered to share the empire with Attalus; but the insolent pretender repelled these advances with idle menace; and Honorius made preparations to quit Ravenna, and to implore in person the assistance of his nephew Theodosius II. at Constantinople. But the intelligence of the successful defence of Africa by Heraclius, the distress which prevailed in Rome, and the serious discontent which the misconduct of his rival had already occasioned within the capital, revived his hopes. The same causes which raised the spirits of the court compelled Attalus to return hastily to Rome, where he found the senate alienated, the people perishing with famine, and his friends heartily tired of the fruitless labour of sustaining his imbecile career. An unseasonable jealousy evinced by him of every appointment agreeable to Alaric, and an obstinate refusal to bestow the command of the troops destined for a second African expedition upon any barbarian general, at length disgusted the Gothic prince, and rendered him anxious to be rid of the refractory puppet, whose name had now become worthless, and his power an incumbrance to his patron, and a nuisance to his own subjects.²⁹

Alaric renews his communication with

Though Alaric had for the furtherance of his own views determined to alarm the fears and mortify the vanity of Honorius to the utmost, it is not

²⁸ *Zosim.* lib. vi. p. 377.

²⁹ *Zosim.* lib. vi. pp. 378-382. *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 42. p. 582.

clear that he seriously intended his downfall. He had never wholly dropped communication with Jovius, and it may be reasonably supposed that the unfavourable issue of his late experiment gave weight to the urgent entreaties of the latter no longer to countenance an usurpation, which, while it lasted, must preclude all prospect of accommodation and peace.³⁰ At the same time Alaric had good reason to reckon upon the impression which his own successes—in particular the reduction of the Æmilian and Ligurian provinces—must have produced upon the mind of Honorius, whose intention to abandon Italy could not be concealed from the barbaric leader. These considerations, while they revived his hope of accommodation, no doubt quickened his resolution to discard the troublesome intruder, who now seemed to be the only obstacle to a reconciliation: Attalus was, therefore, ceremoniously deposed; his purple and imperial ornaments were sent by Alaric to Honorius, in the reasonable expectation that the present would be received as an earnest of his desire for peace and amity with the court. Attalus himself, though dethroned, continued for some years longer to follow the camp, and enjoy the protection of the Gothic prince. Placidia, the sister of Honorius, was a more important surety for favourable terms of peace. That princess had been placed in the hands of Alaric, as a hostage for the fulfilment of the late treaty with the Romans. With all these claims upon the consideration of the ministers of Honorius, and upon the fears of the imperial family itself, the King of the Goths entertained very little doubt of the issue of his negotiations. To be near the spot where the terms were to be discussed, and probably also to give weight to his efforts for peace, he encamped his whole force upon the margin of the marshes which surround Ravenna, and there awaited the decision of the court.³¹

the court of
Ravenna
through Jovius.

He deposes
Attalus, and
sends his im-
perial orna-
ments to Ho-
nori-
us in token
of amity,

and encamps
near Ravenna,
to give effect
to his nego-
tiations.

Our accounts of this negotiation, and the causes of its failure, are exceedingly defective. On the one hand, it seems clear that Jovius supported the views of Alaric; we hear nothing more of the rash oath of the courtiers to make neither peace nor truce with that prince; and the offers so lately made to Attalus evince that Honorius was prepared for great sacrifices to the exigency of his condition. On the other hand, the sacrifices demanded were doubtless of a nature painful to the vanity of the court: the influence of Jovius appears to have been checked by other interference; delays were interposed, and accident at length

Honorius de-
lays the con-
clusion of the
treaty.

³⁰ *Zosimus* tells us that Jovius continually urged him, with violent reproaches, on that subject; from which we infer that, notwithstanding his oath (see note 27 of this sect.) Jovius did not despair of bringing about a treaty with his

Gothic friend.

³¹ *Zosim.* lib. vi. p. 382, 383. Comp. *Sozom.* Hist. Eccles. lib. ix. cc. 8, 9, and 10; and *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 42, p. 582.

decided a question upon which the fate of the civilized world seemed to depend.

The Gothic chieftain Sarus proffers his services to the emperor.

Between Ataulf, the brother of Alaric, and the Gothic chieftain Sarus, whom we have seen employed by Stilicho, first against the hordes of Radagaisus, and afterwards in an attempt to reduce the usurper Constantine in Gaul,³² the bitterest personal enmity subsisted. For this cause Sarus had stood aloof from his more successful countrymen, and established himself with his followers, in the fertile province of Picenum.³³ At this juncture Ataulf approached the quarters of his enemy; and Sarus, apprehensive of a hostile design, and not feeling himself in sufficient force for a successful resistance, resolved to throw himself once more into the arms of Honorius, by whom, since his unsuccessful campaign against Constantine in Gaul, he had not been again trusted or employed. Notwithstanding his failure on that occasion, the reputation of Sarus as a soldier stood high; and his offers of service at this moment gave an extravagant impulse to the hopes of the court. All idea of an accommodation with Alaric was discarded, the Gothic king saw himself duped by the imperial government, his warnings derided, and his menaces met by defiance; no course remained but to convince his adversaries of their error by woful experience; and he resolved reluctantly, but firmly, that Rome should pay the penalty of the wilful folly of her vain and capricious ruler.³⁴

They are accepted, and Alaric is set at defiance by the court.

Alaric resolves to take military possession of the city of Rome.

And in truth the time had arrived when his own reputation and the interests of his people imperatively called for a decision of the great question between him and the court. A participation in the powers of the state, in some shape or other, was the substance of his demands, and the amount of his present expectations. This participation was essential to put an end to that unstable and precarious state of existence which he and his subjects had led since their arrival in Italy; and to this intent he determined to break the stubborn will he was unable to bend.

He issues orders to his troops to prevent excesses in case of a capture by storm.

It is impossible to withhold our praise from the temper in which Alaric approached Rome. Every precaution was taken to restrict, as much as possible, the bloodshed and destruction, which, in case of capture by storm, could not be wholly prevented. It was strictly enjoined that the lives of all who took refuge within the churches—and more particularly within the sacred precincts of the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul—

³² See ch. viii. sect. 2, pp. 356 and 362.

³³ The Picentine territory extended from the river Æsis, a little to the northward of Aneona, to the river Matrinus, the modern Piomba. *Mannert*, vol. ix. part i. p. 470, and *Cramer's* Ancient Rivers of Italy.

³⁴ *Zosim.* lib. vi. pp. 383, 384. The narrative of Zosimus breaks off here. The remainder of the sixth book, which carried the history down to the capture of Rome by Alaric, is lost. Compare also *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 365, and *Mascou*, vol. i. p. 425.

should be spared ; and that in the pursuit of plunder the warriors should abstain from needless outrage or vengeful slaughter. It is generally admitted, by contemporary historians, that the character of Alaric was not incapable of moderate, or even generous views,³⁵ and the ecclesiastical writers seem to assume that his conduct on this occasion was at least as much directed by religious and reverential feelings as by resentment or the hope of temporal advantage.³⁶ On the night of the twentieth of August, four hundred and ten years after Christ, a successful assault upon the Salarian gate delivered the ancient capital of the civilized world into the hands of a barbarian conqueror.³⁷ No one can doubt that, in spite of the authority of Alaric, and the religious prepossessions of his followers, much blood was spilt, and that very many of those enormities which attend upon a successful storm, must have occurred on this memorable occasion ; but if the proper allowance be made for the impression the event itself was calculated to produce, and for the character of the assailants, we think the amount of the suffering inflicted and endured will be reduced far below what might have been expected. When the first vague rumour of this stupifying calamity was spread abroad in the Roman world, we naturally expect to find its echo a thousand times repeated, in every form of horror and exaggeration with which ignorant alarm could invest it. And in truth St. Jerome at Bethlehem, and St. Augustin in Africa, shook the Christian world with fearful announcements of cruelty, and slaughter, and unutterable abominations.³⁸ It is by no means surprising that these zealous men should have availed themselves to the full extent of the impression such an event could not fail to produce, to reprove sin, to denounce the divine vengeance against a weak and vicious generation, and to impart that steadiness of view—the beautiful fruit of rational resignation—which such visitations never fail to bring forth in religious and reflecting minds. But when the true character of the calamity became better known, these good men at once dropped the language of denunciation.³⁹ Even in the heat of unbridled pillage, we are told, the captors religiously respected the churches, their ornaments, treasures, and furniture ; the lives of all who took refuge

He attacks the city and takes it by storm, 20th Aug. A. D. 410.

Much blood is spilt, and some injury inflicted upon the buildings of the city, but fewer excesses of this nature are committed than might have been anticipated.

St. Jerome, St. Augustin, and Orosius, bestow encomiums upon the forbearance of the barbarians.

³⁵ See *Zosim.* lib. v. p. 369.

³⁶ *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 35, p. 573. *Augustinus*, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. i. c. 1. pp. 3 and 7.

³⁷ *Procop.* *De Bell. Vandal.* lib. i. p. 7, edit. Grotii.

³⁸ See particularly *St. Jerome's* letter to *Principia* (Ep. 96, p. 783), and *Gaudentia* (Ep. 98, p. 799). Comp. *Augustin.* *De Excidio*, &c. c. 2, p. 330, and *De Civitat. Dei*, lib. i. c. 7 ; *Opera*, tom. vii. p. 6.

³⁹ "Quidquid ergo," says St. Augustin (*loc. mod. cit.*) "vastationis, trucidationis, deprædationis, concremationis, afflictionis, in istâ recentissimâ Romanâ clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum," &c. The whole chapter bears strong testimony to the moderation of the Goths, and expresses Augustin's conviction that it was alone attributable to the benign influence of Christianity.

within the sacred precincts were spared; St. Jerome and Orosius⁴⁰ adduce remarkable instances of forbearance to their credit; and St. Augustine draws an eloquent parallel between their conduct and that of the Romans, who, when at the summit of pride and power, raised their sacrilegious hands against the fathers of the Capitol, and in the prosecution of intestine broils shed more and nobler blood than these reputed barbarians had spilt in the fury of a successful storm.⁴¹

Alaric causes his troops to evacuate the city on the third day after the capture.

The population return to their dwellings, and within four years of the capture few traces remain of their late calamity.

Alaric reduces the southern provinces of Italy, whither no barbaric conqueror had hitherto penetrated.

Alaric, we are told, spontaneously evacuated the city on the third day after the capture; and it then appeared that though some buildings had been destroyed by fire, yet that the city had not been so much damaged on this memorable occasion as by previous conflagrations where the causes were merely accidental.⁴² Scarcely four years afterwards the prefect Albinus reported to the court that the population of Rome had returned to its previous amount; that the diminished stores of corn which had been deposited in the public granaries were no longer sufficient to meet the increased consumption; and that, on one occasion, no less than fourteen thousand persons had returned to their habitations in a single day.⁴³ Small credit, therefore, is due to the assertion of Procopius,⁴⁴ that the city was totally destroyed, or even that any irreparable injury to life, property, or dwellings, was committed by the conquerors.⁴⁵

The views of Alaric were evidently not confined to the capture of the capital. Consistently with the due prosecution of his further projects, no force could be spared sufficient to keep the enormous population in control without too great a reduction of his numbers in the field; and therefore, under the impression either that a continued military possession of Rome was not desirable, or that he might at any time thereafter command her gates to be thrown open to him, it became a matter of importance not to permit the strength and substance of his countrymen to evaporate amid that unbridled indulgence to which the uncon-

⁴⁰ Ep. 154, ad Principiam Virg., whose foster-mother some barbarian soldiers rescued from violation and placed in security within the walls of St. Peter's; and *Orosius* (lib. vii. c. 39, pp. 573, 574) tells a story of a Christian recluse, to whom the custody of a large treasure, belonging to the same church, was entrusted, who prevailed upon the captors not only to relinquish their booty, but to carry the sacred vessels to Alaric; who immediately caused them to be removed, with every mark of respect, to the Basilica of the Apostle.

⁴¹ *Augustin.* De Civ. Dei, lib. iii. c. 29, Op. tom. vii. p. 69.

⁴² And in relation to the incendiary madness

of Nero, he adds, "Nam si exhibitam Neronis imperatoris sui spectaculis inflammationem recenseam, procul dubio nullâ comparatione æquiparabitur secundum id, quod excitaverat lascivia principis, hoc quod nunc intulerit ira victoris." *Oros.* loc. mod. cit. p. 575.

⁴³ See extract from *Olympiodorus* ap. *Stritterum*, tom. i. p. 71.

⁴⁴ De Bell. Vand. lib. i. pp. 6 and 7. ed. Grot.

⁴⁵ In the passage referred to in the preceding note, Procopius betrays a strange ignorance of the order of events which preceded and followed the capture of Rome by Alaric.

trolled disposal of all the riches of the most wealthy and luxurious city in the world must of necessity lead. In the first instance he withdrew the Goths into the beautiful plains of Campania; from thence he pushed his conquests farther southward into Lucania and Bruttium.⁴⁶ Arrived at the extremity of Italy, he assembled a fleet for the conquest of Sicily and Africa. But before he had completed his preparations, many of his ships were wrecked on the coasts of Sicily. This disaster compelled him to defer his project for a time; and while he was engaged in repairing his losses, a sudden disease put an end to his eventful life at Consentia in Bruttium.⁴⁷ His subjects diverted the river Barentinus, and sunk the body of their hero deep in its bed; they then restored the waters to their accustomed channel, and thus effectually secured his grave from violation.⁴⁸

He projects the conquest of Africa; his ships are wrecked; and before he is able to repair his losses. he dies at Consentia.

If it be asked, why did not Alaric establish a kingdom in Italy; or, why his successor, to whom that task could have been neither more nor less difficult, relinquished a conquest so easily won; we might perhaps reply, that the people, who, rather than become the personal guardians of the sepulchre of the best beloved and most renowned of their princes, underwent the gigantic labour of diverting the course of a river to secure his grave from violation by strangers, could have felt little inclination to settle anywhere. But this incident, though it furnishes a strong illustration of the absence of all attachment to the soil upon which and by which they lived, contains no direct reply to the difficulty in question.⁴⁹ Orosius reports that Ataulf once entertained a design of founding a Gothic empire in Italy, but that he relinquished the project from a humble conviction that his subjects were too backward in civilization to accomplish so arduous a task. Though this allegation comes to us in the shape of a mere hearsay,⁵⁰ it indicates at least that the question which still perplexes us had not wholly escaped the curiosity of the age. It may likewise be admitted that the motive imputed to Ataulf by Orosius, though worded in a manner most palatable to Roman vanity, was substantially the true one. The contempt with which the Goths regarded the effeminate Italians, renders it indeed improbable that Ataulf should have ever entertained any sentiment so humiliating as

Why did not Alaric establish a kingdom in Italy?

Why did his successor Ataulf abandon the conquest won by Alaric?

⁴⁶ The modern Principato Citra, Basilicata, and the two Calabrias.

⁴⁷ The modern Cosenza in Calabria Citra.

⁴⁸ *Jornandes* (ap. Muratori, tom. i. p. 236.) affirms that the Goths put to death the slaves employed to dig the grave, lest they should betray the resting-place of their king to the spiteful Italians. This is, however, the first and the

only mention of so savage a practice among the Goths. He tells a similar story of the interment of Attila.

⁴⁹ *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 43. p. 584.

⁵⁰ Orosius heard it from St. Jerome at Bethlehem, who heard it from a pious pilgrim, who had it from the mouth of Ataulf himself!

that imputed to him. But apart from this feeling, it is by no means improbable that he shrunk from the task of ingrafting his own wild and vigorous shoot upon the decayed and sapless trunk of Roman civilization, and that he perceived this natural discrepancy clearly enough to deter him from the project of a more durable connexion with Italy and its inhabitants.

1. Because the Germans had not yet learnt to become a proprietary nation.

But apart from the surmises grounded upon so infirm a basis, there seem to be sufficient historical grounds to explain the reason why the Goths turned away with indifference from an opportunity so flattering to the national vanity. Our inferences will be drawn directly from the views already disclosed of the Teutonic character,⁵¹ and may tend to dispel the mists which obscure one of the most remarkable incidents in history.

Though they possessed the soil, and lived upon it, yet the people had no individual interest in it.

The first feeling which tends to correct the unstable habits of barbarians is the desire to possess land. Each individual must become connected by interest with some particular spot before the nation will testify any reluctance to abandon its temporary settlements whenever better are in prospect. Though it be freely admitted, not only that the inhabitants of ancient Germany, but all the various offsets from that migratory race, extracted a subsistence from the soil by their labour, yet we have no ground for believing that any other mode of distributing the land for the purposes of tillage than that described by Tacitus and Cæsar⁵² had been introduced since their time. The facts already detailed afford satisfactory evidence that the land of their birth inspired no attachment apart from that of present subsistence, and it is therefore not a matter of surprise that the abode of the stranger should have possessed no stronger attraction. We might even go a step further, and affirm that no perceptible change in any of their habits, opinions, or modes of action, had occurred during the three centuries which intervened between the age of Tacitus and that of Alaric. The attachments of the Germans were as much of a merely social, and as little of a territorial nature as at any former period of their history. They were as ready as ever for a change for the sake of an increase or variety of enjoyment, for new occupation and new adventure. The structure of their society was as adverse as ever to that political consolidation of which an interest in the soil is the first condition. Military association was still the only principle which connected the combined clans; and thence it happens that in speaking of them we use the words "army" and "nation" as convertible terms.

Therefore they were always ready for change whenever an adequate motive was presented to them.

⁵¹ The reader will gather them from a comparison of the passages in pp. 69, 70, 88, 89, 97, 98, 205, et seq. of this volume.

⁵² *Tac. Germ.* c. 16. *Cæsar. Comm. lib. vi.* c. 22. *Comp.* pp. 80 and 81 of this volume.

But though their social and military character had, up to this period, undergone so little change, their position and prospects had become so prodigiously enlarged by the removal of all obstacles to unlimited territorial expansion, that a vast revolution in all these respects might be expected to follow. Yet we run no risk in affirming, that up to the death of Alaric that revolution had not yet taken place. The companions of that extraordinary man were removed only by one generation from those Scythian Goths among whom the prevailing characteristics of Germanic society were still strongly marked;—a nation which, by the mere act of quitting the country of their birth in one mass, sufficiently evinced both the smallness of their numbers with reference to the vast territory they occupied, and the total absence of that individual attachment to the soil itself, or interest in it, which constitutes the chief element in our complex idea of *home*. If the Goths, when they invaded Italy, had met with tribes in that state of barbaric society in which they found the aboriginal Scythians whom they subdued, the difficulty of founding an empire there would have been no greater than that which they encountered when Filimer first conducted them from the banks of the Vistula.⁵³ The simple federative union would then have stood in the place of that complicated machinery, and that heedful management, necessary to bring about an amalgamation with a people so numerous and so subtle as the Italians, and which could not be neglected without the most imminent danger to the conquerors themselves. Very few of the paths conducting to the safe attainment of that end were as yet marked out; and we cannot wonder that neither Alaric nor his successor perceived them clearly enough to venture upon the course afterwards so successfully pursued by their Ostrogothic kindred under the guidance of the great Theoderich.

Several other obstacles to the formation of a settled territorial dominion, arising more immediately out of the actual position of the Goths in Italy, still remain to be noticed. Since they could at pleasure dispose of the produce of the lands and property of the inhabitants, there was no inducement to regard the mere right of possession as any part of the gains of conquest; and thus the power to take what they pleased threw into the background the advantages of corporeal possession. In addition to this, the state of concentration and military preparation rendered necessary by the irreconcilable hostility of the Court of Ravenna, was of itself sufficient to repress for the present all thought of a permanent settlement. In Italy Ataulf was surrounded by enemies. The hitherto inert resistance of the populace might be at any time stimulated into

2. Because there was now greater temptation to migration than was ever before held out to them.

3. Because the nature of their political union excluded all those arts which were necessary to govern a people so numerous and so subtle as the Italians.

4. Because the Goths, having the absolute disposal of the property of the conquered, and being able to take the produce when they wanted it, did not count the land as any part of the gains of conquest.

5. Because the Goths in Italy

⁵³ See c. v. sec. 3. p. 203.

were obliged to be always prepared against the enemies who surrounded them, and therefore to be always under arms and acting in a body.

The Goths conduct themselves in this respect as all barbarian intruders under similar circumstances had hitherto done.

Thus Fridigern, Gaines, Tribegild, Radagaisus, Godegisel, Goar, and Respendial;

thus also subsequently, the Vandals, Suevi, and Alani, in Spain.

Ataulf, the brother-in-law of Alaric, is raised to the throne of the Visigoths.

activity by the continued enmity of the government. The talent for artifice and deceit had ripened apace amid the multiplied corruptions of Roman society.⁵⁴ The people of the great cities and towns were scarcely more to be trusted than declared enemies; yet, without the possession of these cities and towns, there would be no safety for the Gothic occupants of the lands in their neighbourhood. Without the dispersion of their troops in garrisons and colonies, no mode presented itself to the Gothic leaders of establishing a connexion in any shape—whether that of the conquerors with the conquered, of the master with his slave, or of joint proprietors with each other—between their own people and the native inhabitants, or of attaching the former to the soil. And, indeed, the difficulties hitherto enumerated produced so decisive a similarity of effect upon the conduct of all the barbaric nations, at their first tumultuous irruption into the territories of the empire, that we can hardly entertain a doubt that they were the effective motives which deterred the Goths from settling in Italy. Though almost every tribe prefaced its invasions by a demand of land, nothing more was meant than space to dwell upon,—lands from which to extract a subsistence, without the remotest design of assigning them to individuals, or of providing each follower with a property and a home. Thus Fridigern abstained from colonizing Mœsia or Thrace; thus we explain why Gaines and Tribegild did not attempt any lasting settlement in Bithynia or Mysia. With a similar instinct Radagaisus neglected the rich plains of Venetia and Cisalpine Gaul; and Godegisel, Goar, and Respendial, hurried through the Transalpine provinces with a rapidity which resembled a flight rather than the march of a triumphant army. The same remark applies to the temporary residence of the Vandalic and Alanic races in Spain. With a facility which altogether negatives the notion of acquisition and appropriation, in the strict sense of the words, they yielded in a body to the advance of the preponderant Goths, and, after a sojourn of twenty-two years, joyfully accepted the invitation of the Roman Prefect Bonifacius, to transfer themselves, their families, and their state, to the apparently uncongenial soil of Africa.

After the death of Alaric, his wife's brother, Ataulf, was raised to the rank and influence of the deceased prince. Whatever his own wishes or projects may have been, it is probable that his people were by this time weary of their constrained position in the midst of a land so encumbered with crowded cities, and with a dense and hostile population,

⁵⁴ The simultaneous massacre of the wives and families of the Gothic confederates after the disgrace of Stilicho, (see sec. 2. of this chap.) and

the rising of the citizens of Constantinople against Gaines, afforded very recent warnings against the dangers of dispersion.

as Italy. It happened, likewise, that the form of Christianity professed by the Goths was a source of discord rather than of union; and that they were hated by the orthodox Italians, fully as much for their heresy as their barbarism. Ataulf, therefore, directed his views to Gaul, where the climate was more congenial to the German constitution, and where, at least, he would exchange the fatiguing opposition of public opinion, the anxieties of constant watchfulness and suspicion, for an open field, and a tangible adversary, if any such should present himself to dispute his progress.⁵⁴

Placidia, the sister of Honorius, still remained in the Gothic camp as a hostage for the submission of the senate and people of Rome. On his way through that city to the north of Italy, Ataulf became enamoured of the princess. The handsome person of the Gothic prince made a similar impression upon the Roman lady, and the marriage was celebrated at Forum Livii,⁵⁵ in the Æmilian province. By this step Ataulf allied himself to the imperial family; but there is reason to doubt whether he obtained any greater political advantages by the union, than he would have reaped from the detention of Placidia in the character of a hostage.⁵⁶ With the exception of a hint from Jornandes,⁵⁷ we meet with no evidence to induce a belief that the marriage of Ataulf and Placidia produced any approximation to a good understanding between the Goths and the Romans. The reverse is the more probable conjecture; since the court of Ravenna never ceased to resent the marriage as a disparagement of the transcendent dignity of the empire, or relaxed its efforts to repossess itself of the person of the princess. The conduct of Ataulf in abandoning Italy rests for explanation upon grounds wholly independent of the will or wish of the court, or of his attachment to his consort and her relatives. Those grounds, it is true, have escaped the penetration of the contemporary historians; but the ascertained facts connected with the invasion, possession, and evacuation of Italy, afford as powerful a support to the inferences we have arrived at, as if the historians themselves had not left the task of drawing them to us.

Two years after the capture of Rome by Alaric, his successor finally quitted Italy. He led his people across the Cottian Alps into Gaul, and plunged at once into the chaotic conflict of interests and passions, of

He marries
Placidia the
sister of Honorius.

A.D. 412.
Two years
after the capture
of Rome
by Alaric, his
successor,

⁵⁴ *Oros.* lib. vii. c. 43. p. 584.

⁵⁵ Forli in Romagna. *Isidor. Hispal. Chron.* Vandal. ad Æram Hisp. 447.; p. 714. ed. Grotii. *Jornand.* c. 31.

⁵⁶ *Jornandes* indeed affirms that he quitted Italy out of gratitude to Honorius, presuming, of course, that the latter had sanctioned the

match; though *that* is not expressed. But the subsequent conduct of Ataulf proves, that if any such sentiment existed in his mind it did not last long. See *Jorn.* c. 31. ap. *Murat.* i. p. 206. Comp. *Mascou*, i. pp. 431 and 438.

⁵⁷ See preceding note.

Ataulf finally
quits Italy and
marches into
Gaul.

which that unhappy country had now become the blood-stained arena. The interference of such a combatant produced a violent change in the position of the parties and factions who disputed possession of the province. Our knowledge of the progress of events there is indeed exceedingly imperfect; but the facts disclosed to us touch the establishment of the first barbaric monarchy within the pale of the Roman empire; they point to the germ of order and stability as it slowly emerged from the bosom of boundless confusion—to the first faint dawning of a strictly local polity;—to the earliest efforts to cast off that restless and migratory habit inherited from the remotest antiquity,—the first symptoms of an individual interest and property in the soil among its barbarian possessors. From these primitive rudiments it will be our duty to trace the proprietary spirit through its various forms down to that peculiar stage which distinguishes the middle ages from every other period of European history. The investigation of the steps by which feudalism sprung up in our continent, and of the mode in which it propped up and aided the growth of modern civilization, forms the fundamental problem in the history of the middle ages. The chief duty of the historian of the subsequent centuries is to show how society shook off, or to speak more accurately, outgrew a system which, when no longer a stay, became an obstacle to improvement. Our task will finish where that of the modern historian begins.

SECTION IV.—A.D. 411 to A.D. 427.

Arrival of Ataulf in Gaul—Ataulf and Placidia—Death of Ataulf—Wallia at Thoulouse—Burgundians in Gaul—Franks in Gaul—The Franks and the Romans—Franks in the service of Rome—The story of Pharamund—Government of the Franks—Chlodio extends their dominion to the banks of the Somme.

Confusion in
Gaul.

A.D. 411.

Gerontius re-
bels against
his patron
Constantine,
and besieges
him in Arles.

His army de-
serts to Con-
stantius, the

AT the period when the important events related in the preceding section were passing in Italy, Gaul was falling into a state of the most extraordinary confusion. While the Vandals, Suevi, and Alani, were devastating Spain, the Roman general, Gerontius, to whom those barbarians were indebted for their introduction into the peninsula, marched an army across the Pyrenees and shut up his late patron, the intrusive emperor Constantine, in the city of Arles, where he kept him closely besieged. Meanwhile Honorius, to whom the recovery of a distant province appeared of greater importance than the salvation of Italy, dispatched a mercenary force into Gaul, under the captain-general Constantius. Upon the approach of the latter, the troops of Gerontius deserted their leader, and went over to the general of the legitimate emperor; Geron-

tius retired into Spain, where he was soon afterwards murdered by his own adherents.¹

Constantius next invested Arles, and pushed the siege of that city for Honorius, which had been begun by Gerontius on his own account. The usurper Constantine held out for some time in the hope of relief from his allies the Franks and Alemanni. But before the arrival of his Frankish pretorian prefect Edobec with the long-expected succours, the city surrendered to Constantius upon the understanding that the lives of Constantine and his son should be spared. Both were sent off as prisoners into Italy; but they had scarcely passed the Alps when they were met by a peremptory order from Honorius for their execution. Their heads were accordingly struck off, and exhibited as trophies to the exulting court and populace of Ravenna.²

general of Honorius, and he is put to death by his own adherents. Constantius takes Constantine and his son prisoners,

and sends them to Honorius, who orders their heads to be struck off.

The state of Gaul at this moment, like that of Italy during the invasion of Alaric, shows how little the attention of the barbarians had as yet been turned to territorial acquisition. The Franks, Burgundians, and Alemanni, so far from disputing the theoretical dominion of Rome, welcomed any upstart pretender to power who could afford them pay, plunder, or employment. Before the fall of Constantine and his son, Jovinus, a person of consideration in northern Gaul, had assumed the diadem at Mayntz. He was supported by a motley host of Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, and Alani, the two latter under their chiefs Guntharic and Goar.³ If we may trust the confused accounts of the transactions in Gaul during this period, Jovinus had already made common cause with Constantine against the Italian emperor, and had, at the same time, established an understanding with the Gothic king Ataulf to the detriment of Honorius. But before he could complete his preparations for the relief of Arles, that city had already surrendered, and Constantius had obtained a firm footing in the province. The arrival of Ataulf in Gaul caused a sudden revolution in the position of all the parties to these intestine broils. Incidents had already occurred to disturb the good understanding between Jovinus and the Gothic prince. Ataulf was angry at the presumption of Jovinus in elevating his brother Sebastian to the purple without his concurrence. Jovinus resented the appearance in Gaul of the deposed emperor Attalus in the train of Ataulf, as a breach of good faith and friendship, and as a dangerous

The barbarians in Gaul support the pretender Jovinus.

Jovinus allies himself with Ataulf,

but breaks with him soon after his arrival in Gaul.

¹ *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 42. p. 581.

² *Sozom.* Hist. Eccl. lib. ix. cc. 13, 14. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 9. *D. Bouq.* tome ii. p. 165. *Prosp. Chron.* ad Ann. Theodos. Aug. iiiij Cons. *Ibid.* tome i. p. 627.

³ *Olympiodorus*, Eclog. Histor. p. 7. (ap. *Stritt.* tome iv. p. 335.) mentions only the Burgundians and Alani. *Frigeridus* (ap. *Greg. Turon.* loc. mod. cit.) adds the Franks and Alemanni.

menace to his authority ; while the general of Honorius could not fail to perceive that the arrival of Ataulf, whether as an enemy or a friend, was almost equally prejudicial to the interests of his master and his own schemes for the recovery of the province.

Ataulf surprises and kills his enemy Sarus, who had followed him into Gaul.

He then turns upon Jovinus and Sebastian, who fall into his hands and are delivered up to the vengeance of Honorius.

Constantius, who aspires to the hand of Placidia, persuades the emperor to demand her from Ataulf,

who resents the insult by the conquest of Valence, Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bordeaux, and celebrates his nuptial feast with Placidia with the utmost publicity and pomp.

In the midst of these complicated disorders, Sarus, the rival of Alaric and the bitter enemy of Ataulf, had become discontented with the service of Honorius, and had determined to seek his fortune in Gaul. He is said to have brought with him an army of twenty thousand followers ; but the speedy vengeance of Ataulf overtook him when least expected ; the Gothic king, with a small band of determined followers, surprised him in his camp, and slew him with his own hand in the midst of his troops.⁴ After the destruction of this dangerous enemy, Ataulf turned his arms against the upstarts Jovinus and Sebastian. At the intercession of Dardanus, the pretorian prefect of Honorius in Gaul, the king of the Goths was induced to lend himself for a time to the views of the court of Ravenna ; Jovinus and Sebastian fell into his hands, and were immediately delivered up to the vengeance of the emperor. But whatever progress may have been made by the efforts of Dardanus, and possibly likewise of Placidia, towards a permanent reconciliation with the court, the plan of peace was thwarted by the jealous interference of the captain-general Constantius. Before the union of the princess with Ataulf, Constantius had aspired to her hand ; and it seems that he had not even yet abandoned his ambitious hopes. Dardanus had entered into certain engagements with the Goths in consideration of the assistance they had just afforded in putting down the rebellion of Jovinus ; these engagements Ataulf now called upon the feeble government to fulfil. But at the suggestion of Constantius, the court, in reply, demanded the restitution of Placidia to her family ; and that prince resented this unparalleled effrontery and folly by the rapid conquest of the Narbonensian and Novempopulanean districts. Valence, Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bordeaux, fell successively into his hands ; and in the year 414, he celebrated at Narbonne his nuptial feast with the princess Placidia, with an ostentatious magnificence equally adapted to mortify the inept vanity of Honorius, and to gratify the pride of his own subjects.⁵

⁴ *Olympiodor.* loc. mod. cit. *Sozomen*, lib. ix. c. 15. *Idatius*, Chron. ad Ann. Honor. xix. *Prosp.* Chron. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 628. *Marcell.* Chron. ad Theodos. jun. V. Cons. *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 42. p. 581., and c. 43. p. 584. *Frigid.* ap. *Greg. Turon.* ubi sup.

⁵ *Jornandes* (c. 31. p. 206.) is no doubt cor-

rect in his statement that the *espousals* of Ataulf and Placidia took place at Forli (see preceding sect. p. 389.). The public nuptials at Narbonne answered the twofold purpose of a solemn acknowledgment and publication of the marriage, and of an open defiance to the court. Compare *Mascou*, book viii. § 36. note 1. p. 441; and

Ataulf built a royal palace at Heraclea⁶ in the Narbonensian province, an act conveying no very ambiguous indication of an intent to establish a seat of government. But he was not long permitted to cultivate the arts of peace. The vicinity of the Vandals in Spain seems to have once more kindled the hereditary enmity of the two races. Jornandes⁷ intimates that Ataulf was vexed by the unprecedented success of those ancient foes of the Goths in Spain, and that he therefore determined to wrest their conquests from them, and to expel those obnoxious neighbours. Retaining a firm hold upon his acquisitions in southern Gaul, he crossed the Pyrenees in great force, and very soon possessed himself of Barcelona and the entire Tarraconensian division of the peninsula.⁸ Every obstacle to the total subjugation of the province appeared to have been removed, when the dagger of a domestic enemy suddenly brought his active career to a close. Ataulf survived the blow long enough to recommend a lasting peace with Rome; and with that view he is said to have advised his brother, who he believed would succeed him, to send back the queen Placidia to her brother's court.⁹ But the choice of the Goths fell upon Siegerich, the brother of Sarus, the implacable foe of the house of Alaric. The spirit of this man was, we are told, inert and mean.¹⁰ Nothing is recorded of his ephemeral reign but an act of wanton outrage upon the queen Placidia, whom he drove before his horse in the attire of a slave, and on foot, the distance of twelve miles. His dissatisfied subjects soon put an end to his feeble sway,¹¹ and raised the able and gallant Wallia upon the shield, a man whom they believed both able and willing to push the conquests of his people to the extremities of the known world, and to add Africa to the list of devastation and carnage.

Ataulf evinces an intention to establish a seat of government in Gaul.

He invades Spain, and conquers the Tarraconensian province.

He is assassinated there, and is succeeded by Siegerich, the brother of his enemy Sarus. A. D. 415.

Siegerich insults the queen Placidia, and is deposed by his subjects. Wallia succeeds him,

Wallia assembled a fleet and an army in the Spanish ports, and embarked for the conquest of Africa; but a violent storm drove him back into port with loss. Almost any serious calamity arrests the

and attempts the conquest of Africa, but his fleet is dispersed.

Luden, vol. ii. p. 376. For a diffuse description of the nuptial feast and ceremonies accompanying it, see *Olympiodor.* loc. mod. cit. The princess was served with all the obsequiousness of the imperial court, and the degraded emperor Attalus was made to recite the epithalamium. See also the inscription in honour of the nuptials, ap. *Mascou*, book viii. § 36. p. 442.

⁸ This place afterwards changed its name in honour of St. Ægidius, who lived there; and it is now called St. Gilles. We learn from *Godfrey of Viterbo* (in *Pontheo* ap. *Murator.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. vii. p. 373.), and from *Bishop Otho* of

Freisingen (ap. *Urstitium*, Hist. illustrat. tom. i. p. 93.), that in the thirteenth century the spot where the royal abode of Ataulf stood was still called *Palatium Gothorum*.

⁷ *De Reb. Get.* c. 31. p. 207.

⁸ *Orosius*, lib. vii. c. 43. p. 584. *Jornand.* loc. mod. cit. *Prosp. Chron.* ad Honor. x. et Theodos. vi. Coss.

⁹ *Olympiodor.* loc. cit.

¹⁰ *Orosius*, p. 585.

¹¹ *Olympiodor.* (loc. cit.) says he reigned only seven days.

He determines upon the conquest of Spain.

He makes a peace with Rome, whereby he acquires the province of Aquitania Secunda; is invested with the imperial commission for the conquest of Spain, and surrenders the queen Placidia to Honorius. He overthrows the Alanic tribes in Spao. He fixes his residence at Thoulouse; and dies in A.D. 419. He is succeeded by Theoderich. The Goths assume a more settled character in their new country.

Theoderich reduces the whole of Spain. The Vandals remove to Africa. A.D. 427.

current of popular enthusiasm. Africa was regarded as out of reach for the present; and the rich provinces of southern Spain became once more a favourite subject of martial speculation. But as the accomplishment of so extensive a scheme required the united strength of the nation, Wallia became anxious for peace with Rome, lest, in the pursuit of an uncertain conquest, he should risk the loss of his Gallic dominion. Rome now rarely shrunk from a bargain with her barbarian opponents, when anything was to be gained by selling the right, where the possession had long since passed away from her. By the treaty concluded between Wallia and the court of Ravenna, the possessory right to the province of Aquitania Secunda was ceded to the Goths;¹² Wallia was invested with full powers for the re-conquest of the entire province of Spain on behalf of the empire, and in return for the benefits to accrue from this commission, the Gothic king agreed to restore the princess Placidia to her relations.

We shall not follow the Gothic sovereign and his adventurous subjects to this new and vast field of national enterprise. It is sufficient to observe, that in the course of three years¹³ the Alanic tribes of Bætica were totally subdued, dispossessed, or extirpated. In the year 419, Wallia returned to Gaul, and took formal possession of Aquitania Secunda. He died a very short time afterwards in the city of Thoulouse, which he had made the seat of his government; and was succeeded by Theoderich I., a man of distinguished talents both as a warrior and a statesman. Under his government the nation assumed a more stationary aspect; the Goths became gradually attached to their new domicile; their laws, habits, and opinions, began to accommodate themselves to the nature of the country, the character of its inhabitants, and ancient institutions; and when these preliminary adaptations were accomplished, they felt themselves possessed of a home in the land where, till lately, they had regarded themselves merely as sojourners.¹⁴ Theoderich finally extended the dominion of his people over the whole of the Spanish peninsula. The Vandals, under their able king Gieserich, happy to withdraw from the vicinity of their hereditary enemies, invaded and subdued the most valuable portion of Roman Africa, where they likewise at length threw off, in a great degree, the slough of barba-

¹² *Prosp. Chron.* Maximo et Plinta Coss. (A.D. 419) This notice relates to the time of *taking possession* of a territory previously ceded. But we cannot refer the actual cession to any period subsequent to the treaty mentioned in the

text.

¹³ A.D. 417, 418, 419.

¹⁴ The process by which this revolution was accomplished will be the subject of future notice.

ism, and became transformed into a powerful and settled nation, under a succession of able and distinguished rulers.¹⁵

It would be inconsistent with the plan and the limits of this narrative to pursue the separate history of all the ramifications of the great Teutonic stock, after having conducted them to their final destination. When once they are brought to this point, we may regard them as cut off from the main stem, and fitted to become the progenitors of new populations, with customs and political interests of their own, wholly distinct from each other; and there we shall take our leave of them in their individual capacity. In this way we have brought the history of the Gothic and Vandalic powers in Spain and Africa down to a period which finally severs them from the nations of central Europe. Their part in the scheme of providential government is thus far accomplished. They will, however, still continue to share our attention with the rest in many matters relating to religion and laws, and to the general progress of barbaric society. The history of the Goths in Gaul is of peculiar importance to us in its connexion with the last heavings of that great political earthquake, by which the nations of Europe were shaken into that appropriate space,—that definite compass which they have never since materially exceeded. By degrees the Gothic monarchy will drop altogether out of our path, and acquire a history of its own. In process of time other severed branches of the great Teutonic tree will in like manner fade into the distance; and as we once more approach the land which sent them forth, the narrative will be disencumbered of many subjects which have hitherto obstructed its current, and rendered us, in a great degree, dependent upon artificial arrangement, in which it was not always possible to keep the natural order and connexion of events distinctly within view.

But to complete our picture of the establishment of the Germanic nations upon the Gallic ground, it still remains to notice the movements of the Burgundians and the Franks. The former nation, whom we have already traced from the banks of the Vistula to the Rhine,¹⁶ was about to assume a prominent station among the barbaric conquerors. And when we call to mind the formidable power which Valentinian I. had evoked to his aid from the recesses of Germany,¹⁷ and the alarm with which that able prince beheld the effect of his own spell, we feel some surprise that nothing further is recorded of them for the space of thirty years. But at the end of that period they appear floating

The Burgundians advance into notice.

A.D. 370.

¹⁵ See the history of the conquest, ap. *Procop.* de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. pp. 11—14. Ed. Grotii.

¹⁶ See c. vi. sec. 2. p. 227.; and sec. 3. p. 230.

¹⁷ See c. vii. sec. 3. p. 283.

A.D. 411.
They assist
Jovinus in
Gaul, and ob-
tain a formal
grant of some
portion of the
Roman pro-
vince of Upper
Germany.
Their habits
less migratory
than those of
their neigh-
bours.
They adopt
orthodox
Christianity
(Catholicism);
but soon secede
to the heresy of
Arius.

The Franks
encroach upon
the regions
lying between
the Lower
Rhine and the
Seine.

down the tide of migration, and claiming their share of the wasting carcass of Rome. In the year 411, Guntiar, a chief of the Burgundians, marched to the assistance of Jovinus, the usurper of Gaul. At this period, therefore, the nation was stationary upon the Rhine. Two years afterwards the Burgundians obtained a formal grant of territory in some part of the Roman province of Upper Germany,¹⁸ from which they gradually extended their acquisitions to the adjacent tracts lying between the Rhone, the Saone, and the Rhine. They appear to have thrown off the migratory habits of their race at an earlier period than most of the Teutonic nations; and, accordingly, less is heard of them in history. They adopted Christianity, either shortly before, or soon after their arrival in Gaul.¹⁹ At this period the orthodox Orosius²⁰ praises the purity of their faith, and their mild and humble demeanour: "They live," he says, "complacently, meekly, and innocently, with the Gauls; dealing with them not as subjects but as Christian brethren." But this encomium applies only to a very short term immediately succeeding their conversion. Soon after the year 417²¹ they fell into the heresy of Arius, and incurred, in common with their Gothic kinsfolk, the fierce animadversions of the orthodox Romans.

While the Goths and the Burgundians were consolidating their power in the southern and eastern regions of Gaul, the Franks continued to encroach upon the districts which lay between the Lower Rhine and the Seine. But the history of their progress is exceedingly obscure. Though they exercised a decisive influence over the fate of the distressed province, and though very frequent mention is made of them since their first establishment upon the coasts of the German Ocean,²² still the steps by which their power was enlarged are left to inference wholly. During the whole course of the fourth century their attention was directed rather to nautical than military adventure. Consistently with this disposition they naturally drew towards the mouths of the greater rivers, the Rhine, the Waal, and the Scheldt, and put themselves in possession of the Batavian island. We are, indeed, told that the emperor Constantius Chlorus, after the death of Carausius and the reduction of Britain,²³ dislodged the Franks from their piratical nests on the coasts of the North Sea; more than once they are said to have been reduced to submission by the Romans; still we hear nothing of expulsion, or of any

¹⁸ In the year 413, according to *Prosp.* ap. D. Bouq. tome i. p. 627.; according to *Cassiodorus* (*Chron.* tom. i. p. 367.) in the year 414. See also *Olympiodor.* loc. sæp. cit.

¹⁹ *Socrates*, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 30.

²⁰ *Lib.* vii. c. 32. p. 550.

²¹ At which period the history of Orosius terminates.

²² See c. vii. sec. 1. pp. 247. 252.; sec. 2. pp. 256. 266.; sec. 3. p. 278.

²³ See c. vii. sec. 1. p. 247.

material decline of their hostile disposition. After their successful campaigns the Romans were in the habit of introducing colonies of the vanquished nations into the wasted border districts of the empire; and thus it was that, before the close of the third century, the Franks, partly by conquest, and partly by colonization, had come into possession of the entire district of Toxandria, which comprised the modern provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and a part of north Brabant.²⁴

Before the close of the third century they possess themselves of the entire province of Toxandria, comprising the modern provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and part of Brabant.

In this state they continued during the whole of the fourth century. Sometimes they acknowledged dependence upon the empire; at others they gave free scope to that invincible propensity for pillage which provoked the cruel retaliation of Constantine the Great.²⁵ In the first years of the reign of Constantius, the entire province of Lower Germany fell into their power; nor were they repressed by Julian till after a severe and protracted struggle.²⁶ The Romans, however, continued to boast as loudly of their successes over these pertinacious assailants as if they had thereby reduced them to their own standard of good subjects,—a passive, unarmed, careless, frivolous, and suffering multitude. They talked boldly of Frankish victories,—the emperors assumed the title of “Francicus,” and instituted “Ludi Francici” in honour of their ambiguous exploits.²⁷ Yet the fact remains not the less certain, that before the close of the fourth century the Franks were too firmly rooted in the northern provinces of Gaul to dread any material disturbance from the expiring struggles of the Roman dominion.²⁸

The Romans combat them, and boast of victories over them; yet before the end of the fourth century they become firmly rooted in the possession of the contested districts.

The relation which subsisted between the Frankish nations and the Roman government during this long period, is a matter of some interest. As early as the reign of Aurelian a considerable army of Franks, under the native chiefs Hartmund, Hildegast, and Cariovist, was engaged in the service of Rome. The officers of these foreign troops gradually rose to such eminence in the armies of the empire, as enabled Magnentius, the chief of the Frankish mercenaries, with the assistance of his gallant countrymen Sylvanus, Malorich, and Mellobaudes, to assume, and for a while to maintain, the imperial title. After the fall of Magnentius these chiefs were honoured with the highest military dignities of the empire; they were trusted and consulted both by Constantius and Julian. The names of the Frankish princes, Merobaudes, Richomer, and Bauto, are found in the list of consuls for 383 and

Franks are in the Roman service during this period, A.D. 262, as generals.

The Frank, Magnentius, makes himself emperor.

Frankish generals nominated to the consulship.

²⁴ See the proofs, ap. *Eckhart*, *Francia Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 18.

²⁵ See c. vii. sec. 1. p. 250.

²⁶ See c. vii. sec. 2. p. 266.

²⁷ *Eckhart*, *Franc. Orient.* tom. i. p. 16.

²⁸ *Comp. Mascou*, lib. viii. § 43. p. 453.

Arbogastes, the two following years. The Frank, Arbogastes, became the guardian and minister of Valentinian II.;²⁹ and, after the violent death of his imperial ward, contested the empire with Theodosius the Great. We might swell the list of Frankish grandees by many other names; and, indeed, the predilection of the emperors for these foreign warriors, as their personal attendants and body guards, sufficiently attests the high esteem in which they were held by the government. Towards the end of the fourth century barbaric names, both in the army and the state, almost wholly supplant the old Roman patronyms. The national names of Germany become more familiar to the Romans, and in their mouths approach more closely to a genuine sound. The dress, the habits, and the manners of the Germans were admired and imitated by all ranks. The vanity of the Roman character appears, during the period of decline, to have admitted readily the inroads of foreign customs; more especially when they came recommended by such power as that which the ineptitude of the government had placed in the hands of these strangers. The contempt which the name of "barbarian" once inspired, yielded to that respect which vigour of character never fails to command; and the national prepossessions of the people,—in such a case as theirs, and after the decay of their military spirit, perhaps the safest bulwark of national independence,—no longer presented an obstacle to the progress of barbaric encroachment.

The genealogical historians of France have evinced great anxiety to trace a regular succession of Frankish kings from the remotest antiquity.³⁰ With that view they have selected one among the many names of which incidental mention is made by the historians of the empire under the description of "kings" or "dukes" of the Franks, to be the first of the series. Upon the authority of the anonymous author of the "*Gesta Regum Francorum*," a work of the eighth century,³¹ confirmed by two naked entries in the meagre chronicle of Prosper Tyro, the abbreviator and interpolator of the extant work of St. Prosper of Aquitaine,³² written in the fifth century,³³ Marcomir,

Arbogastes.

The emperors employ Frankish mercenaries for their body-guard.

The national names of Germany become more familiar to the Romans; they imitate barbaric dress and customs.

Kings of the Franks.

Genealogical antiquaries fix upon Marcomir, the son of Priamus, as the progenitor of the long-haired race of kings:

²⁹ See sec. I. p. 343. of this chapter.

³⁰ *Mezeray*, whose candour is almost proof against the adulatory spirit, as well as the literary prepossessions of the age in which he lived, admits Pharamund as the first in the series, rather in conformity to usage, and for the purpose of arrangement, than from any conviction that he was in fact either the progenitor of the Merovingian race, or the first *sole* monarch of the Franks. See his *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 193.

³¹ The date of his work is indicated by the author himself at the conclusion of his work. It was written in the year 720.

³² *Comp. Prosp. Tyro Chron.* ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. pp. 636 and 638, with the *Gest. Reg. Franc.* *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 543.

³³ *Baronius* (*Ann. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 276.) places the death of St. Prosper in the year 466, that is, eleven years after that in which his chronicle ends. *Pagi* (*loc. cit.*) regards the year of his death as uncertain.

the son of Priamus, is fixed upon as the progenitor of the first or long-haired race of Frankish kings. The story of the author of the "*Gesta Regum Francorum*" runs thus:—"In the age of Valentinian I. the Franks refused tribute to the Romans; whereupon that emperor invaded their country and defeated them with great slaughter. Their duke Priamus fell in the battle, and the people quitted the land of Sicambria³⁴ and retreated towards the Lower Rhine, where they dwelt many years under their princes Marcomir, the son of Priamus, and Sunno, the son of Antenor. Afterwards, Sunno being dead, they took council together that they might have one king to rule over them as *one* nation, like other folk. Having asked the advice of Marcomir upon this matter, he counselled them to choose his own son Pharamund, and him they accordingly lifted up (upon the shield) to be a long-haired king over them." The first notice by Prosper Tyro merely purports "that in the year 382 Priamus reigned in the land of the Franks;" the next, "that in the year 420 there was an eclipse of the sun, and that Pharamund then reigned in Francia." There is, therefore, an interval of three centuries, or thereabouts, between the occurrence of the names of Priamus and Pharamund in the authentic contemporary chronicle, and their recurrence in the tale to which we have just adverted. No further mention occurs of Pharamund till he is once more introduced to us by Ado, archbishop of Vienne, who in his chronicle, compiled towards the end of the ninth century,³⁵ repeats the story of Pharamund's election to be sole monarch of the Franks;³⁶ yet from that time down to the beginning of the last century,³⁷ it held its place as authentic history.

In adverting to the infirmities under which it labours, it is not requisite to call in question the existence of any of the personages who figure in the tale of the author of the "*Gesta*." The names of Marcomir and Sunno are unquestionably genuine;³⁸ those of Priamus, Antenor, and Pharamund, occur for the first time in Prosper Tyro, and though wrongly caught and ill-written, are probably genuine likewise. But the pretended unity of the sovereignty in a race of hereditary princes, is contradicted by the whole conduct and practice of the people to whom it

but upon insufficient grounds.

The alleged descent must be taken upon the mere affirmation of the anonymous

³⁴ The original *Sicambria*, or *Sygambria*, is placed by *Mannert*. (*Geog. der Griechen und Rom.* vol. iii. p. 165.) between the Lippe and the Sieg. But see c. ii. sec. 1. p. 75 of this volume.

³⁵ Ado wrote between the years 860 and 875. See *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 666. note (a).

³⁶ That this story was current in the age in which Ado wrote, appears from the nearly contemporary *Chronica Regum Francorum*, ap. *D.*

Bouq. loc. cit. p. 663, and from a very ancient genealogy of the kings of the Franks in the same collection, p. 665.

³⁷ The entry in the *Chron.* of Prosper was impugned by *God. Henschen* in *Exegesi de Episcop. Tungrensi et Trajectensi*, &c. c. 9; and was defended by *Pagi*, in *Crit. ad Baron. Ann. Eccles.* tom. vii. ad Ann. 418, note 81.

³⁸ See sec. 1. p. 341, of this chapter.

writer of the "Gesta Regum Francorum," who lived nearly five centuries after the supposed election of Pharamund,

and after the age of Gregory of Tours, who makes no mention of any sole king of all the Frankish nations.

This error is injurious to the truth of German history,

relates. Both *before* and *after* the alleged election of Pharamund, the Frankish confederacy was governed by many chieftains. Thus, before the event in question, the Roman historians introduce to us several *contemporary* kings of the Franks: in the reign of Maximianus Hercules, Atech and Genobaudes;—in that of Constantine the Great, Asaricus and Ragaisus;—under Constantius, Malorich and Mellobaudes, great officers of the Frankish body-guard of that sovereign. No change takes place in this respect subsequently to the supposed elevation of Pharamund to the throne of "all the Franks." Marcomir and Sunno, Richomir, Theodemir, and Genobald, all of whom flourished between the reigns of Julian the Apostate and Honorius, are designated by the title of kings of the Franks, though manifestly only the judges and military chiefs of tribes or cantons. Gregory of Tours, and his continuator Fredigarius, writers of the sixth century, sometimes call them "dukes," at others, "kings" of the Franks; but the name of Pharamund was not even known to these patriarchal historians of the nation; and Gregory himself definitively remarks that in his time few pretended to know who was the first king of all the Franks; more especially since the Roman writer, Sulpicius Alexander, upon whom he relies with undoubting faith for the early history of that people, makes no mention at all of a *first* king of the Franks, but simply states that they lived under military chiefs.³⁹ The alleged descents, therefore, rest solely upon the affirmation, and must be taken on the authority of an anonymous writer, who lived between four and five centuries after the events upon which he grounds his story must have occurred.

It is necessary to the truth and consistency of German history that this misconception should be removed.⁴⁰ The distinctive character of the Teutonic leagues consisted in their perfect freedom from those restraints which are implied in the unity of monarchical government. As long, indeed, as the Franks continued in a militant state, they are found invariably acting as a federative combination of substantively inde-

³⁹ "Non tamen regem *primum* eorum ullatenus nominat; sed *duces* eos habuisse dicit." *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 9.

⁴⁰ I find that professor *Mannert*, the latest writer upon the ancient history of Germany, has adopted the opinion of the French historians relative to the election of Pharamund, upon the faith of the passages above quoted from the *Chron.* of Prosper, confirmed by two entries, equally short, in the *Chron. Moissiacence* ap. *Duchesne*, tom. iii. p. 130. "These statements," he says, "are derived from Roman writers, while

the empire was still standing, we may therefore adopt them as purely true." This may be granted, without admitting that the Pharamund, the Chlodio, and the Meroveus of Prosper, were sole monarchs of the whole Frankish league. These names were probably noted by the annalist, merely because they belonged to the chiefs of the most advanced, or most distinguished tribes of the Frankish union. See *Mannert*. *Geschichte der Alten Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 91.

pendent nations; nor was it until they had achieved their final triumph that the cruel and perfidious policy of Chlodwig, more than three quarters of a century after Pharamund, succeeded in removing every competitor, and in combining the various tribes and cantons of the Franks into one great and powerful monarchy.⁴¹

since, in fact, the Franks had no sole king till Chlodwig.

It has been observed that the settlement of the Franks in Gaul was partly the result of conquest, and partly of colonization; and that before the close of the fourth century they had established themselves in the northern districts of the province. At the same time they partially maintained their original seats on the right bank of the Rhine.⁴² The residences of their prince Pharamund, and of his successors Theudomir and Chlodio, are placed within the limits of Thuringia,⁴³ a region of central Germany, so called after a new nation which about this time made its appearance upon the same stage, which had been till very lately occupied by the Cherusci.⁴⁴ But their new acquisitions in Gaul were still for a time liable to disturbance from the declining influence of the empire. Prior to the year 420, the Franks had already twice possessed themselves of the city of Treves, the seat of the Roman government for northern Gaul.⁴⁵ In that year Castinus, count of the domestics, undertook an expedition against them. The old capital however remained in their possession; and the Roman power in Gaul was so narrowed by the alienation of vast tracts to the Burgundians and Goths, that any attempt to recover it might be regarded as hopeless. About the year 432, Aëtius, the general of Valentinian III., is, indeed, vaguely affirmed to have expelled the Franks from the greater portion of their new acquisitions, and once more to have planted the Roman eagle upon the banks of the Rhine.⁴⁶ Yet a very few

A.D. 420.

Castinus, count of the domestics, attacks them without success.

Aëtius is said to have expelled the Franks from many of their more recent

⁴¹ Besides the writers already quoted, see *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 17, et seqq. *Struvius* (Corp. Hist. Germ. tom. i. p. 102.) has collected nearly all the authorities upon this question, and extracted them at length. See also *Mascou*, vol. i. book viii. § 44 and 45. pp. 455, 456; and *Luden*, tom. ii. p. 382. I may here remark that no circumstance seems to have contributed more to the production of this and other errors than the inclination to reduce the early polity of the barbaric nations to analogy with modern notions of government. The kings of the Germans exercised, it is true, the military and the judicial powers of government, but neither of them without great popular limitations; and the latter altogether without the power of making laws. Mezeray himself is not free from the errors arising out of this misconception.

⁴² See c. v. sec. 3. p. 194, where the possessions of the Franks in Germany are geographically described as far as our information extends.

⁴³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 9; ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii.

p. 166. It ought, however, to be noticed that one MS. of the History of Gregory of Tours reads "in termino *Tongrorum*," and another, "in termino *Tungrorum*." See notes (*h*) and (*l*) ad loc. mod. cit. Either of these readings would of course be fatal to the inference deduced in the text from the passage in question.

⁴⁴ The possessions of the Thuringians, says *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 394.), lay between the Harz mountains, the river Saale, and the range of forest-hills, called after them the Thüringer-Wald.

⁴⁵ According to *Pagi* (Critica in *Baron. &c.* ad. Ann. 407, tom. vi. p. 535, note 14.) the first capture took place in 398; the second in 411.

⁴⁶ *Idatius* Chron. ad Ann. 431 and 432, ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 617. *Prosp. Aquit.* Chron. Felice et Tauro Coss. Ibid. p. 630. St. Prosper places this expedition in 428 or 429; *Cassiodorus*, from Prosper, places it in the same year. See *Opera Cassiod.* tom. i. p. 367. *Idatius* is preferable, he having been an actor in the events he describes.

acquisitions.
A.D. 432.
But a short
time after-
wards the
Frankish king,
Chlodio, ex-
tends their ter-
ritories

A.D. 432.

to
A.D. 445.
to the banks of
the Somme.

years after this alleged reconquest, the Romans were finally driven from northern Belgium; the Frankish prince, Chlodio, took the city of Cambray, and extended the territories of his tribe to the banks of the river Somme.⁴⁷

In this eighth chapter of our narrative it has been attempted to trace the history of the Teutonic races from the first appearance of the Huns on the frontier of Europe, down to the final dismemberment of the empire of the west. Though Rome still preserved her titular supremacy, and even retained some fragments of dominion within her late provinces, yet it is clear that this was owing rather to the bewildered and unsettled state of the barbarian conquerors,—to their want of familiarity with those principles and forms necessary to carry on the government of the conquered provinces,—to their ignorance or dread of stationary employments and agricultural industry,—or, lastly, to the deficiency of union among themselves, and the consequent anxiety to colour their mutual jealousies with the name and countenance of Rome, than to any remains of vital strength in the body of the state.

And, in fact, the fatal battle of Hadrianople marks the crisis of decay. The appearance of Theodosius the Great upon the scene was a brilliant but momentary coruscation, the harbinger of the approaching extinction of all the vital powers of the Roman state. Within forty years of this last well-contested field, the entire provinces of Mœsia, Illyria, Pannonia, and Noricum, almost the whole of Spain, and the greatest part of southern Gaul had been yielded to the barbaric invaders. Ten years later Africa was severed from the empire of the West, and Italy was threatened by an enemy more powerful and more sanguinary than any of those whose visitations had already bowed her to the dust. A mightier swarm than they all was gathering in the silence and gloom of the Sarmatian wilderness, once more to unsettle the elements of social order before they were permitted to subside into that definite form from which we shall have to deduce the existing system of European polity and civilization.

⁴⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 9. loc. cit. p. 167.

CH A P. IX.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND DOWNFALL OF THE POWER OF THE HUNS, AND
THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMANIC NATIONS UPON THE
RUINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST.

WE have not dissembled that the interest of the ancient history of the Germans is, in a great measure, derived from its connexion with the fortunes of the empire of Rome. In every conflict we read of between barbarism and civilization we incline in favour of the latter. The strongest proof of this involuntary sympathy is, that all the iniquities of imperial Rome, even to the last stage of hopeless reprobation, are insufficient wholly to disengage our affections from her sinking cause. If this bias should not be thought justification enough for our frequent recurrence to Roman affairs, a better reason will appear in the nature of our subject itself. The ties which connect the history of the Germans with that of the Romans are of so intimate a character, that even long after the disappearance of the latter from the scene, we are perpetually thrown back upon their annals for the elucidation of a variety of subjects of which our knowledge would otherwise remain defective and obscure. Many instances in confirmation of this remark will appear hereafter. For the present we need only observe, that until the extinction of the western empire put an end to the nominal sovereignty of Rome, the position of the barbaric nations towards each other continued to depend, in a great degree, upon their relations with that government. And in no instance is an acquaintance with the actual condition of that power more indispensable than precisely at the moment when Rome and her barbarian enemies were driven into momentary concord by the approach of a danger equally threatening to both.

The history of the Germans still continues connected with that of Rome.

SECTION I.—A.D. 422 to A.D. 452.

Aëtius and Bonifacius—Africa conquered by the Vandals under Gieserich—Aëtius Prime Minister of Valentinian III.—Theoderich I. and the Visigoths in Gaul—Peace between the Romans and Visigoths—The Huns—Their early History—Balamir—Uldin—Attila and Bleda—Attila reduces the Eastern Empire to the condition of a tributary State—His Dominion in Germany—The Ostrogoths and Gepidæ become the Vassals of Attila—Attila and Gieserich—League between Theoderich and Aëtius—Attila invades Gaul—He is defeated upon the Catalaunian Plains—He invades Italy—Leo, Bishop of Rome—Attila retreats into Pannonia, and dies.

NOTWITHSTANDING his ill-success in Gaul, Castinus, the count of the domestics, was commissioned, in conjunction with Bonifacius, the governor of Africa, to recover the province of Bætica from the Vandalic Selingii. The arrogant conduct of Castinus disgusted his more experienced colleague, and Bonifacius retired in anger to his government. Castinus suffered a total defeat, and the territories of the empire in Spain became narrowed to a strip of coast extending along the shores of the modern provinces of Valentia and Murcia.¹

The emperor Honorius died without issue on the 15th of August, 423, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his worthless reign. Placidia, the widow of Ataulf, after her restoration to her family in the year 416, had reluctantly espoused Constantius, the general to whom Honorius was indebted for the preservation of a remnant of his dominions in Gaul. In consequence of this imperial alliance, and of his eminent services, Constantius was declared Augustus, but died after enjoying that dignity for seven months only. In the interim Placidia had borne to her second husband a son, named Valentinian.² Domestic discord compelled her to take refuge at the court of the eastern emperor Theodosius II.; and after the death of Honorius her infant son, then in the fifth year of his age, was with the assistance of that court proclaimed and installed as emperor of the West under the title of Valentinian III. During the minority of the sovereign, the administration remained in the hands of Placidia. The regent divided her confidence between Bonifacius, the governor of Africa, and the talented adventurer Aëtius, son of the count Gaudentius, whose familiarity with barbarian politics made him equally useful as the friend, as he might be dangerous as the enemy of her administration. The connexions he had already formed with the Huns, who occupied Pannonia after its desertion by the Visigoths, enabled him to command a large auxiliary force of that nation, either for the defence of Italy, or the promotion of

The Vandals
reduce Spain.

A.D. 422.

Honorius dies,

Jan. 1,
A.D. 417.

Feb. 8,
A.D. 421.

and is suc-
ceeded by Va-
lentinian III.,

A.D. 425.

under the re-
gency of his
mother Pla-
cidia.
She makes
Bonifacius and
Aëtius her
ministers.

¹ *Idatius* in Chron. ad Ann. Honorii, xxviii. (A.D. 422.) *Prosp. Aquil.* Chron. Honor. x. et Theodos. vi. Coss.

² Valentinian III. was born the 3d of July, 419. *Art de Vér.* tom. i. p. 400.

his own schemes of ambition. By the artifices of Aëtius, the governor of Africa was induced to believe that the regent had resolved upon his ruin; and Bonifacius, sensible alike of his want of power to encounter his enemies in the field, and of the little reliance to be placed upon the justice of the court, called in the two sons of Godegisel, the late king of the Spanish Vandals, to his assistance. Guntharich, the elder of these princes, died before the treaty for the partition of the province was brought to a conclusion; but in the year 429, the younger brother, Gieserich, passed the straits which divide Europe from Africa with an army of fifty thousand men. The war to which this unhappy transaction gave rise lasted six years. During its fatal progress Placidia discovered her error, and Bonifacius made every effort to atone for his crime. But it was already too late to save the province, and by the peace which put an end to the war in the year 435, Africa was lost to the empire of the West.³

Aëtius sup-
plants Boni-
facius,

who invites the
Vandals of
Spain into
Africa.

A. D. 429.

They conquer
the province.

A. D. 435.

Soon after the departure of the usurper Constantine, the province of Britain, though not yet finally abandoned by the Romans, had thrown off its dependence upon the western empire. The Armorican Gauls followed the example of the Britons; they expelled the Roman governors, and for a time maintained among themselves a republican form of government.⁴ While the Franks under Chlodio were extending their conquests to the banks of the Somme, Wallia was gradually reducing the beautiful and fertile regions which lay between the Pyrenees, the Rhone, and the Loire, into the possession of the Goths. The direct sovereignty of the empire was acknowledged in those districts only in which the people were too feeble to expel the officers of the government, or in those into which the barbarians had not hitherto penetrated; her territories consequently became scattered in incoherent fragments over the face of the country. But as the barbarians stood in the relation of occupants rather than of proprietors to the districts they had seized, these fragments were, in most cases, undefined by any fixed limits, and ran in among the Gothic, Burgundian, and Frankish possessions, without regularity or continuity, from the coasts of the Mediterranean to the confines of Armorica, or even to the Atlantic.⁵

The Britons
and Armori-
cans,
A. D. 407,
throw off their
dependence
upon the wes-
tern empire.
The Franks
advance to the
Somme, and
the Goths take
possession of
the regions be-
tween the Py-
renees, the
Rhone, and the
Loire.

The territories
of the empire
in Gaul are
broken into
slips and
patches, inter-
lacing with
those of the
Goths, Bur-
gundians, and
Franks.
The subjects of

³ *Procop.* Hist. Vandal. lib. i. ap. *Grotium*, p. 10 et seqq. *Isidor. Hispal.* Vand. Chron. ad *Æram Hispan.* 477. *Prosp. Aquit.* Chron. loc. sæp. cit.

⁴ *Zosim.* lib. vi. p. 376. The region of Armorica comprehended the modern Brittany and a great part of Normandy. In its original sig-

nification the name seems to have been applied to all the nations dwelling on the west coast of Gaul. *Cæsar.* de Bell. Gall. p. 333. Ed. Montani. See also *Notit. Dignitatum*, § 61. ap. *Mannert.* Geog. der Griechen und Römer, tom. ii. pt. 1. p. 112.

⁵ *Comp. Luden*, vol. ii. p. 386.

Rome in Gaul
abandon them-
selves to their
fate.

of Rome were, at the same time, reduced to such misery and destitution, that no change could impair their prospects. The lower classes were brought down by systematic oppression to a state of apathy which deprived them of the power of resistance to the barbaric invaders. Exposed to perpetual pillage by these roving hordes, they followed the example of their ruthless plunderers, and maintained themselves by robbery and violence, or passively resigned their lives to famine and the sword. Meanwhile the officers of the government, the rich and the noble, relinquished none of those oppressive practices, none of those vicious indulgences which had been systematically extended to them by a government anxious above all things to purchase support for its own extortions, to avert the public attention from its own delinquencies, and to found its power upon the helpless dependence and the abject subserviency of every class of its subjects.⁶

A.D. 429.
Aëtius becomes
the prime mi-
nister and ge-
neral of the
Western em-
pire.

Aëtius was now the captain-general and the absolute minister of the Western empire. Bold, unscrupulous, and crafty, his talents were rather those of an adventurer than of a statesman. He had spent three years of his early life as a hostage in the camp of Alaric; and had subsequently visited and cultivated the friendship of the Hunnic occupants of Pannonia. In the year 424 a large army of that people followed him into Italy, to the assistance of the imperial secretary John, who had usurped the diadem after the death of Honorius. But he arrived too late to save his not undeserving patron from ruin. Aspar, the general of Theodosius II., seated the infant Valentinian upon the tottering throne of the West; Aëtius transferred his services to the regent Placidia, and soon succeeded in acquiring that ascendancy in her counsels to which his abilities entitled him. With the assistance of his Hunnic auxiliaries he obtained important advantages over the Franks on the Lower Rhine,⁷ and restored some degree of firmness to the Roman interest in Gaul.

After the detec-
tion of his in-
trigue against
Bonifacius, he
is again ba-
nished. He
takes refuge
among his

But the detection of the base intrigue by which he had compassed the disgrace of Bonifacius embroiled him once more with the court. His rival was restored to favour; he himself was deposed from his rank of captain-general of the armies, and compelled to take refuge in the camp of the Huns.⁸ Relying upon the fidelity of his allies, and the

⁶ See the extract from the work of *Salvianus*, bishop of Marseilles (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 779.) "De Gubernatione Dei." "Scilicet," says he, speaking of the Gauls, "apud barbaros Romanam humanitatem quærentes, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt." But the picture which the bishop has drawn of the condition, moral, religious, and po-

litical, of the Roman subjects in Gaul, must be taken with some abatement. A state of society so utterly reprobate as that he describes, could not have subsisted a twelvemonth.

⁷ See the Chronicles of *Idatius*, *Prosper*, and *Cassiodorius*, ad Ann. 429, 430, 431. in loc. sæp. cit.

⁸ *Prosp. Aquit.* Chron. apud *Canis.* Lect. Ant.

secret attachment of the Roman armies, he resorted to force for the purpose of reinstating himself in the power he had forfeited by falsehood and perfidy. The repentant Bonifacius encountered him in the field, and obtained a decisive victory. But a wound received in the battle soon afterwards put an end to his existence, and deprived the government of the only public servant whose character and talents were deemed adequate to balance the intrigues of Aëtius and to provide for the public defence. The Burgundians were again stirring in Gaul; the Vandals were making alarming progress in Africa; the interests of the empire in Spain were daily declining; in this emergency the hopes of the people, the court, and the army, involuntarily reverted to Aëtius. A court intrigue had effected his banishment; a similar cabal was made the instrument of his restoration; and in the year 435 he went as general of the empire into Gaul to oppose the progress of Gundichar, king of the Burgundians of Upper Germany. That prince had collected an army consisting of his own followers, strengthened by a mixed assemblage of vagrant Huns, Heruli and Franks.⁹ The Roman forces were hardly of a less miscellaneous character. Huns and Franks were engaged on both sides, and Aëtius found employment for two campaigns in repressing the encroachments of the Burgundians. At the conclusion of this war he turned his attention to the revolted cities of Armorica, and let loose upon them a horde of roving Alani under their king Eocarich, who soon reduced them to implore the clemency of the empire.¹⁰

friends, the Huns of Pannonia, and, with their help, invades Italy; but is defeated by Bonifacius, who dies shortly afterwards.

Aëtius is again restored to power; A.D. 435.

he represses the encroachments of the Burgundians in Gaul, and reduces the revolted Armorica to obedience.

But the pacification of Gaul was still impeded by disagreements with the Gothic occupants of the south. During the last ten years of Wallia's reign no interruption of the good understanding with Rome occurred. But in the year 429, Wallia was succeeded by Theoderich, "a prince," says Jornandes, "of singular moderation and wisdom." Seven years after his accession some unexplained jealousy¹¹ caused a rupture. The conduct of the war was entrusted to an officer named Litorius. For the period of nearly three years no decisive event is recorded. Litorius was, in the interim, strengthened by the Pannonian Huns of Aëtius; and with

Peace between the Goths and Romans, from the year 419 to 429, Wallia is succeeded by Theoderich; and, A.D. 436, a rupture takes place with Rome.

tom. i. p. 316. From this it appears that Aëtius was a guest of Rugilas, or Roas, king of the Huns, for two years and a half or three years. Rugilas died the same year, 434.

⁹ At least this seems a warrantable inference from the description of *Apollinaris Sidonius*, in *Carm. Panegyri. ad Avitum Aug. ap. D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 805.

¹⁰ *Vita Sancti Germani. Ep. Antissiodor. ap. D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 163. The biographer ascribes to the saint the merit of saving the Armo-

ricans from destruction by his heroic self-devotion. The prelate, he tells us, went out unattended to meet the Pagan king, and produced such an effect upon the barbarian by his dauntless demeanour and eloquence, that he consented to forego the privileges of rapine and slaughter, and granted equitable terms to the suppliant cities.

¹¹ *Apollinaris Sidonius* imputes to Theoderich an intention to extend his dominions to the banks of the Rhone. *Carm. vii. ad Avit. Aug. v. 300.*

A.D. 439.
The general
Litorius is de-
feated by Theo-
derich; but the
threatening
movements of
the Huns of
Attila bring
about a peace.

the anxiety so common among the subordinate generals of Rome to eclipse the credit of his superior by some decisive exploit, he rashly advanced to the walls of Thoulouse, where he sustained a defeat which laid open the whole of Gaul to the victorious Goths.¹² Avitus, who in the absence of Aëtius acted as the imperial lieutenant in Gaul, hastened to conclude a treaty of peace with Theoderich; and the latter, already informed of the threatening movements of Attila, aimed at no greater advantages from his success than might be demanded and granted with safety to both parties.¹³ Meanwhile Aëtius had settled a considerable horde of wandering Alani, under their chief Sangiban, in the deserted city and district of Valence on the left bank of the Rhone,¹⁴ as a check upon the growing power of the Visigoths in Aquitaine, while Eocarich, another chief of the same people, watched the disaffected cities of Armorica, and covered the northern possessions of the Romans against the advanced tribes of the Salian Franks.¹⁵

Character of
Aëtius,

fertile in expedient,
indefatigable and per-
severing.

Aëtius has been rightly designated as the last of the generals and statesmen of western Rome. He possessed, in a great degree of vigour, many of those qualities which seem to have become almost extinct at the courts of Rome and Byzantium. Though his history presents little more than shadows, they are shadows of a loftier stature. His conduct, unadorned indeed by that cheering radiance which public virtue imparts to the character of public men, displays nevertheless scope of mind, fertility of expedient, indefatigable activity, and great steadiness of purpose. Under his auspices the Roman influence in Gaul was restored; a kind of balance of power among the barbarian occupants was introduced, and an interval of repose procured for that sorely vexed region. In addition

¹² *Salvian. Massil. de Gub. Dei, lib. vii. D. Bouq. tom. i. p. 782. Prosp. Chron. ad Theodos. xvii. et Festo Coss. (A.D. 439.)*

¹³ *Jornandes (c. 34. p. 660. Ed. Grot.)* knows nothing of the defeat of Litorius; the armies, he tells us, when drawn up in battle-array, instead of fighting, gave each other the right-hand of fellowship, and concluded a peace which led to the fortunate event of the war against Attila:—"Quâ (pace) pacatur Attila Hunnorum rex, &c." This significant allusion to that terrible conqueror warrants, I think, the inference, that solicitude occasioned by the alarming increase of his power was the motive of this sudden pacification; for it would be impossible to attribute it, with *Sidonius*, (loc. mod. cit. v. 308. et seqq.) to the eloquent or dexterous letters of Avitus to the king of the Goths, unless Avitus had possessed information relative to the designs of

Attila, which intimidated the Gothic king, and convinced him of the urgent necessity of peace with Rome.

¹⁴ *Prosp. Chron. Isid. et Senat. Coss. (A.D. 436.) Idat. Chron. ad Ann. xii. Valentin. (A.D. 436.)* Thus the settlement of Sangiban is referred by these writers to the first year of the Gothic war.

¹⁵ The settlement of the Alani of Sangiban in the district of Valence is likewise vouched by the *Chron. of Prosp. Aquitan.* Comp. note (a) ad Edit. hujus Chron. ap. *Canisium*, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. i. p. 317. Basnage denies that Eocarich was a prince of the Alani, or that *this* Sangiban was the identical chief who afterwards played a double part during the Hunnic invasion. (See p. 428 of this vol.) But he assigns no reasons. The opinion of Valesius, which he controverts, seems to me the most probable.

to this, his long-established connexion with Roas or Rugilas, the prince of the Pannonian Huns, and afterwards with the formidable Attila himself, procured for him advantages which no other Roman statesman possessed, as it enabled him to collect much valuable information regarding the power, the resources, the past history, and the actual designs of that enterprising and dangerous people; and thus qualified him, in an especial manner, to become the guardian of an enfeebled and sinking state.

His past connexion with the Huns enables him to adopt the best means of encountering their designs.

However anxious we may feel to avoid those frequent digressions which interrupt the narrative and encumber the memory of the reader, the inconvenience of episode is, we think, incomparably less than the sacrifice of any one of the great principles of historical composition. The causes of great and important effects are rarely to be found close at hand, especially when, as in the case of the great Hunnic migration, they thrust themselves abruptly into the train of events, disturbing and diverting the natural current of human affairs. In such cases digression becomes a duty, and the historian may reasonably claim from his reader some portion of that labour and attention which was expended by himself in the construction of his story. The origin and progress of that extraordinary human torrent, which about the end of the fourth century burst from the high table-lands of central Asia, and rolled on in majesty and terror to the verge of the civilized world, cannot, though at the risk of overloading the narrative, be passed over in silence. The intimate connexion in which these mighty tribes stand with the great mass of the Teutonic races, and the extraordinary influence they will be found to have exercised over their destiny, call upon us to cast some light upon the early history of the Huns, and to fill up, without encumbering our pages with merely ethnographic disquisition, the gap which would otherwise disturb those relations of cause and effect so essential to connected narrative, and thus to obviate that uneasiness and dissatisfaction which deficient information always raises in the mind of the intelligent and inquisitive student.¹⁶

Necessity of a retrospective view of Hunnic history.

¹⁶ Errors which find their way into the works of writers of eminence are protected from scrutiny by the reputation of the authors themselves. And this is peculiarly the case when those errors arise out of a mistaken application of results which could have been obtained only by great learning and industry. But information upon subjects previously immersed in deep obscurity is rarely ever brought to light in so perfect a shape as to warrant the confident inferences into which the first promulgator is very often seduced, from the natural desire to enjoy the whole credit of his meritorious exertions. And, in

truth, the detection of these errors becomes a far less ungracious task when we can connect it with the acknowledgment of great obligations due to those exertions. Thus it is that in dissenting from the theory of the elder Des Guignes, with regard to the origin of the Huns, we admit with gratitude the light which his great work * has introduced into that obscurity which previously overspread the early history of the nations of central Asia.

* His exceedingly laborious, learned, and otherwise accurate work, entitled "*Histoire des Huns*," is here alluded to.

Their king
Balamir
conducts them

For the period of fifty years after the appearance of the Huns upon the confines of Europe, their history is perplexing and obscure. Ba-

Under the protection of such names as Gaubil, Visdelou, Des Guignes, Gibbon, Adelung, Müller, and Pfister,* hypothesis and conjecture are but too liable to obtain the stamp of fact, and to pass into history as a safe foundation for legitimate inference; and thus such theories may lend their aid to the propagation of error rather than to the elucidation of truth. Thus it has happened to the history of the Huns. The conjecture of Des Guignes had, it must be admitted, many of the ordinary probabilities relied upon by historians in its favour; it afforded a specious mode of arranging and connecting events previously known; it accounted for one of the most interesting and mysterious occurrences in history by reference to a series of new and surprising facts; and it proceeded upon the results of an inquiry into which very few among the learned of Europe were capable of following the author. Here therefore the mind of the ordinary reader found a resting-place, and the more careful inquirer was gratified by the possession of a great mass of materials of unquestioned value. And but for the extended acquaintance we now possess, through the researches of Klaproth and others of his countrymen, with the very sources from which that eminent author himself derived his knowledge, the Huns would still pass for the descendants of the Hioung-Nou of the Chinese, and the attractive story of Gibbon would still enjoy that credit *as history* to which it is so justly entitled as a narrative.

The error into which the writers just alluded to have fallen, rests upon the twofold assumption:—1st. That the Huns who invaded Europe towards the close of the fifth century are identical with a tribe of the Turkish family known to the Chinese by the name of the Hioung-Nou; and 2dly, that these Hioung-Nou were of that Mongolic, or Calmuck race, which still haunts the plains of central Asia, exhibiting a striking resemblance, in physiognomy and physical structure, to the personal appearance of the Huns as described to us by Ammian, Jornandes, and Sidonius Apollinaris.† This second proposition served to strengthen the former, by establishing a medium of comparison between

the Huns and their supposed progenitors the Hioung-Nou, and seemed to furnish an independent argument to help out the defective historical deduction by which the identity contended for was to be supported. The scheme was further propped up by an attempt to show a similarity of language between the Huns and the Monguls,—by looking for words of similar sound in the dialect of the latter, and interpreting, without any knowledge of the meaning, if any, attached to them by the Huns themselves, the few Hunnic proper names which have been handed down to us.

I. Without entering at any length into the history of the Hioung-Nou, a few facts relative to their early connexion with the Chinese empire, and of their subsequent dispersion, are essential to explain the origin of the error just alluded to. For several centuries prior to the Christian era, the northern frontier of the civilized empire of China had been infested by a race of barbarians known to the annalists of that people by the several names of Hian-Yu, Hian-Yun, and Hioung-Nou; the last of which came into use in the third century before the birth of Christ, and continued to be applied to them till its final disappearance in the second century of the vulgar era. About the year 200 before Christ a chief, named Theouman, united the various hordes of the nation into one political body; he himself assumed and transmitted to his successors the title of Tchen-Yu,—importing prince or emperor—of the Hioung-Nou. The associate tribes rendered themselves so terrible to the Chinese, that the first emperor of the Han dynasty was compelled to conciliate their Tchen-Yu by bestowing upon him his daughter in marriage, and this became afterwards a customary mode of gratifying those powerful princes, and inducing them to abstain from molesting the empire.

This state of insecurity and constraint continued till the reign of Hiao-Wou-Ti, who in the year 141 B. C. took steps to unite all the enemies of the Hioung-Nou in one great league to put an end to the oppression under which not only the Chinese, but all the nations of central Asia were alike suffering. But this emperor was unable to do more than check the depredations of the enemy, and establish a communication with the more distant tribes to the westward, as far as Transoxiana and the confines of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana. At the commencement of the first century before Christ, the Chinese government effected an extensive confederacy,

* The passages of these writers here referred to are *Des Guignes*, *Hist. des Huns*, vol. ii. liv. i. p. 124; *Gibbon*, *Decline and Fall*, &c. vol. iii. p. 577 to 586; *Adelung*, *Mithridates*, vol. i. p. 498; *Müller*, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 500 et seqq.; *Pfister*, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 221.

† *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxxi. c. 2. p. 669. *Jornand.* c. xxvi. p. 203. *Sidon. Apollin.* *Carm.* ii. vv. 245—262. See also c. viii. sect. 1. pp. 318, 319.

lamir is named to us as the prince under whose command they ^{into Europe} passed the swamps of the Palus Mæotis; and, after overthrowing ^{A. D. 370,} ^{and establishes}

consisting of thirty-six of these nations, the monarchs of which consented to receive investiture from the emperor by the delivery of seals of state as the insignia of vassalage as well as of sovereignty. By the most energetic exertions in the field, and the wise management of the confederate forces, the power of the Hioung-Nou was broken. A simultaneous attack by the fair-haired races* from the northward and westward, and by the Turco-Tâtanic tribes from the southward and eastward, reduced them to extremity, and at length compelled their Tchen-Yu to make his submission to the emperor in person, and crave a settlement for his expatriated subjects upon the territories of the empire.

But though the Hioung-Nou were humbled and shorn of their extensive dominions, the great reduction of their power did not take place till the year 11 of the Christian era, when the Chinese usurper Wang-Wang penetrated by ten different routes into their territories, defeated them totally in the field, and divided their possessions into fifteen tributary kingdoms. They however once more recovered their independence; but in the year 46 of the vulgar era, intestine broils, famine, drought, and the persevering hostility of their eastern neighbours the Ou-Houan and Sian-Pi compelled the more northern tribes of the nation to migrate to the westward, and to abandon all the lands they possessed to the southward of the Great Desert of Kobi. The more southern hordes continued nominally subject to China. The government of that country availed itself of the bitter schism which had in the interim arisen between the northern and southern divisions of the great Hioung-Nou race to weaken both. In the year 72 the emperor Ming-Ti re-established the tributary confederation of the nations of central Asia, which had been found so effective an instrument for the defence of the empire. All the western regions, as far as the Oxus, acknowledged the Chinese supremacy. The general Pun-Tchao defeated the northern Hioung-Nou in many battles; their hostile kinsfolk in the south fell upon them at the same time; all the hordes whom they had formerly enslaved and oppressed, especially their mortal foes the Sian-Pi, the Ou-Sun, and the Ting-Ling, assailed them from different quarters at once, and drove them still farther towards the north-westward. In order to escape from the persecutions of the numberless enemies

by whom they were now beset, fifty-eight hordes of the northern Hioung-Nou placed themselves under the protection of China. Two years afterwards eighty-one hordes followed their example, and in the years 91 and 92 of our computation, the Chinese general Teou-Hian, in conjunction with the Hioung-Nou of the south, expelled the remainder of the nation from the settlements they had acquired at the foot of the Altai mountains, near the sources of the river Irtisch. The remnant of the dispersed hordes retired farther and farther to the westward; the movement continued at intervals for several generations, till they finally took up their residence in the Siberian steppes of the river Ichim,* and on both flanks of the Oulou-Tau and Alghin-Tau mountains. Here they became the enemies of the previous occupants, the Jouan-Jouan, and in the year 448, sent an embassy to the emperor of China, requesting him to fall upon that people from the east while they attacked them from the opposite side. This is the last mention which occurs of the Hioung-Nou of the north in the Chinese annals; and here likewise ends the narrative of Des Guignes, which he closes with the abrupt observation, that these Hioung-Nou are the identical Huns who invaded Europe in the reign of the emperor Valens.†

To this startling proposition there arises a preliminary objection destructive of that probability deduced from the resemblance of names upon which the common theory mainly rests. Soon after the disasters which befell the Hioung-Nou, at the close of the first century of the Christian era, the expatriated tribes had dropped the name of Hioung-Nou, and were afterwards known by those of Yue-Po and Yue-Pan successively,—sounds which bear no similarity to that of “Huns.” It appears moreover that a nation of Huns,‡ dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian, was known to the Greek Eratosthenes || two centuries, and to Dionysius the geographer about one hundred and sixty years before Christ. Ptolemy, who lived and wrote in the middle of the third century, places the Huns between the Bastarnæ and the Roxalani, consequently upon both sides of the Borysthenes, and in an advanced position towards the interior of Europe. It is hardly necessary to point out the

* An affluent of the Irtisch.

† See *Des Guignes*, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 290. Compare *Klaproth*, *Tableaux*, &c. p. 242.

‡ Ούννοι.

|| As quoted from *Strabo* by *Klaproth*, p. 235.

* The Ou-Sun and Ting-Ling.

them between
the rivers Don
and Dnieper.

the monarchy of the Ostrogoths, established themselves upon the

irreconcilable contradiction in which these notices stand to the established theory. While the Hioung-Nou were living far away in the eastern regions of Asia, we are compelled to recognize the Huns as the ancient inhabitants of the very districts from which they afterwards issued to invade the west of Europe; and when that event took place, it is found that the very name of Hioung-Nou, as applied to the north-western tribes of that nation, had been for nearly three centuries consigned to oblivion.

II. As little support can be derived from the alleged resemblance in feature between the Hioung-Nou and the Huns:—the physical peculiarities ascribed to them by the ancients, exaggerated by the surprise and terror which their extraordinary numbers and unusual mode of warfare inspired, are in fact common to all the Nomadic races of central Asia not of the Indo-Germanic family. Chinese, Tongouses, Samoyedes, Mongul-Tatars, Turks, and Tibetans, might all, or any of them, have sat for the several portraits of the Hun drawn by Ammian, Jordanes, and Sidonius Apollinaris. The small oblique eye, the high cheek-bone, the swarthy complexion, the scanty black hair, the flat nose, the low forehead, and the paucity of beard, are peculiarities common to them all: the stature of all falls below that of the fair-haired races; and the erect and well-proportioned figure of the latter still contrasts favourably with the compact but squat and vulgar build of the Tatar races.

Thus, even if the proof of affinity between the Hioung-Nou of the Chinese, and the Mongul-Tatars were complete, the resemblance of the Huns to the latter would furnish an exceedingly feeble presumption in favour of a common descent. But in fact there exists no proof whatever of such affinity, and therefore the argument from resemblance fails altogether. It is now known that the Monguls were originally only an individual tribe of the great Tà-Tar race, and dwelt to the southward and the eastward of the lake Baikal, and in the territories lying between the various branches of the Amour;—that up to the eleventh century they cannot be traced a step beyond the limited and distant confines assigned to them by the historians of China; that, as late as the year 1000, the name of Mongul was wholly unknown; and that therefore the Monguls did not emerge into notice till five or six centuries after the disappearance of the Hioung-Nou; that, at the period of the Hunnic migration, they were severed from them by boundless wilds inhabited by na-

tions of a different race and lineage; and that until the thirteenth century they were one of the least numerous and most obscure tribes of central Asia, numbering not more than four hundred thousand tents or families. At that period indeed there arose among them Djengis, a ruler endowed with those qualities to which a barbaric world rarely refuses obedience. The renown which he bestowed upon the name would however have passed quickly into oblivion but for that headlong vanity which impels whole nations into the arms of a conqueror, and in the intoxication of victory urges them to fling away every thing that was once dear to them,—name, independence, even nationality itself,—to become the full partakers of his glory.

Writers prepossessed in favour of the identity of the Huns with the Hioung-Nou, and of the latter with the Mongul-Tatars, have sought to strengthen themselves in a supposed resemblance of language.* As the means of comparison consisted of a few Hunnic proper names only, it was in the first place assumed that these names must have some signification. Words of analogous sound were then sought for and found with great ease in the tongue of the Kalmucks, an acknowledged branch of the Mongul-Tatar race. The meaning attached to these sounds by the Kalmucks was then transferred to the Hunnic names, and the derivation was established to the satisfaction of the inquirer. It is, however, obvious, that by such a process as this the Hunnic names might be derived from any language whatever, since the principal condition or datum, without which no conclusion whatever could be arrived at, viz. the signification attached to these names by the Huns themselves, was not even thought of.† The Hioung-Nou were a branch of that great Turkish race which in after ages distinguished itself as the conquerors of Persia and of the Byzantine empire; if therefore the affinity between the Hioung-Nou and the Huns was to be established through the medium of language, the analogy of sound ought, at all events, to have been sought for in some one of the Turkish dialects. But it so

* Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken*, vol. i. p. 129. *Adelung* (Mith. vol. i. pp. 498, 499.) has, singularly enough, adopted Bergmann's feeble and totally inconclusive reasoning.

† Thus "*Mountsak*," the name of the father of Attila, is derived by Bergmann from two Kalmuck words, "*Mou*," bad, and "*tsak*," weather. But the name is so differently written by the Greek and Latin authors, that the spelling adopted by Bergmann, in order to bring in the resemblance of sound, seems almost altogether arbitrary.

northern coasts of the Euxine from the mouths of the Don to those

happens that the Hunnic names alluded to are such as no Turk could pronounce, owing to the accumulation of consonants unseparated by vowels. The same observation applies likewise to the Mongul languages,* and thus the pretended affinity of the Huns with either completely vanishes.

It is perhaps more difficult to assign the true birth-place of the Hunnic nations than to refute the errors into which others have fallen regarding that remarkable people. The Byzantine historians† furnish a variety of interesting notices which tend to identify the Huns with the later Avâri and Hungarians. It is indeed expressly stated by these writers, that the Hungarians and the Huns were the same nation, a fact to which the history of the latter seems to lend a high degree of probability; and they make use of the two names indifferently to denote either people. Cinnamus designates the Hungarians as the *western Huns*;‡ and in the year 626, according to Cedrenus, Kosroes king of Persia sent his general Sarbar with an army against Constantinople, with directions to make a treaty of alliance with the *western Huns*, who are also called *Avâri*. Theophylact expressly affirms that the Avâri were of Hunnic descent; and, in various parts of his work, he uses the two names as perfectly synonymous.

From these positive testimonies we are entitled to affirm that those writers who lived in ages wherein these nations were not yet extinct, regarded the Huns, Hungarians, and Avâri, as the same people. It may be added, that a nation, known to this day by the name of the *Lesghi-Avâri*, and inhabiting a portion of the Caucasian isthmus, still retains very many of the proper names handed down to us as in use among the Huns, and among the rest those of *Attila*, *Uldin*, *Eska*, *Balamir*, *Bleda*, &c., in their composite form, and without material variance of sound.§

The account given us by the ancients of the personal appearance of the Huns agrees well with that of the *Vogoul*, a tribe of the great *Finnic* race, whose several branches spread themselves over the northern regions of Europe, from the

Finnic Gulf to the Ural mountains, and thence eastward and southward far into the interior of Siberia. In the middle ages, the Uralian country, inhabited by them, was known by the name of *Hunnia Magna*, or *Great Hungary*. The traveller Ruysbroek, who passed through the land of the Bashkirs in the year 1235, describes it as inhabited by a Nomadic race, who spoke the *Hungarian* language. "From this country," he says, "went forth the Huns in the olden times, and these were afterwards called Hungarians." But the strongest ground for affirming the common descent of the *Vogoul* tribe from the Huns arises from the comparison of the former language with that of the Hungarians, the result of which establishes so marked an affinity as to lead to the unavoidable inference, that at some former period an intimate connexion must have subsisted between the ancestors of both races. The direction of the migration of the Huns fully agrees with the geographical position of the *Lesghi Avâri*, of the modern *Vogoul*, the *Bashkir*, and other oriental Finnic tribes inhabiting the same regions; and if the unanimous testimony of the Byzantine historians to the identity of the Huns and Hungarians be admitted, we shall have little difficulty in pronouncing in favour of the theory which derives the Huns from the regions of the *Volga*, the *Ural*, and the south-western angle of the modern *Siberia*.

The disappearance of those marks of personal resemblance in the Hungarian nation, by which the Asiatic hordes are identified with each other, is obviously of no moment to the argument. The modern Hungarian, it is admitted, no more resembles his ancestor, the Hun, than the European Turk resembles his Nomadic progenitor. Both nations have undergone such an intermixture with a variety of foreign stocks, as to have wholly lost their ancient national features. In fact, we have now nothing to rely upon in tracing the distinction of the European and of very many Asiatic races but ancient accredited records and the analysis of language. These two sources of information however, if judiciously combined, often lead to results as unexpected as they are satisfactory; and when the investigations now in progress, relative to the laws by which the transmission of oral sounds are governed, shall have been brought to maturity, the history of mankind will be enriched by a multitude of facts tending both to verify and to correct historical deduction, and to throw extraordinary light

* Both of them, according to *Adehung* (Mith. vol. i. p. 498.) being only one step removed from the primitive monosyllabic uninflected languages.

† Especially *Nicetas*, *Leo the Grammarian*, and *Georgius Monachus*.

‡ *Ὀὐνοὶ Ἰσπεριῶται*.

§ Here and there the vowels differ, but only in one or two instances. The radical syllables are all identical.

He invades
the Eastern
empire.

of the Danube.¹⁷ A short time after this triumphant beginning, Balamir crossed that stream and invaded the Roman province of Mœsia. Here we are told¹⁸ he took and destroyed several cities, and compelled the emperor Theodosius the Great to purchase his departure by an annual stipend of nineteen pounds of gold. Modern historians affirm that this prince extended the dominion of his tribe over the present kingdom of Hungary, and that, in the last years of the fourth century, he again passed the Danube into Pannonia, and possessed himself of that region likewise.¹⁹ Inconsistent as this statement may appear with the cession of that province which was made by the court of Rome to Alaric in the year 404,²⁰ yet in the vague language of the age, a momentary occupation might perhaps be dignified with the name of conquest; and when, by the emigration of the Visigoths in the year 408, or at the latest in 409, Pannonia was abandoned to its own resources, the remnant of the Roman population no doubt yielded to the power of succeeding Hunnic princes, and is therefore properly enumerated among their subjects.

After him,
Uldin rules
the Huns of
Lower Pan-
nonia, as the
ally of both
divisions of
the empire.

A.D. 399.

A.D. 405.

Mundjûk,
Actar, and
Roas succeed
him,

The next prince of the Huns, whose name has incidentally found a place in the annals of the empire, was Uldes, or Uldin, who is generally, though perhaps upon insufficient grounds, regarded as the successor of Balamir. The territory occupied by this chief must have been so situated as to afford a ready access to the provinces of either division of the empire; since, in the year 399, he attacked and slew Gaines, the rebellious vassal of Arcadius;²¹ and six years afterwards advanced into Italy at the head of an army of sixty thousand Huns to assist Stilicho in repelling the Vandalic hordes of Radagaisus.²² From these facts we are entitled to infer that the Huns had already established themselves in the districts to the southward of the river Save, as far as the passes of the Julian Alps and the confines of Istria and Liburnia; and from this point of time in fact the hostile contact of the Huns and Romans may with propriety be dated. Three brothers, Mundjûk, Actar, and Roas, or Rugilas, are designated as the successors of Uldin. The first is noticed as the father of the celebrated Attila, the last as the earliest friend and protector of Aëtius, and the ruler of the Pannonian dominions of the Huns.²³ From Priscus

upon the periods which preceded the dawn of written history.*

* The researches of *Adelung* gave a considerable impulse to the study of the affinities of language. Those of the mighty grammarian *Jacob Grimm* have carried the science many steps in advance; and *M. Abel Remusat* has rendered essential services in the same department by his learned work on the Tâtaric languages, published at Paris in 1820.

¹⁷ See c. viii. sec. 1. pp. 320, 322.

¹⁸ *Prisci Rhetor.* Hist. Goth. in Excerpt. de Legationibus, Ss. Hist. Byz. tom. i. p. 74.

¹⁹ *Art de Vér. les Dates*, tom. i. p. 357.

²⁰ See c. viii. sec. 2. p. 355. But see note 31, *ibid.*

²¹ See c. viii. sec. 2. p. 350.

²² See c. viii. sec. 2. p. 356.

²³ *Ap. Ss. Hist. Byz. tom. i. p. 37.*

we learn that a formal surrender of that province to these barbarians was made by the Western empire. This cession was probably regarded as the price paid for a period of exemption from pillage and slaughter. At all events the torrent of devastation now poured itself out with immitigable fury over the eastern division of the Roman world. Illyricum, Dacia ^{and pillage the} Ripensis, and both the Mœsias, were pillaged without mercy; and ^{Illyrian provinces.} every short interval of tranquillity was purchased by an increase of tribute to the rapacious invaders. Actar and Rugilas had raised it from an insignificant acknowledgment to the important sum of three hundred pounds weight of gold. Attila and Bleda, the sons of Mundjûk, ^{Attila and Bleda succeed Roas,} succeeded their uncle Roas in the year 434. ^{A D. 434.} The court of Constantinople strove to weaken the Hunnic princes by encouraging and fomenting rebellion among their subjects, affording them a refuge from the punishment due to their offences, or inducing them to enter the lucrative service of the empire in fraud of their duty to their liege lords. For this breach of the laws of good neighbourhood Attila and Bleda denounced immediate war against the emperor Theodosius, unless he should promptly dismiss all the Hunnic refugees and deserters then under his protection, and engage for the future not to harbour rebels or encourage disaffection among their people. At Margus, a city of Dacia Ripensis,²⁴ Attila himself met and negotiated with the envoys of Theodosius. All his demands were acceded to by the obsequious ambassadors; slaves and deserters were restored, all connexion with the enemies of the Huns ^{and reduce the Eastern empire to the condition of a vassal state.} renounced, and an ignominious tribute of seven hundred pounds of gold submitted to as the price of forbearance for the future.²⁵

By this signal humiliation the empire purchased an insecure truce of four years' duration. In the interim Attila and Bleda extended their dominions over the boundless regions of Scythia, from the Don to the confines of Germany, and from the Danube to the shores of the Baltic. During the same period a lively commercial intercourse had grown up between the Huns and the subjects of Rome. The former eagerly squandered the produce of depredation upon the rich fabrics and costly commodities of the east; the latter took advantage of the avidity of the barbarians to extract some portion of the spoils of their countrymen from the pockets of their incautious customers. Extortions and thefts disturbed the course of peaceful traffic: the city of Margus appears to have been the great staple place for this commerce; and there the misconduct of a ^{Brawls arise between the Roman traders and the Huns at Margus.}

²⁴ Thirty miles to the eastward of Sigidunum, the modern Belgrade, at the confluence of the river Margus (the Bulgarian Morava) with the

Danube. *Mannert*, *Anc. Geograph.* vol. vii. p. 77.

²⁵ *Priscus*, loc. cit. p. 48.

Christian prelate gave occasion to the renewal of those scenes of blood and rapine, the reiteration of which imparts a repulsive monotony to the history of the period.

The bishop of Margus

The bishop of Margus, into whose hands,—doubtless in the absence of all regular government in this dangerous and neglected frontier,—the civil and even the military command of the city appears to have fallen, had plundered the treasures of a neighbouring chief of the Huns. The latter, in revenge for this robbery, suddenly fell upon the Roman traders assembled at a fair in the vicinity, put them to the sword, and carried off their wares. The Huns next attacked the city of Viminacium,²⁶ which they took and destroyed. Many other towns and villages on the right bank of the Danube were in like manner levelled with the ground; the government, intimidated by this sanguinary remonstrance, signified its inclination to surrender the offending bishop; but the prelate had in the interim made his peace with the Huns, and after bargaining for a large reward, had put them into possession of the opulent city of Margus.²⁷

betrays the city to the barbarians.

Attila again invades Illyricum. He murders Bleda,

Priscus observes, that “from this time the affairs of the barbarians went on prospering from day to day.” In the year 442, Attila and Bleda invaded Illyricum, and committed frightful devastations in that province.²⁸ But the imperious character of Attila no longer brooked the presence of an equal upon his throne. In the division of the dominions of their uncles, Bleda had obtained the largest share; the boundless projects of Attila were checked, and his arbitrary temper was chafed, by the division of command; and when, in conformity with the policy of eastern monarchs, he had removed his brother by the dagger or the cord, the whole nation accepted the yoke of the vigorous and unsparing despot.²⁹ Nothing now seems to have impeded the unlimited expansion of his power. He poured his swarms across the Danube, and speedily overrun the whole of the oriental Illyricum, Macedonia, and Thrace. Neither castle nor fortified town resisted his attack; the ancient cities of Naissus and Sardica were levelled with the ground, and the fertile vale of the Margus presented a scene of unutterable carnage and desolation.³⁰ Ratiaria, Philippopolis, Arcadiopolis, Constantia, with upwards of seventy cities and towns, became the graves of their slaughtered inhabitants. The feeble Theodosius hastily recalled his fleet and army from Sicily, whither they had been sent to check the progress of Gieserich and the

and becomes the sole monarch of the Huns.

A.D. 443. He overruns the European provinces of the Eastern empire,

takes the cities, and subverts them.

²⁶ Not far from Margus.

²⁷ *Priscus*, loc. cit. pp. 33, 34.

²⁸ *Chron. Paschale* ap. *Stritt.* vol. i. p. 483.

²⁹ *Jornandes*, c. 35. ap. *Grotium*, p. 661.

Anastas. Biblioth. Ss. Hist. Byz. ap. *Stritt.* tom. i. p. 527.

³⁰ *Priscus*, loc. cit. pp. 49, 50. *Prosp. Aquil.* *Chron. integ.* ap. *Canis.* tom. i. p. 317.

Vandals of Africa. Three Roman armies, under Aspar, Areobindus, and Argalesclas, were defeated in succession. With the exceptions of Hadrianople and Heracleia,³¹ every city, castle and town between the Propontis and the Danube fell into the enemy's hands; and little remained to complete the overthrow of the Byzantine empire but the capture of the gorgeous capital itself.³²

The last battle was fought at the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus; the last Roman army was defeated and driven from the field, and Attila pitched his camp at Athyras on the Propontis, almost within sight of the walls of Constantinople. At this place an abject embassy waited upon the victor. Anatolius, the ambassador of Theodosius, submitted to the terms dictated by Attila: he promised on behalf of his master instantly to deliver up the fugitive subjects of the Hunnic monarch; he engaged never more to harbour, to employ, or in any way to deal with the enemies of the Huns, and for the future to discourage desertion and treason by every means in his power; to pay two thousand one hundred pounds of gold annually by way of tribute, and six thousand pounds for arrears then due; every runaway Roman slave was to be restored to his owner, or ransomed at the price of twelve pieces of gold for each captive.³³

But the military enterprises of Nomadic nations rarely aim at permanent conquest or territorial acquisition. The Germanic tribes stood in this respect one stage higher in the scale of advancement than the Huns; though without individual landed property, they subsisted in a great degree by the produce of the soil, and could not long remain insensible to the advantages of proprietorship. The Huns lived by the produce of their herds, disdained a stationary life, and despised agriculture. In this condition their views of the advantages of conquest were confined to present and immediate enjoyment. Their first object was the gratification of their appetites and desires by the spoils of the settled nations whom they encountered in the path of migration; the next, the satisfaction of their military pride by extorting some public and notorious act of submission on the part of the vanquished. The payment of tribute was regarded by them as an incontrovertible admission of servitude; as an acknowledgment of sovereignty so ample as to bind unconditionally and for ever the subject nation to the throne of the conqueror, and to impart all the rights of a lord over his slaves. Accordingly the terms imposed upon Theodosius, after the battle of the Chersonesus, were in-

He defeats
three Roman
armies,

and encamps
under the walls
of Constantinople.

He extorts an
enormous
tribute, and
retreats.

The Huns now
regard the em-
peror as the
subject and
vassal of their
king.

³¹ The ancient name was *Perinthus*.

Ibid. p. 42. ap. *Stritt.* tom. i. p. 527.

³² *Theophan.* Ss. Hist. Byz. p. 88. *Anastas.*

³³ *Priscus*, loc. cit. pp. 34, 35.

tended to impress upon him that he was for the future to regard himself as the servant of Attila, and to submit without a murmur to all those extortions and caprices of power which the legitimate monarch of Asia rightfully inflicts upon his satraps and subjects. "And in this respect," says the honest historian Priscus, "there was nothing new, since the Romans were already the slaves of every barbaric nation which dwelt upon the confines of the empire, if the payment of tribute could make them so."³⁴

Attila deals with Theodosius II. as an Asiatic despot with his satrap or viceroy.

and compels him to submit to the most irregular and whimsical extortions.

However reluctant the ministers of Theodosius may have been to adopt this view of their own condition, the conduct of the conqueror speedily forced it upon them. Like other oriental monarchs, Attila indulged his subjects and enriched his favourites at the expense of the tributary vassal. Personally he was contented to receive the rich tribute, rigidly exacted and tremblingly discharged by the abject government; his ministers were gratified by frequent embassies and messages to the court of Constantinople, in which the presents usual on such occasions were swelled by the fears of the court and the skilful extortion of the envoys, to so extravagant an amount, as to exhaust the treasury and baffle the ingenuity of the experienced tax-gatherers of the empire.³⁵ Though the most whimsical expressions of his sovereign will were attended to with the humblest submission, yet even this conciliatory lowliness of demeanour did not suffice to exempt the empire from periodical pillage. The pretext for these irregular operations of barbaric finance was usually taken from some local grievance, or some alleged misbehaviour on the part of the officers of the government. The continued evasion of discontented or rebellious subjects, and the escape of Roman slaves from their Hunnic masters, afforded welcome opportunity for the exercise of the rights of sovereignty, which without the power of charging delinquency must have become almost a dead letter.

A.D. 446. He casts about for causes of complaint to justify spoliation,

A.D. 448. and sends Edecon and Orestes to complain of these fresh grievances.

Thus in the year 446 Attila accused the court of still conniving at desertion, and harbouring his fugitive subjects. The answer of the ministers was unsatisfactory; the Danubian provinces were once more ravaged, and the city of Ratiaria³⁶ taken. Two years later the same complaints were repeated, and Edecon, a favourite, together with Orestes, a Pannonian patrician in the service of Attila, were sent to Constantinople to enforce redress, and to intimate the dissatisfaction of their master, that the Roman subjects should still presume to cultivate

³⁴ Priscus, pp. 35, 36. loc. cit.

³⁵ Ibid. loc. cit.

³⁶ The modern *Arcer Palanka*, not far from

Widdin, the *Bononia* of the ancients. *Manner*, vol. vii. p. 85.

and to treat as their own the extensive districts on the right bank of the Danube, which he had appropriated as pasture-ground for the herds of the Huns.³⁷ After the public audience, Chrysaphius, the principal eunuch and prime minister of Theodosius, secretly proposed to Edecon the murder of Attila, and promised, on the part of the emperor, a reward of such surpassing richness as to leave no desire ungratified, no wish unaccomplished. The integrity of Edecon was shaken by this glittering temptation; he entered into the views of the minister. A large sum of money was, however, requisite to gain over the necessary number of adherents to carry the plot into execution. But as Attila, though he never objected to the acceptance of presents by his servants, always insisted upon knowing the amount, the conspirators knew that such a treasure as that required in this instance would so far exceed the richest honorarium usually conferred on his ambassadors, as to awaken dangerous suspicions in his mind. It was therefore agreed that Bigilas, the interpreter and secretary of the embassy, who had been of necessity admitted into the plot, should return to court upon some specious pretence, and privately convey the money to Edecon. Meanwhile some secret suspicion of his associate, or the return of better thoughts, induced the latter to reveal the conspiracy to Attila. Bigilas was taken with the fatal purse containing the bribe; he made a circumstantial confession of his guilt, which agreed in the minutest particulars with the information previously received from Edecon; and Attila, gratified by the proved attachment of one great officer, remitted the punishment due to the unexpiated offence of the other. But an embassy was despatched to Constantinople to demand due atonement from the emperor for having treasonably imagined the murder of his lord and sovereign. The envoys were instructed to declare,—“that though Theodosius was the son of an illustrious father, yet that Attila was likewise the descendant of a noble sire; but that sire had faithfully preserved and transmitted the nobleness of his nature to his son, whereas Theodosius had, by the payment of tribute, fallen from his honourable estate, and become the slave of Attila; and a base and false slave he had proved himself, by conspiring against the life of the lord to whom his fortune had consigned him; nor would Attila cease to treat him according to his merits, until he should have delivered up his eunuch Chrysaphius to the punishment due to his crime.”³⁸

Chrysaphius, the prime minister of Theodosius, proposes to Edecon the murder of Attila. Edecon enters into the conspiracy, and imparts it to his secretary, Bigilas.

But he afterwards repents, and discloses the plot to Attila.

Attila rebukes Theodosius for this traitorous attempt upon the life of his liege lord,

and demands the head of Chrysaphius.

³⁷ *Priscus* (p. 37. loc. cit.) describes these territories as extending in length from the river Save, or its confluence with the Danube, to the city of Novæ (the modern Novograd) on the

latter river, and in breadth to Naissus. The length would therefore be about three hundred miles, by one hundred in breadth.

³⁸ *Gibbon* (vol. iii. p. 388.) adorns his account

A.D. 450.
The court de-
precates his
wrath by a
submissive em-
bassy. Attila
yields to the
apologies of the
envoys.

The timid court deputed without delay Anatolius and Nomius, persons of the highest rank in the empire, to appease the wrath of the king of the Huns. But in the interim the political views of Attila had undergone an important change. The envoys found him in a more placable disposition than they expected; and after the first burst of indignation was past, their apologies were received with a demeanour bordering upon courtesy. He engaged to respect existing treaties; he relinquished his claims upon the territory south of the Danube, and dismissed Anatolius and Nomius with marks of his personal esteem and favour.³⁹

This extraor-
dinary com-
pliance is ac-
counted for by
changes in the
condition of
the Hunnic
empire.

Such a change in the language and conduct of one who had never yet betrayed infirmity of purpose, can only be explained by reference to causes closely interwoven with the actual condition and composition of the vast empire he had founded. This inquiry leads us directly back into the path from which we have for a time diverged, and places before us several great branches of the Germanic stock in a new and constrained position indeed, yet unaltered in character, and ready to emerge into independent action as soon as the temporary pressure which kept them down should be removed.

Character and
conduct of
Attila.

Few conquerors have excited a more general or a more fervid interest among their contemporaries than Attila. In person he was of low stature; his chest was broad; he had a large head, with extremely small and piercing eyes, and a flat nose; his beard was thin and grizzled, and his complexion swarthy. His manner in conversation was reserved and haughty; his temper abrupt and passionate; his language coarse, and often vulgar. His eye glanced incessantly from one person to the other of those who were in his presence, and every motion of his body indicated a spirit elated with present power, and big with boundless projects for its extension.⁴⁰

Before this
period, the do-
minion of the
Huns had
been extended.

Prior to the death of Bleda, the brother sovereigns of the Huns had extended their sway over the whole of Pannonia and Dacia. The possession of these regions opened an access to the midland and northern regions of Germany. In the central parts of that country they counted the Quadi, Marcomanni, Suevi, and Thuringians;⁴¹ and in the North, the

of this embassy with several incidents not found in the narrative of Priscus. The contemporary historian leaves it as a matter of inference only, that this message was ever delivered; and is of course ignorant of the effect produced on the feelings and demeanour of Theodosius, which Gibbon has painted in such lively colours. Yet I do not find that the latter has quoted any other authority for the additional facts he has intro-

duced.

³⁹ *Priscus*, p. 39. loc. cit.

⁴⁰ See *Jornandes*, c. 35. p. 661. Compare *Prisc.* loc. sæp. cit.

⁴¹ See *Hist. Miscell.* ap. Murat. tom. i. p. 97. *Apoll. Sidon.* (in Carm. viii. In Avito Aug. vv. 321—323. mentions the Seyrri, Burgundians, and Toringi, among the vassals of Attila.

Heruli, Turcelingi, Scyrri, Rugians, and Burgundians among their vassals. The murder of Bleda, in the year 444, threw the entire command of this colossal empire and its numerous dependencies into the hands of Attila. One by one, all the various tribes of the Hunnic race submitted to his sceptre. The last who resisted were the Acatiri or Acatziri;⁴² but this tribe likewise surrendered its independence, and soon afterwards recognized his eldest son Ellac as their king. His dominions now extended to the westward and northward over the whole of modern Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, to the coasts of the Baltic.⁴³ Such uniform and unalloyed success had produced a corresponding effect upon his character. He acquired the firmest confidence in his own fortune: among all the rulers around him he saw no one capable of contesting with him the dominion of the world, and this conviction inspired him with that exclusive self-reliance which so constantly induces princes to regard mankind as the passive instruments of their will; and causes right and justice to lose their value when opposed to the passions, plans, or interests of the temporary masters of the world.⁴⁴ In the arrogance of his heart he called himself the scourge of God—the sovereign lord of all the Huns—the ruler of all the nations of Scythia—the king of all their kings. His throne was surrounded by an obsequious rabble of subject princes, who sedulously watched the varying expression of his eye, and tremblingly obeyed the slightest indication of his sovereign will.⁴⁵

The Eastern Romans were reduced to a state of abject vassalage, and the more enlightened statesmen of the West no longer doubted that a similar fate awaited the sovereign of Italy.⁴⁶ It is true that Attila had accepted⁴⁷ from the emperor Valentinian III. the title of captain-general of the Roman armies; but the honour thus conferred could have appeared to him in no other light than as a weak device to impart to the large stipend attached to the office the character of a salary, and thus avoid the appearance of a tribute. The Roman court might affect to

over all the midland and northern regions of Germany to the coasts of the Baltic.

The Eastern empire is already reduced to vassalage: the West strives to disguise the tribute paid to Attila under the appearance of an official salary accompanying the

⁴² This nation inhabited the steppes stretching to the northward of the Caspian, and on both banks of the Volga. See *Klapr. Chart*, No. 10.

⁴³ *Priscus* (loc. sæp. cit.) mentions Attila as the first Hunnic conqueror of the nations bordering upon the Baltic; and certainly there is no evidence that the Huns ever before extended their incursions so far to the northward. Therefore the opinion of Gibbon that the Vandals and Suevi were expelled from the north of Germany more than half a century before, by the attacks of the Huns, falls to the ground.

⁴⁴ Witness Napoleon's notorious justification of his iniquitous invasion of Spain. "That measure," he said, "became inevitable, as a part of a great system for the protection of Europe against the tyranny of England."

⁴⁵ *Priscus*, p. 64. *Jornandes*, c. 35. p. 661.

⁴⁶ See the opinion of Romulus, the envoy of Aëtius to the court of Attila, expressed in the remarkable conversation which *Priscus* has reported. *Prisc. loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ In the year 439. See *Stritter's* note to the passage of *Priscus* above cited, vol. i. p. 514.

title of captain-general of the Roman armies.

call the all-powerful monarch of the Huns its officer and servant; but Aëtius could be misled by no such weakness to believe that Attila would be grateful for the honour conferred upon him, or that he would let any favourable opportunity escape him to humble the pride and to profit by the weakness of the empire.⁴⁸

A. D. 449. Attila appears undetermined whether he shall first attack the Persian or the Roman empire.

When in the year 449 the ambassadors of both emperors met at the barbaric court of Attila in Hungary, the envoy of Aëtius had satisfied himself of the designs of the Hunnic monarch against the West. But some uncertainty still existed whether he would not first turn his arms against Persia. That kingdom offered great inducements; the empire of the Arsacidæ was opulent and powerful; and riches and glory were irresistible temptations to the boundless ambition of Attila.⁴⁹ The Roman ambassador entertained no doubt of his success in that quarter; and he was well assured that neither the power nor the arts of his feeble master could then delay the ruin of Italy for an hour.

But the interests and wishes of his Germanic vassals determine him to follow the general current of Teutonic migration.

But circumstances existed which tended to divert the attention of Attila from this tempting project. His empire no longer consisted of one people obeying him as its patriarchal chief: the vast dominion he had now heaped up was compounded of various nations, with interests distinct from those of the Huns; and these interests he now found it expedient to serve. The vassal Ostrogoths and Gepidæ, two numerous and gallant Teutonic races, constituted the right arm of his power: the views of all the Germanic tribes who followed his standard were steadily directed towards the West; and by going along with the stream of migration, and riding over it, Attila might promise himself an extension of dominion quite as great, and far more solid, than if he forcibly attempted to alter the direction of the current.

The Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths become vassals of the Huns,

The circumstances which prompted Attila to surrender his own secret inclinations, and probably also those of his own nation, to this foreign impulse, are strongly elucidated by the facts which have been handed down to us relative to the changes among the Germanic tribes introduced by the Hunnic conquests. The history of the Gepidæ, from the period of their repulse from the borders of Dacia by the Gothic king Ostrogotha, about the middle of the third century,⁵⁰ is exceedingly obscure. But with regard to the Ostrogoths, Jornandes has preserved some interesting

⁴⁸ Priscus in fact learnt from his friend Romulus, in the conversation alluded to in the last note but one, that in his rougher moods Attila used to say of his own vassals, that though they were the equals of the Roman Cæsars, yet were

they nevertheless *his* slaves. *Priscus*, loc. cit.

⁴⁹ See *Priscus*, loc. sæp. cit.

⁵⁰ By the battle of Galtis, according to Jornandes. See ch. vi. sect. i. p. 209 of this vol.

particulars. When the Visigothic swarm under Fridigern and Alavivus passed the Danube in the year 376, and threw themselves upon the protection of the emperor Valens, they were followed, as we have already seen, by a large division of the Ostrogoths, under their leaders Alatheus and Saphrax.⁵¹ For a period of five years, both nations heartily supported each other, and shared the glories and advantages of the victory of Hadrianople. The successes of Theodosius appear to have introduced divisions; the Ostrogothic wanderers seceded from their allies, and retired into Pannonia, where in the year 381 they obtained advantageous terms of peace from the emperor Gratian. Here they again melted into the great bulk of the Ostrogothic nation, which still clung to its ancient settlements in Hungary and Wallachia. In this state the entire Ostrogothic race submitted to become the military vassals of the Huns. The terms of the compact are indicated only by the conduct of the parties; the family of the Amali was permitted to enjoy the kingly name and power, but the reigning prince took an oath of perpetual alliance with the Huns, and of allegiance to their sovereign. In other respects the government remained in the hands of the native ruler, and the people retained their individual and national liberty.

A. D. 376.

A. D. 381.

upon condition
of military service and obedience to the Hunnic princes.

At the time when this compulsory alliance took place, the Ostrogoths were governed by two princes of the Amalic family, Winithar and Hunnimund, surnamed the Great. Winithar after a time became weary of foreign control; he attacked the Antæ, a Slavic people in intimate alliance with the Huns, defeated them, and hanged their king with seventy of his most distinguished officers. Shortly after this cruel and impolitic act, Balamir, king of the Huns, collected the power of his kingdom and marched against Winithar. Hunnimund, mindful of his engagements with his superior, lent his forces for the chastisement of his rebellious kinsman. Winithar came off conqueror in two great battles; but in the third, the Hunnic sovereign and his adversary encountered each other, when the former, bending his bow, pierced the head of Winithar with an arrow. The fall of their king led to the submission of the insurgent Goths. Balamir himself married Waladamarca, the niece of Winithar, and the Ostrogothic nation became united under the dominion of Hunnimund, the son of the great Hermanarich. Hunnimund was succeeded by his son Thorismund, who obtained a great victory over the Gepidæ, whereby it seems that nation was added to the list of the Hunnic dependencies. Berismund, the son and heir of Thorismund, disdaining the condition of a dependent, fled to the court

At this time the Ostrogoths are governed by Winithar and Hunnimund:

Winithar revolts, and is killed in battle by Balamir. Prior to A. D. 400.

Thorismund succeeds Hunnimund.

His son Beris-

⁵¹ See ch. viii. sect. 1. p. 340.

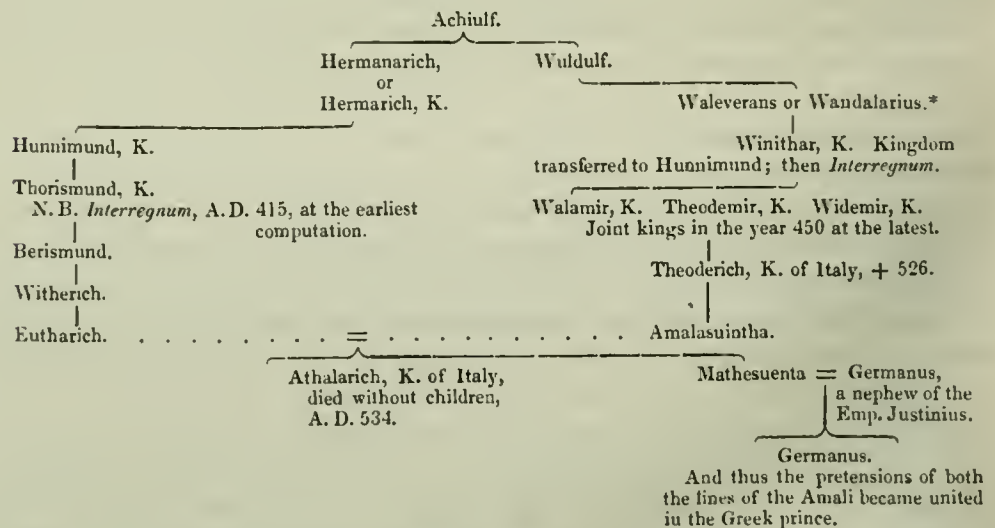
mund flies to
the court of
Wallia, in
Gaul.
A. D. 415.
Interregnum.
Walimir,
Theodemir and
Widimir are
elected.

of Wallia, king of the Visigoths of Gaul; and the Ostrogoths after the death of Thorismund remained for some years without a king. At length Walimir, Theodemir and Widimir, the sons of a cousin-german of the last king, were raised to the throne. The knowledge that Berismund and his son Witherich were still living, and might one day return to claim their inheritance, doubtless contributed to attach these princes more firmly to the Hunnic alliance; and this circumstance may in some measure account for the high degree of confidence always reposed in them by Attila.⁵²

⁵² Comp. the 14th, 33d, and 48th chap. of *Jornandes*, pp. 630, 659, and 682. The genealogy of the Amali of *Jornandes* presents several difficulties. It seems quite clear that many of the princes he names never occupied the throne of the Goths. In the annexed table, those whom I suppose to have reigned are marked with the letter K. The forty years' interregnum which *Jornandes* represents as intervening between the death of Thorismund and the accession of Walimir and his brothers, is wholly irreconcilable with his statement that *Berismund took refuge at the court of Wallia*. This incident must have happened between the years 415 and 420. The death of Thorismund appears to have occurred after the flight of his son; but taking the earliest year, viz. 415, as the date of Berismund's flight, a forty years' interregnum would bring the accession of Walimir and his brothers at least down

as low as the year 455, that is, five years after the invasion of Gaul, and two years after the death of Attila, though in that expedition, and for some time prior to it, the three princes just named were the acknowledged *kings* of the Ostrogoths. It appears moreover to admit of some doubt whether the *Winithar* who is named as the father of Walimir, Theodemir and Widimir, be the same with that *Winithar* who was slain by Balamir. The reign of Balamir cannot be prolonged beyond the year 400, and therefore the three princes must have been born before that year. Now Widimir died in 473, and Theodemir, the youngest, in 475; it is therefore just possible that they may have been the sons of that *Winithar* who was slain in single combat by Balamir. And so the matter is allowed to stand in the table below.

GENEALOGY OF THE AMALI.



* In chap. 14, *Jornandes* here interposes two names, viz. Waleverans and Winithar; in chap. 48, he names only one, viz. Wandalarius, "cousin-german" to Thorismund, of the line of Hermanarich.

Meanwhile Berismund and his son Witherich resided as private men at Thoulouse. They abstained from putting forth the pretensions to which their birth might have entitled them; and after the death of Wallia, they prudently acquiesced in the election of Theoderich I. Berismund, we are told, was contented to owe an unenvied pre-eminence to his own great talents, and to the friendship of the prince, whom any other conduct would have converted into a dangerous enemy.⁵³ Both princes were treated with the distinction to which their exalted birth entitled them. Berismund became the intimate companion and counsellor of Theoderich; his son Witherich and grandson Eutharic enjoyed the same station and honours. The protection afforded to exiled princes possessing claims such as those of Berismund and his descendants is always a source of much irritation, and must in the then existing state of society have been regarded by the reigning sovereigns of the Ostrogoths as nothing less than a denouncement of war. The advantage to be derived from this schism in the royal family of the Amali could not have escaped the discernment of Attila. Walamir and his brothers were treated by him with a degree of confidence which tended both to gratify their pride and to assure them of a powerful support against the pretensions of their rivals. The steady friendship of Arderich, king of the Gepidæ, a prince of approved talents and courage, contributed still further to strengthen his attachment to the interests of his Germanic vassals. At the same time, the latter regarded war and conquest as an important step towards their emancipation from a yoke which could not but be galling to the high-spirited sense of independence peculiar to the Teutonic character. By war the empire of Attila was held together, and it was as necessary to him as it was welcome to his vassals; and though his vanity may have prohibited the confession, his sagacity could not fail to reveal to him his own want of power to resist the impulse which prescribed not only the direction, but the object of his future exertions.

In this disposition an incident singular in its character, and still more so in its results, hastened the decision of Attila. Gieserich, king of the

A.D. 419.
Meanwhile
Berismund
becomes the
friend and
counsellor of
Theoderich I.,
king of the
Visigoths.

Attila favours
his German
allies and de-
pendents,

and is imper-
ceptibly drawn
into their views
and objects.

⁵³ Jornandes (c. 33, p. 659) tells us that Berismund concealed his birth from the *Balthic* princes of Thoulouse, from apprehension of the jealousy the disclosure would occasion. But the Amali had not reigned over the Visigoths for several generations past; nor do we hear that that family ever set up pretensions to the sceptre of both branches of the great Gothic race; and the renewal of such pretensions (if they ever existed) by two helpless exiles could not have

seriously alarmed the Visigothic kings. It is hardly possible that the secret should have been kept for any length of time; yet not only Berismund, but his son and grandson, continued to reside at the court of the Visigoths without molestation for many years, enjoying the honours and distinctions due to their exalted birth. The grandson Eutharich afterwards married Amalasuintha, the daughter of the great Theoderich, king of Italy.

Gieserich, the king of the African Vandals, renews his intercourse with Attila, and urges him to attack the Visigoths of Gaul.

Attila assumes the tone of a master towards both courts.

He demands the hand of Honoria, sister of Valentinian III.

Theodosius II. dies, and is succeeded by Marcian; both courts refuse to comply with the demands of Attila.

Vandals, had demanded and obtained the hand of a daughter of Theoderich of Thoulouse for his son and successor Hunnerich. At first he manifested great delight in the match, but conceiving a suspicion that his new daughter-in-law intended to poison him, the aged tyrant directed her nose to be cut off, and in this mutilated state he sent her back to her father. To shelter himself against the vengeance of the injured parent, Gieserich renewed that intercourse with Attila, which during the contest with the Romans for the possession of Africa, had proved of eminent advantage to him by recalling the forces of the Eastern empire to the defence of Constantinople.⁵⁴ He dispatched an embassy to Attila, accompanied by costly presents, to urge on the invasion of Gaul, and thus at once to furnish occupation to his powerful enemy, and divert the attention of the Romans from his own projects in Africa.⁵⁵ This incident seems to have decided the hitherto undetermined policy of Attila. He assumed a tone of insolent superiority; his envoys to the courts of Constantinople and Ravenna conveyed a command to both emperors couched in terms which left no doubt of his determination to extort a more notorious and decisive confession of vassalage than the thinly disguised tributes had hitherto implied: "Attila—*my* lord and *your* lord—commands you by my mouth that you forthwith build him a palace for his abode."⁵⁶ At the same time he demanded of the emperor Valentinian the hand of his sister Honoria, and with her that portion of the empire which he pretended had been bequeathed to her by her father, and which he alleged was now withheld by the injustice and avarice of her brother.⁵⁷ He called upon the emperor Marcian to pay up the tribute due, and thus kept both divisions of the empire in suspense and alarm until his own preparations for war should be completed upon such a scale as to overbear any power of resistance which could be opposed to him by the Romans or their allies. But the death of the feeble Theodosius II. had placed upon the throne of the East a man of firmness and experience. The emperor Marcian boldly rejected the badge of servitude to which his predecessor had submitted,

⁵⁴ See p. 417 of this section.

⁵⁵ See *Theophanes*, p. 88, and *Anastas. Bibliothec.* p. 42.

⁵⁶ *Chron. Paschale*, p. 317; *Theophanes*, p. 90. The vassal of the west and the satrap or pacha of the east have from time immemorial had the like duty to perform towards their superior lord, viz. the providing an abode and a maintenance for him and his court during his residence within their jurisdictions, or his pro-

gression through them.

⁵⁷ The story of Honoria, as collected from *Jornandes*, (*De Reg. Success. ap. Lindenbrog, Diversar. Gent. Histor., &c.* p. 57,) and from the *Chronicle of Prosper*, (MS. Pithæan. ap. *Canis.* tom. i. p. 317,) is full of confusion and difficulty. The pains bestowed upon it by *Gibbon* (vol. iii. p. 403–405) is a very brilliant specimen of his unrivalled powers of decoration.

and resolutely refused the tribute demanded. Aëtius, to whom the bolder course now appeared obviously the wiser, dictated the reply of Valentinian III.: Honoria, he declared, could not become the wife of Attila; neither had she any bequest to claim from her father, since a female was incapable of inheriting the empire or any portion of it.⁵⁸

This resolute conduct kindled the wrath, without precipitating the measures of Attila. He even condescended for a while to wear the mask of moderation. He could no longer conceal the object of his attack from the penetration of Aëtius; he therefore attempted to blindfold that statesman by assurances that no enterprise of his against Gaul could be injurious to the empire, and that so far from entertaining hostile views, he was anxious to avenge the cause of Rome upon the intrusive Goths, and to restore to her the provinces she had lost in Gaul and Spain. But with that coarse duplicity which still passes for policy among the nations of the East, and for which a refined age has substituted a species of double-dealing of a more subtle character, Attila addressed letters to Theoderich, exhorting him to withdraw from his connexion with Rome: he reminded him of the injuries which the Romans had so lately inflicted upon him; of the attacks he had so recently repelled; and suggested that a cordial alliance between the Huns and the Goths would render the conquest of the whole empire and the equal partition of the provinces among the conquerors an enterprise of easy execution and certain success.⁵⁹

But the arts of Attila served but to stimulate the vigilance of his opponents, and to draw still closer the bonds of that alliance which he was most anxious to dissolve. Theoderich and Aëtius vied with each other in extending their alliances with the barbaric nations in Gaul, and in completing their preparations for the great conflict which awaited them. The Gothic king called out every man in his dominions capable of bearing arms; the people obeyed his summons with alacrity; and when collected in martial array, both prince and people surveyed their assembled powers with pride and confidence. Aëtius meanwhile fully impressed with the importance, both to his own influence in the councils of the confederates and to the credit of the state he upheld, of appearing in the field with a force neither inferior in number nor bravery to those of his allies, swelled the Roman army by auxiliaries derived from the Salian and Riparian Franks:⁶⁰ he enlisted Sarmatian Alani, Li-

Attila dissembles, and endeavours to disunite the Romans and Goths;

but his artifices rather tend to unite them the more closely to each other.

Theoderich calls out the whole array of his kingdom.

Aëtius enlists great numbers of Franks,

⁵⁸ *Priscus*, p. 40.

⁵⁹ *Hist. Miscell.* ap. *Mural.* tom. i. p. 100; *Jornand.* c. 36, pp. 664, 665.

⁶⁰ There is no risk in pronouncing for the

identity of the *Riparii* and *Riparioli* of *Jornandes* (c. 36, p. 664.) and the *Franci Riparii* of the later writers. This however is the first historical mention of them. The district they in-

Alani, Lithuanians, Burgundians, Armoricans, Saxons, and Rhætians.

The terror inspired by the name of Attila tends to cement the union of the nations of western Europe.

thuanians, Armoricans, Burgundians, Saxons, Rhætian Ibriones,⁶¹ and many other Celtic and Germanic nations, among his stipendiary troops. The success of his levies was greatly promoted by the surpassing terror which the name of Attila inspired. The instinctive conviction of the necessity of union to encounter a danger which threatened all alike, seems to have obliterated for the moment every jealous feeling, to have absorbed all animosities, to have lulled every hostile passion to sleep, and to have united the whole of western Europe in one honest and vigorous effort of defence against the terrific and sanguinary destroyer, who was now bearing down upon them with a host numbering, according to the lowest contemporary computation, no fewer than five hundred thousand warriors.⁶²

On his march into Gaul Attila encounters and destroys Gundichar, king of the Burgundians, and his whole army. He destroys Treves, Tongres, and Metz;

and advances to Orleans, expecting to be seconded by Sangiban, king of the Alani, who were settled on the Loire. But Aëtius re-

The precise direction of Attila's advance from the Hungarian plains to the banks of the Rhine has been made the subject of much discussion, and is still a matter of some uncertainty.⁶³ According to Gregory of Tours, his swarms made their first appearance in Gaul in the modern Lorraine. Gundichar, king of the Burgundians, whose territories lay to the left of the route of Attila, unadvisedly threw himself into the path of the destroyer, and perished with his whole army.⁶⁴ The cities of Treves, Tongres, and Metz, were plundered and destroyed;⁶⁵ one division of the Frankish nation was driven by intestine broils into the arms of the invader,⁶⁶ while other branches of that race embraced the Roman alliance; and Attila, allured by secret assurances of support from Sangiban, king of the Alani, who appears to have removed from the neighbourhood of Valence to the Loire, in and around Orleans, advanced hastily towards that river. Expecting to find the city in friendly hands, and ready to open its gates at the first summons, he neglected all precaution, and pushed forwards, hoping, by the possession of Orleans, to convert the Loire into a basis for his future operations. But Aëtius was not ignorant of the disaffection of Sangiban; the Alanic garrison was removed in time to obviate the

habited was probably the same with that which they held in the next age, viz. the shores of the Rhine from Mayntz to Cologne, and perhaps a little farther down the stream. The *Salians*, or more properly the *Isalians*, from the river *Isala*, the modern *Yssel*, were in possession of the Batavian lowlands and of the northern Belgium. See c. viii. s. 4, p. 397 of this volume.

⁶¹ *Ibriones*, or *Briones*, a people living between the rivers Lech and Inn, in modern Bavaria. *Paulus Diaconus*, lib. ii. c. 23.

⁶² The opinion entertained of Attila in his own times, and the feelings with which his invasion

was regarded, are well expressed by *Jornand*. (c. 35. p. 661.) "Vir in concussionem gentis natus in mundo; terrarum omnium metus: qui nescio quâ sorte terrebat cuncta, formidabili de se vulgatâ opinione."

⁶³ See a great deal of clever conjecture ap. *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 407-410.

⁶⁴ *Paulus Diacon.* in *Libello de Episcop. Mittens.* ap. *Bouq.* tom. i. p. 649.

⁶⁵ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 7. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 161.

⁶⁶ See *Priscus*, p. 40, confirmed by *Sidon. Apoll.* *Carm.* vii. ad Avitum Aug. v. 325.

danger; the city was strengthened with additional fortifications; and Attila found himself, upon his arrival, involved in the difficulties and dangers of a siege, almost in the presence of an enemy little inferior either in numbers or discipline. The Hunnic monarch pushed the siege with a vigour proportioned to the critical position in which he was placed. But the citizens, supported by the example and assurances of their pious bishop Anianus, and cheered by the approach of Aëtius and Theoderich to their relief, defended their walls with indomitable bravery and perseverance. Waste of life however was of little moment to Attila compared with the attainment of so essential an object as the capture of Orleans; and the defenders were soon reduced to extremity by the incessant and exhausting assaults of the besiegers. But their deliverance was at hand; the precious moments which their gallantry had gained, enabled Aëtius and Theoderich to bring up their hosts; Attila hastily raised the siege, and retreated in no little confusion and uncertainty to the Marne, where he once more collected his scattered forces, and encamped them in the great Catalaunian plain, with the determination of committing his fortunes to the event of a battle.⁶⁶

moves the traitor Sangiban in time to prevent the city from falling into the hands of the Huns. Attila besieges Orleans;

but is compelled to raise the siege by the advance of Aëtius and Theoderich, and retreats to the Catalaunian fields upon the river Marne. Thither the allied Romans and Goths follow him.

The arena chosen by Attila was a fair field, equally advantageous to both parties; and the allied Goths and Romans showed no disposition to avoid the contest. But the mind of the Hunnic monarch was depressed by the check he had received; he looked forward with that trepidation which infects even the firmest spirits, to the cast upon which fame, and dominion, and life itself, were all irrevocably staked. And Attila had other and perhaps more cogent grounds of apprehension. The attachment of the vassal nations, whom uninterrupted victory had bound to his fortune, might not, after the check he had already received, be so implicitly to be relied upon. It is said that he hesitated,—that he even contemplated a retreat: but it was certain that such a step would have broken the spell which held the vast confederacy together. A sense of uncontrollable danger is the more depressing to the spirits of a conqueror, because his ordinary experience and practice lead him to claim and to exercise an empire over events themselves; so unusual a conviction of helplessness mortifies and alarms him; and *then* it is that the latent religion or superstition of his nature often manifests itself in vain efforts to pry into the secrets of futurity, and to forestall if possible the decrees of Providence. Attila addressed himself, perhaps for the first time in his life with sincerity, to the soothsayers of the army. The entrails and the bones of the

Attila hesitates to give battle.

He consults the soothsayers of his army,

⁶⁶ *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 161.*

and resolves to engage the allies.

victims were examined ; the omens were declared ambiguous ; the issue of the battle would, the augurs said, be unfavourable, but the general-in-chief of the enemy would fall. Attila, we are told, applied the consolatory part of the response to Aëtius, whom he regarded as the guiding spirit of the adverse league,—the enemy whose death might even compensate a defeat ; and he prepared for the conflict with more of hope mingled with the deep anxiety his position inspired.⁶⁸

The battle is deferred till 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th day of September, A.D. 451. Attila places the Ostrogoths on the left, the Gepidæ on the right wing ;

The king of the Huns however resolved to defer the commencement of the battle till the third hour after mid-day, as much with the view to confine the slaughter to the few hours intervening between that time and nightfall, as to have the benefit of the darkness to remedy the misfortune for which he was in a measure prepared. His army was drawn up in one long line. The heavy-armed Ostrogothic infantry, commanded by the kings Walamir, Theodemir and Widemir, formed the left wing ; on the right were posted the Gepidæ under Arderich. The Hunnic archer-cavalry, the heavy-armed Alani, and the lighter Heruli, were disposed so as to afford appropriate instruments for every contingency and turn of battle.⁶⁹ The king himself occupied the centre of his line, and surrounded himself with a chosen body of guards selected from the bravest of his warriors.⁷⁰

he occupies the centre with a chosen body of the bravest of his Huns.

Aëtius, with the Romans, posts himself opposite to the Gepidæ ; the Visigoths oppose themselves to the Ostrogoths.

Sangiban, with the Alani, is placed in the centre, closely watched by the allies.

The Romans take possession of a rising ground midway between

On the part of the confederates, Aëtius with the Roman forces posted himself over against the gallant Arderich and his Gepidæ. The Visigoths under their princes Theoderich and his son Thorismund, faced the hostile kings of the house of Amala,—a disposition probably not less acceptable to Attila than to Aëtius, both of whom might speculate upon ultimate advantage from the mutual slaughter which these their formidable adherents were about to inflict upon each other. Sangiban, the suspected chief of the Alani, was posted in the centre between the two wings of the allies, and so closely watched by the Romans on one flank and the Visigoths on the other, as to obviate in some degree the danger of defection, and at the same time not wholly to lose the benefit of his presence in the line.⁷¹

A ridge of rising ground lay between the hostile armies, the possession of which both were equally anxious to secure. But the unusual hesitation of Attila had given an opportunity to the allies of which they had

⁶⁸ *Jorn. c. 37. p. 665.*

⁶⁹ The equipments and description of the various Germanic forces of Attila are taken from *Jorn. c. l. p. 686.*

⁷⁰ "Rex hac ordinatione prospiciens, quate-

nus inter gentis suæ robor positus, ab imminente periculo redderetur exceptus." *Jorn. c. 38. p. 666.*

⁷¹ *Ibid. loc. cit. pp. 666, 667.*

promptly availed themselves, and the advancing Huns found the heights already occupied by the enemy. With the advantage of the declivity in their favour, the confederates bore down upon the assailants and threw them back in disorder; but satisfied with having gained their point they halted upon the ground they had won. Attila took advantage of the pause in the battle to address a few words of earnest exhortation and encouragement to his troops; then seizing a javelin, he hurled it against the hostile ranks, exclaiming "Death to the man who withholds his arm when Attila flings the dart!"⁷²

both armies,
and repel the
Huns.

The excitement of the moment, and the necessity of personal exertion to rally the depressed spirits of his troops, impelled Attila to discard all precaution for his own safety. At the head of his chosen troops he pierced the centre of the adverse line. At the same moment both armies became involved in a confused and murderous conflict which was prolonged till deep in the night. Of what passed on the wings our information is singularly defective: but it appears that the Ostrogoths on the left of the Hunnic line had been unable to stem the onset of the Visigothic prince, since Thorismund was enabled to wheel to the left to the support of Theoderich, who was already outflanked, and must have been soon overwhelmed by the success of Attila against the centre. Theoderich himself was indeed thrown to the ground and trampled to death by his own troops,⁷³ but the charge of Thorismund flung back the tide; the flower of Attila's army yielded to the fierce impetuosity of their adversaries, and the king of the Huns with difficulty effected his retreat to the mighty bulwark of waggons which surrounded his camp. Thorismund pursued the straggling Huns, till in the darkness he approached too near to the camp of the enemy, and received a wound in the confused skirmish which ensued. Aëtius himself wandered for some time about the field in imminent danger from the scattered parties of the enemy, but was at last directed to the encampment of his Gothic allies, where he remained all night under arms, and in total uncertainty as to the issue of the battle.

This repulse
animates At-
tila to the
most desperate
efforts of per-
sonal bravery.
He breaks the
centre of the
allies;

but the success
of the Visi-
goths on his
left compels
him to abandon
his success and to
retreat to his
waggon bul-
wark. The
darkness puts
an end to the
combat.
Both parties
remain all
night in igno-
rance of the
issue.

Attila meanwhile, conscious of the enormous losses he had sustained, and ignorant of the crippled condition of his adversaries, caused the saddles of the horses and the camp furniture to be heaped up in one enormous funeral pile, with the determined purpose of perishing in the conflagration, should his waggon bulwark prove too weak to repel the attack he every moment expected. It was not till the morning broke and

At break of
day the allies

⁷² *Jorn.* c. 39. p. 668.

⁷³ Jornandes says that according to another re-

port he fell by the spear of an Ostrogothic chief, named Andagis.

perceive the extent of their success.

The carnage on both sides is estimated at one hundred and sixty-two thousand lives at the lowest computation.

But the attitude of Attila still indicates a determined resistance, and the allies resolve to blockade him in his camp.

The Goths search for and discover the body of Theoderich among the slain.

They perform his obsequies, and afterwards they elevate his son Thorismund upon the shield.

exhibited the field deserted by the Huns and covered with their dead, that the confederates began to appreciate the extent of their success. And, in truth, the plains of Châlons exhibited, at that memorable dawn, a spectacle of blood and carnage unexampled in the history of human vice and suffering. A brook which intersected the battle-field is said to have become a torrent of blood, which bore along with it the bodies of the slain. The lowest computation estimated the number of the killed at one hundred and sixty-two thousand, the highest at three hundred thousand on both sides. Such exaggerations deserve little attention except as indications of the deep impression produced by the dreadful and decisive character of the conflict, the prodigious numbers and the mutual animosity of the combatants engaged. Exaggeration becomes the natural voice of such feelings, and is used to enounce truths, for which, amid the defect and vagueness of information, language has no adequate expression.

The attitude of Attila on the morning after the battle evinces that though worsted, he was not conquered. The Huns made no movement to renew the battle; but the clangor of arms, the shrill sound of their trumpets, and their loud war-songs sounded threateningly across the field; the lion was driven to his lair, and as he stood at bay, appeared but the more dangerous to his wearied and bleeding pursuers. The confederates convoked a council of war to determine upon the best mode of improving their success; and they resolved to blockade the enemy's camp, and prevent the introduction of provisions, as the measure which promised to bring about a more certain and bloodless consummation of their victory than could be expected from an open assault upon a still formidable, and now desperate enemy.⁷⁴

The morning after this fearful night was devoted by the Goths to an anxious search for the body of their king; it was found where it was first sought for—among the densest heaps of the slain, and borne from the field under the eye of the enemy. "The people," says Jornandes, "shed many tears over the bier of their king, but they were tears such as brave men are not ashamed to shed. His death was indeed our great loss, but it was our surpassing glory that the Hun should be made to witness the honours paid to his remains, and that his very obsequies should become a humiliation to his enemies." After performing the last rites to his deceased parent, Thorismund was raised upon the shield amid the acclamations of the army. The Goths and their new king, flushed with their recent success, and eager to avenge the death of a sovereign

⁷⁴ *Jornand. c. 40. pp. 669, 670.*

and a father, demanded the consent of Aëtius to an instant attack upon the Huns. But the crafty Roman had already begun to tremble at his own success. A closer view disclosed to him the dangers likely to arise to the feeble remnant of the empire, from that elation of spirits which the total overthrow of the Huns would kindle in the breasts of his ambitious allies. The pride of victory had not yet deprived Aëtius of that ascendancy in the councils of the confederates to which his rank, talents, and experience entitled him. He suggested to Thorismund the expediency of hastening back to his capital, lest his brothers should, in his absence, take possession of their father's treasures, and thus acquire the means of diverting the succession and of raising a civil war in the kingdom. The advice was plausible enough to make an impression upon the Gothic prince. The right to the crown was settled by no fixed rule; and the possession of the capital might balance the glories of the Catalaunian plains. Thorismund withdrew from the army; Attila ventured cautiously from his retreat, and finding himself extricated from the toils in which he had deemed himself hopelessly involved, joyfully retraced his steps across the Rhine, and prepared to renew his martial adventure upon a different stage. It may be assumed that Thorismund soon detected the artifice of Aëtius; at Thoulouse he met with a tranquil reception; no attempt had been or was likely to be made to disturb him in the possession of the crown, and it cannot be a matter of surprise that no friendly feeling should have survived his short-lived connexion with the empire.⁷⁴

Aëtius determines to save the remains of the Hunnic army.

He persuades Thorismund to return to the seat of his government, lest his brothers should raise a civil war, and thwart his succession.

Attila gladly avails himself of the opportunity to effect his retreat.

SECTION II.—A. D. 453.

Attila invades Italy—His Retreat—Death of Attila—Dissolution of his Empire—1. The Gepidæ—2. The Ostrogoths—3. The Alani—4 and 5. Cemandri and Minor Goths—6. The Suevi—7, 8, and 9. The Rugii, Heruli, and Longobardi—10. The Bavarians, Bojoarii, or Bojowaren—11. The Thuringians—12. The Saxons—The Franks and the Saxons.

FROM the scene of his disappointment Attila retired into Pannonia. He had converted that country into the central power of his vast dominions, and from hence he directed the movements of the numberless vassal nations who followed his standard.¹ A single winter sufficed to repair the

Attila retires into Pannonia, from whence, in the year 452, he invades Italy.

⁷⁴ *Jorn. c. 41. pp. 671, 672.*

¹ “Daciâ et Pannoniâ, provinciis in quibus tunc Hunni cum diversis subditis nationibus insedebant, &c.” *Jorn. c. 43. p. 675. Comp.*

Idem, c. 42. p. 672; Hist. Miscell. ap. Murat. tom. i. p. 97; Prosp. Aquit. Chron. D. Bouq. tom. i. p. 634.

He destroys
the cities of
Lombardy.

The govern-
ment and
people abandon
themselves to
despair.

Aëtius takes
the public de-
fence upon
himself, and
obtains suc-
cesses against
the Huns.

The number-
less hosts of
Attila are re-
duced by fa-
mine and dis-
ease.

Dejection of
the Huns.

Attila hesi-
tates and

encamps on the
Mincius.

losses sustained in the late campaign; his lieutenants took possession of the passes across the Julian Alps, and secured an unimpeded entrance into Italy. The hero of the Catalaunian plains could not now command a squadron or a battalion to obstruct the advance of the Huns; and in the year 452, Attila stormed and subverted the strong frontier city of Aquileia.² Vicenza, Monselice, Pavia, and Milan felt the heavy hand of the "scourge of God;" and Attila turned away from the smoking ruins of the splendid and luxurious cities of Lombardy, to inflict the same sanguinary chastisement upon their weak and vicious mistress.³

The emperor, the senate, the people of Rome abandoned all hope of the public safety. No barbarian ally was at hand to exchange protection for gold; no mercenary Goths or Heruli or Franks appeared to sustain with one arm the dead weight of a sinking empire, and with the other to parry the blows of a numerous and active enemy. But the gallant Aëtius did not shrink from the glorious, though almost hopeless task. The eastern emperor Marcian dispatched an army to the assistance of Italy, which not only enabled the general of Valentinian to keep the field, but even to inflict some losses upon the Huns.⁴ Meanwhile famine—the inevitable result of indiscriminate pillage and destruction—and pestilence—the natural consequence of immoderate indulgence, change of food, and a debilitating climate—had made fearful havoc among the multitudes of Attila. A mysterious fatality seemed to cling to his later enterprises, and to mar his brightest visions of conquest and glory. The bravest of his chiefs and followers partook of the dejection which these inexplicable mischances were fitted to produce. The city of Rome appeared to their excited fancies as a fated goal,—its attainment the consummation of the glory, and the term of the life of the conqueror.⁵

Whether Attila partook of the superstitious fears of his subjects, or despised them, the discouragement they occasioned accounts equally well for the hesitation which his military conduct evinces. He confined his operations to the Transpadane regions; and instead of pushing his advance towards Ravenna or Rome, he encamped on the Mincius, near the influx of that river into the lake Benacus.⁶ Time was thus

² But the fugitive Aquileians founded in the lagunes of the Adriatic as glorious and as durable a monument to the memory of their ill-fated metropolis as ever was constructed out of the perishable materials of human greatness.

³ *Jorn.* c. 42. p. 673.

⁴ *Idatii Chron.* ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 619.

⁵ "Alarici quondam Visigothorum regis (Hunni) obijcientes exemplum, veriti regis sui fortunam, quia ille (Alaricus) post fractam Romanam diu non supervixerat, sed protinùs rebus excessit humanis." *Jorn.* c. 42. p. 673.

⁶ Lago di Guarda.

afforded for negotiation. The fears of the court and the sound judgment of Aëtius concurred to dictate the speediest use of the fortunate opportunity. Avienus and Trigetius, men of the highest rank in the empire, accompanied by the eloquent and dauntless Leo, bishop of Rome, appeared in the camp of Attila. The king of the Huns received them with unexpected courtesy. The churchmen ascribe the mysterious result of the negotiations to the superhuman eloquence and venerable presence of Leo. "The holy pontiff," says Prosper, "went forth in the power of the Lord; and that which he had undertaken in faith was fulfilled. So much indeed did Attila delight in the presence and conversation of the venerable bishop, that he caused hostilities to cease, and voluntarily promised to withdraw beyond the Danube."⁷ We have no intimation of the arguments suggested to Attila for this extraordinary compliance; but it is not improbable that Leo improved the impression which he found already existing in the minds of the barbarians—that he pointed to their present sufferings as a foretaste of God's displeasure against their design—and that he threatened them with the consummation of His wrath, if they persisted in neglecting the warning now vouchsafed to them. The veil which the literary indigence of the time⁸ has cast over this important transaction leaves us in total ignorance as to the terms upon which Attila consented to restore the conquered provinces of Italy. The succeeding age was contented to ascribe the successful issue of Leo's interference to the apparition of the Apostle Peter enforcing by visible menace the eloquence of his holy and intrepid successor.⁹ So authoritative an exposition laid to sleep the feeble curiosity of that dark period, and deprived posterity of the historical explanation, which, in a case of such extraordinary interest and importance, it had a right to expect. Attila retired from Italy rather in displeasure than in amity; claiming Honoria, the sister of Valentinian, as his affianced bride, and threatening the utmost weight of his vengeance, if the princess and her dower were any longer withheld.¹⁰ It is

The Romans send an embassy, with Leo, bishop of Rome, at its head, to negotiate for peace.

Leo prevails upon Attila to evacuate Italy,

but by what arguments or inducements we are uninformed.

⁷ *Prosp. Chron. ap. Canis. tom. i. p. 305. Comp. Jorn. c. 42. p. 673.; Cassiodor. Chron. p. 367.*

⁸ The loss of the contemporary history of *Priscus*, whose extant works justify a favourable opinion of his honesty and diligence, if not of his talents as an historian, is much to be regretted. See *Baronius, Ann. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 137.*

⁹ See the App. to the *Hist. Miscell.* ascribed to Paulus Diaconus, ap. *Murat. tom. i. p. 98.*

Baron. loc. mod. cit. p. 136. Baronius makes good use of this legend to inculcate the irrefutable divinity of the papal authority.

¹⁰ *Jorn. c. 42. p. 674. Gibbon (vol. iii. p. 425) regards the surrender of the princess Honoria and her dower as one of the stipulations of the treaty with Attila. But if so, it is singular that Attila should not have tarried a while in Italy to enforce the fulfilment of the article by his presence, rather than leave it to the operation of an unsupported threat.*

In default of specific information, the retreat of Attila must be ascribed to the ravages of disease and famine among his armies, the skill of Aëtius in the field, and the intrepid conduct of bishop Leo in the conferences on the Mincius. Attila dies soon after his retreat from Italy.

by no means improbable that the king of the Huns aspired to number a princess of the house of Theodosius among his numerous wives; or that he put forward this strange pretension in order to obtain a convenient pretext for future extortion or invasion. But the desire to possess Honoria and her supposed wealth was neither the cause of the war nor the indispensable condition of the convention which put an end to it. Attila's retreat must be attributed to the losses he had sustained by famine and disease,—to the active exertions of Aëtius in the field,—and to the skilful intrepidity of Leo the Great in the conferences which led to the fortunate result. Attila survived his retreat from Italy only a few months,¹¹ and died by the bursting of a blood-vessel on the night of his nuptials with a Hunnic lady named Ildico.¹²

After paying the honours due to their departed hero, the Huns arrayed themselves with hearty loyalty under the sceptre of his sons. But a hero, greater than Attila, must have arisen to hold together the empire he had founded. The daring successor must have been prepared to drown the pretensions of the numerous claimants and the aspirations of the powerful vassal nations in their own blood, and to extinguish at a blow the hopes of the hundred subject races who were anxiously watching for the moment of deliverance. The conduct of his successors hastened the crisis which no human skill could have averted. The sons of Attila dealt with the high-spirited vassals of their father's throne as with his household goods, and proceeded to share them by lot as their undoubted patrimony. Arderich, king of the Gepidæ, indignant at a treatment which sunk him at once from the condition of the friend and confidant of the great Attila to that of the dependant and bondsman of his successors, called his people to arms. His example was speedily followed by most of the vassal nations of Teutonic origin. A great battle was fought upon the banks of a river in Pannonia, to which Jornandes affixes the name of the Netad.¹³ Ellac, the favourite son of Attila, with thirty thousand Huns, perished by the sword of Arderich and the Gepidæ. The greater number of the

Arderich, king of the Gepidæ, throws off his allegiance to the sons of Attila; his example is followed by all the Teutonic vassals. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, with A. D. 454. 30,000 Huns, is slain in a great battle on the river Netad, in Pannonia.

¹¹ *Jornandes* (c. 43. p. 674.) tells us that Attila, after the evacuation of Italy, turned his arms once more against the Visigoths of Gaul. Thorismund, he says, no longer dreaded the encounter, and his Goths so roughly handled the invaders, that Attila was obliged to abandon the field a second time and to retreat from Gaul. But no notice is taken of this expedition by any contemporary writer. Cassiodorus, Prosper, Idatius, the Hist. Miscell. (Paul. Dia-

con.) all conduct him straightway into Pannonia, and relate his death as occurring so soon after his retreat as to leave no time for so remote an expedition.

¹² *Jorn.* c. 49. p. 684. *Cassiodor.* in Chron. p. 367.

¹³ The locality of this river is unknown. Even the learned *Mannert* declares his ignorance. See *Geogr. der Griech. und Röm.* vol. iii. p. 565.

Hunnic tribes followed the surviving sons of Attila to the northern shores of the Euxine, from whence they continued for some ages longer to obstruct the settlement of the eastern nations of Germany.¹⁴

The Huns are expelled from Pannonia and a great part of Hungary, and compelled to retreat to the countries north of the Euxine.

After the dissolution of Attila's empire, the emancipated nations took possession of such portions of the vast territory now at their disposal as lay nearest at hand, or as they severally thought themselves capable of occupying and maintaining. The new political and territorial dispositions among the Germanic races which now sprung up, call upon us for such a general delineation of the internal state of Germany Proper, as shall point out the relative changes of position which had been effected by the great convulsions to which our attention has just been called. The great migration of the northern nations in the year 407, the abandonment of the Danubian provinces by the Visigoths, the dissolution of the Ostrogothic dominion, the subjugation of the greater part of Germany by Attila, the tumultuary expeditions and wars of that conqueror,—all these events introduced changes of the most violent description among the nations whom they affected. New combatants appear in the lists, old ones vanish from it. Nations now put forth claims to our attention whose names have been hitherto but faintly heard; others again are upon the point of falling definitively into their places upon the map of modern Europe. As we approach the extinction of the Roman power in the west, we perceive the elements of a new world emerging one by one from the chaos of mingled and confused forms; and we feel the welcome conviction that we are about to tread upon firmer ground, and to enjoy more definite and more instructive prospects.

The new political and territorial dispositions which resulted from the various revolutions of the fifth century, claim a distinct notice.

Arderich and the Gepidæ had been the foremost in the war of emancipation, and to them the first choice of settlements was yielded. They accordingly took possession of the regions bounded on the south and west by the Danube, and on the north and east by the Carpathian mountains, including probably a share of the modern principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia.¹⁵ When settled in these new possessions, the Gepidæ desired to be on good terms with the empire of the East, and consented to restrict the stipends which most of the bar-

1. The Gepidæ take possession of the modern Hungary as far westward as the Danube, and of a part of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia,—the ancient Dacia.

¹⁴ *Jorn.* c. 50. p. 686. It must not be supposed that the disappearance of the Huns from the regions they had occupied up to this time was ever so complete as some writers have supposed. There seems no reason to doubt that several Hunnic tribes continued for several ages to roam over the plains of the Danube and the Theiss in modern Hungary, where they afterwards melted into the great Avâric community,

between whom and the Huns such an affinity of language and habits is found to subsist as almost to identify them with each other. The Byzantine writers, indeed, almost uniformly treat the *Avâri*, *Huns*, and *Hungarians*, or *Oungri*, as the same people. *Klapr. Tableaux Hist. de l'Asie*, pp. 243, 244, and 253.

¹⁵ "Totius Daciæ velut victores potiti." *Jorn.* c. 50. p. 687.

baric neighbours of Rome regarded as a matter of right, to a few annual presents, merely as a testimony of esteem and good neighbourhood.¹⁶

2. The Ostrogoths settle in those districts of the Roman province of Pannonia, which are included within the modern kingdom of Hungary, west of the Danube.

The choice of the Gepidæ had fallen upon the most extensive and the most fertile of the regions evacuated by the Huns. Pannonia alone presented itself to the Ostrogothic chiefs as a territory of adequate surface for a people so warlike and numerous as theirs. But they resolved to acquire a solid and indisputable right to the province, by suing for a formal grant from its ancient lords. The emperor Marcian acceded to their request, and the whole of that extensive region, bounded by the Danube to the northward and eastward, by Dalmatia on the south, and by Noricum on the west, including, according to Jornandes, the still flourishing cities of Sirmium and Vindobona,¹⁷ was yielded by formal convention to the Ostrogothic people. In the division which shortly afterwards took place between the three kings of that nation, Walamir the eldest obtained the more northern tracts lying between the rivers Scarnunga and Aqua Nigra;¹⁸ Theodemir took possession of the districts stretching southward of the lake Pelsodis,¹⁹ as far as the river Drave; the share of Widemir filled up the interval between both.²⁰ To the westward of these districts, in the modern province of Styria, the Satagæ, a Sclavic nation who had entered with the great Hunnic immigration, took up their quarters; while to the southward of the Ostrogothic possessions on the lower course of the Save, other Sclavic tribes, probably the descendants of the Sarmatæ Limigantes, fixed their temporary abode.²¹

3. A tribe of Alani settles in Lower Mæsia;

The less powerful members of the great Hunnic league threw themselves into the deserted provinces south of the Danube, and became vassals of the Eastern empire for such portions of the Mæsiæ districts as they found it most convenient to inhabit. The emperor Marcian readily confirmed them in the occupation of regions which had been drained of their inhabitants by the incessant and ruinous irruptions of foreign enemies. Thus a tribe of Alani, under their prince Candax, took possession of Scythia Minor and Lower Mæsia. Certain Sarmatian

¹⁶ Nil aliud a Romano imperio, nisi pacem et annua solennia, ut strenui viri, amicâ pactione postulavêre. Comp. sect. iii. p. 449 of this chap.

¹⁷ Jornandes calls the latter city *Vindomina*. The modern capital of the Austrian empire underwent several changes of name during the Roman occupation: thus *Vianiomina*, *Germaniana*, *Vindobona*. Mannert, tom. iii. p. 655.

¹⁸ Probably the modern Leytha and Raab. Mannert, tom. iii. p. 534.

¹⁹ Lake Balaton or Platten-See.

²⁰ For this division, see *Jorn.* c. 52. p. 659. All the territories here described fall within the

limits of modern Hungary west of the Danube, from which it seems as if Jornandes' description of the region ceded to the Ostrogoths was too extensive. The Roman province of Pannonia comprised the whole of Hungary westward of the Danube, and included a strip of modern Austria, Styria, and Carniola, the part of Croatia north of the Save, and the whole of Slavonia, yet no mention of these latter territories occurs in the division between the three kings.

²¹ Mannert, tom. iii. p. 583. Comp. *Jorn.* cc. 53. and 54. pp. 691. 692.

hordes, whom Jornandes designates by the name of Cemandri, settled to the westward of these Alani, along the southern banks of the river, in a part of the Roman province of Dacia Ripensis. A large division of the Gothic nation, whom Jornandes calls "Minor Goths," had taken up their abode in the southern or highland districts of Mæsia, at the foot of Mount Hæmus. This tribe was the remnant of that great body which the emperor Valens had admitted into the empire, and appears to have acquired more settled habits. They are described as a poor and peaceful race, leading a pastoral life, and supporting themselves by the produce of their flocks and herds with little assistance from agriculture. Yet it was here that Christianity and letters bore their first kindly fruits. Among them the use of written characters was first introduced by their bishop Wulfila, and to him this obscure tribe is indebted for the honour of possessing the first translation of the word of God into any known Teutonic dialect.²²

4. Cemandri in Dacia Ripensis;
5. Minor Goths in southern Mæsia—the highlands of the Hæmus. This is the tribe to which Wulfila, the Gothic translator of the Scriptures, belonged.

In the enumeration of the Germanic vassals of Attila's empire, we have once more met with the ancient and familiar names of Quadi, Marcomanni, and Suevi. To the two former it is difficult to attach any precise signification, or to distinguish the people to whom in this age they might be properly assigned. As to the latter, we are at first inclined to look for them in the western regions of the Spanish peninsula, rather than in those primeval forests where the Suevi-Semnones of Tacitus worshipped the goddess Hertha. But it would betray great ignorance of German history to suppose that migration, however frequent and multitudinous, had emptied the mother country of her ancient inhabitants. Thus it now appears that the Suevic race, whom in the age of Tacitus we found it so difficult and painful a task to bring under direct and personal contemplation,²³ had not only retained their hold upon their ancient country, but had acquired an individuality they never before possessed. Jornandes introduces them to us at this point of time, in union with the Alemanni, and holding in common, or in commixture with them, the ancient Roman provinces of Rhætia and Vindelicia—that very region which thenceforward retained unaltered the name of *Suevia*, or—more in consonance with the genuine Teutonic sound—*Swabia*.²⁴ The historian of the Goths describes the territory of these Suevic Alemanni towards the conclusion of the fifth century as bounded by the *Boiobari* on the east, the Franks on the west, the Burgundians on the south, and the *Thuringians* on the north, a position which enabled them to command

Interior of Germany.
6. The Suevi re-appear in Germany.

They occupy the modern Swabia, the country extending along the upper course of the Danube—In conjunction with the Alemanni, they become known by the name of Suevic Alemanni.

²² *Jorn. c. 51. p. 688. Comp. Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 33.* Jornandes says they inhabited the *Eucopolitan* region of Mæsia; but neither *Mannert* nor *Cramer* notice the name.

²³ Chap. ii. sect. i. p. 74 of this volume.

²⁴ Germ. *Schwaben*.

those lofty Alpine regions from whence so many tributary streams descend to swell the mighty current of the Danube.²⁵

Among the vassals of Attila, several tribes of the great Vandalic family are frequently mentioned. Rugians, Heruli, Longobardi, Turcelingi, Scyrri, with some others of inferior note, stand forth from the crowd of emancipated nations prepared to perform their part on the stage which his death had abandoned to them. By the help of such imperfect light as the historians of the period afford, corroborated by a few retrospective glances, we may hope to introduce some coherence into their history, and in the result to exhibit it in close connexion with the origin of a people destined from this time forward to occupy a permanent and a distinguished station among the constituents of the great Germanic body.

7. The Rugians, 8. Heruli, 9. Longobardi,

The more distinguished of the five nations just enumerated, the Rugians, Heruli, and Longobardi, had been close neighbours to each other in their original seats.²⁶ Prior to the year 375, they had partially submitted to the supremacy of the Goths. After the death of Hermanarich and the dissolution of his empire, their history becomes for a time enveloped in almost total darkness; but about the middle of the fifth century, they re-appear among the subject nations of the great Hunnic monarchy; and when the mist clears away, we find them settled, in far different positions indeed, but still in close neighbourhood to each other. As the subjects of Attila, the Rugians occupied a part of the markgraviate of Moravia and probably the whole of Lower Austria, and to this region they imparted the name of Rugiland.²⁷ The Heruli dwelt in the adjoining districts of Upper Hungary; the Longobardi were their vassals, and possessed settlements at the foot of the Carpathian range, and along the upper course of the river Theiss.²⁸ In their new position the first efforts of the Rugian nation were directed against those isolated Roman settlements and stations on the Danube which had survived the calamities of the preceding age. They surprised Vindobona and a few other fortified towns, and transplanted the inhabitants of other places to more convenient and better protected stations. Their proceedings indeed evinced a desire to acquire a more complete and durable possession of the country than the measures of the barbaric conquerors were usually calculated to insure.

become the subjects of Attila and occupy the markgraviate of Moravia, a part of Lower Austria, with the greater portion of Northern Hungary.

They surprise Vindobona and other Roman colonies on the Danube.

²⁵ *Jorn.* c. 55. p. 693; *Pfister*, *Gesch. von Schwaben*, vol. i. p. 99. But at this particular period the territory of the Suevi must—taking the geography of *Jornandes* as our guide—have comprised by far the greater part of the modern

circle of Franconia.

²⁶ Pomerania and Mecklenburg. See ch. vi. sect. ii. p. 227 of this volume.

²⁷ *Jorn.* cc. 53. and 54. compared.

²⁸ *Mannert*, *Geogr. &c.* vol. iii. p. 542.

The Suevi and the Thuringians assailed the few remaining posts and colonies of the Romans upon the Upper Danube: the garrisons, who had long since abandoned the military character for that of merchants, traders, or agricultural settlers, either perished by the sword or became mingled with their invaders as bondsmen and dependents; and a few feeble vestiges only of Roman civilization in Rhætia and Noricum survived the indiscriminate ravages of these thoughtless barbarians.²⁹

Under the persuasion that the natural order of events is the least liable to confusion and the most intelligible to the reader, we are always disinclined to infringe upon it. But when any important historical object requires that we should take a step or two in advance of the general narrative, some sacrifice of the precise chronological order may be tolerated.

Not many years after the settlement of the Rugians in their new pos- sessions, they took part in a confederacy set on foot by Hunnimund, a duke or king of the Suevi, against the Ostrogothic kings Walamir, Theodemir, and Widemir, in Pannonia. These Rugians and their allies, the Scyrri, suffered a total defeat, in consequence of which the Scyrri became a dispersed and homeless people.³⁰ Again in the year 487, Odovaker, a Rugian adventurer, who had raised himself to the throne of Italy and put an end to the empire of Rome, invaded Rugiland, extinguished the royal dynasty of the Rugians, and dispersed the whole nation. Great numbers of the people followed the conqueror into Italy, while other portions scattered themselves over the deserted regions of Noricum. Shortly before this event, the Heruli, or rather a numerous band of freebooters belonging to that nation, had penetrated into the interior of Noricum, where they announced their presence by the destruction of Juvavum,³¹ an important and still flourishing Roman colony on the confines of Noricum and Rhætia. During the same period of vicissitudes and confusion of nations, very many detached bands of the Rugian and Herulan families, attracted by the power and reputation of Odovaker, took the road to Italy, and contributed to increase the swarm of destroyers, which was fast consuming the last remains of wealth and culture in that beautiful land. It may be confidently presumed that many of those detached and scattered hordes stopped short by the road; and in this way Noricum became the receptacle of a mixed and unstable population of freebooters and wanderers, requiring time to assume the form and consistency of a nation. The numbers of the Norican settlers

10. *Bavarians.*
The rise of the
Bojoarian or
Bavarian na-
tion.

They derive
their origin
from dispersed
bands of Scyrri,

Rugians,

Heruli, and
others, who
became scat-
tered by the
revolutions
which took
place during
the last half
of the fifth
century.

Noricum be-
comes the re-
ceptacle for
these wan-
derers and
wayfarers.

²⁹ *Vita Sancti Severini*, ap. *Petz*, Ss. Rr. Austriac., vol. i. pp. 64–93. passim.

³⁰ *Jorn*. c. 53. p. 692.

³¹ The modern Salzburg. See *Vit. S. Severini*, c. 25. p. 80.; and *Mannert*. vol. iii. p. 634.

They become mingled with the predial population of the Roman province as soon as the connexion of the latter with the colonists of the towns is dissolved.

Thus arose the Bojoarii.

The mingled tribes adopt the name of the country in which they are settled.

Origin of the name of Bojoarii.

were no doubt augmented by the dispersion of the Herulan people, which took place towards the close of the fifth century.³² At the same time, adverting to the condition of the predial population under the Roman dominion, and rightly distinguishing that portion of the subjects from the colonists and inhabitants of the towns, we shall be ready to admit the extreme probability that the former became mingled with the invaders, as soon as the connexion between them and the properly Roman inhabitants of the towns was dissolved by the ruin or expulsion of the latter. Thus there gradually arose a population of vagrant Rugians, Heruli, Scyrri, and Turcelingi, mingled with the ancient inhabitants of the country, to which, owing to the non-predominance of any one of these various elements, no precise name could with propriety be assigned. Accordingly the old names vanished suddenly and at once, and a new nation stepped forth never before named either by historian or geographer. This new people is variously designated by the writers of the subsequent century by the names of Bojoarii, Bajoari, Bajobari, and Bavari, all of them obviously of identical derivation, modified in their sound by trivial differences of dialect or pronunciation. But the name is all that is new in the phenomenon. The disappearance of tribe names and the adoption of a common appellation has become familiar to us in the history of the various confederate unions of ancient Germany, and we are no longer withheld by such changes from recognizing the old elements under their new form, provided we find those elements upon the scene of action, and in such a relative position as to afford a natural and probable explanation of the fact itself. Both these circumstances concur in the case before us, and point with great distinctness to the conclusion that the nations just named, or the scattered fragments of them domesticated within the old Roman province of Noricum, had dropped silently into a coalition, and adopted the *name* of the country in which they had definitively taken up their abode.³³

That the name of Bojoarii was in some way or other derived from

³² In the reign of Anastasius, *i. e.* between the years 491 and 518. *Mascon* (book xi. § 43. p. 23.) thinks that the dispersion of the Heruli by the Longobardi took place in the beginning of the sixth century. But *Mannert* (vol. iii. p. 343.) is clearly in error when he refers the appearance of the Heruli in Noricum (at which period they destroyed Juvavum) to the same point of time as their dispersion by the Longobardi; since, from the narrative of *Eugippus*, the overthrow of Juvavum took place before the death of St. Severinus, *i. e.* be-

fore the year 482, and the victory of the Longobardi over the Heruli was not gained till after the year 491. This oversight has arisen from that eminent writer's anxiety to substantiate his theory relative to the origin of the Bavarians, which however would not have suffered much by a little more attention to the explicit statements of *Paul Warnefrid* (*De Gest. Longob. lib. i. cc. 19. and 20 pp. 757, 758.*) and *Procopius* (*Hist. Goth. lib. ii. p. 258, 259.*), as to the true succession of events.

³³ See *Mannert*, vol. iii. p. 574.

that of the ancient and long extinguished Boii of Polybius and Cæsar, has never been called in question. But the Boii were a Celtic or Gallic people; the Bojoarii a strictly Germanic race. The latter, therefore, could not be descended from the former, even if there were no other grounds for rejecting such supposed ancestry. The ancient Boii had ceased to exist as a nation for nearly five centuries; and it is not easy to imagine how a name, which had become erased from the recollection of the more literate and observant Romans, should have so long survived in that of the German barbarians. But this difficulty, great as it is at first sight, will yield to a closer examination of the facts known to us relating to the history of that primitive people.

About a century before the age of Tacitus, the Celtic Boii were still a numerous and powerful nation, whose possessions extended over the whole of the modern territories of Bohemia and Moravia, and probably over those of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia. From Bohemia and Moravia they were expelled by the Marcomanni under Marbod; but that country, it must be observed, still retained the name of Bojenheim, which had been impressed upon it by the Boii.³⁴ From an attentive comparison of the several passages relative to the Boii which occur in the writings of Livy, Polybius, and Cæsar, with the later notices of Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy,³⁵ it appears that the extent of territory assigned to them by Tacitus formed but a small part of that which they had once possessed. In earlier times, their influence, if not their dominion, had extended over the whole of Germany south of the Danube: they held a conspicuous station among those nations of Cisalpine Gaul, who in the year 224 before the Christian æra, put the nerve of the Roman republic to so severe a trial.³⁶ At a still later period we find them³⁷ opposing a successful resistance to the Teutones and Cimbri, maintaining the Hercynian forests against them, and forcibly diverting the mighty torrent from the central regions of Germany. Their power after this appears to have become gradually contracted to the dimensions assigned to it by Tacitus. When the Marcomanni assailed them in these their last holds, they had already vanished from Rhætia and Noricum and Pannonia. During the incessant contests which in the interval they were doomed to maintain, on the one hand with their persevering enemies the Suevi,

The Boii once in the possession of Noricum,

as well as of all Germany south of the Danube, and extending themselves into Italy.

Their territories become gradually contracted by the encroachments of their neighbours the Suevi, the Dacians, Pannonians, and Romans.

³⁴ *Tac.* Germ. c. 28 and 42. Comp. ch. ii. sect. 1. p. 73 of this volume.

³⁵ The passages here referred to are the following: *Livius*, lib. xxxvi. c. 38.; *Polybius*, lib. ii. cc. 26. and 30.: Ed. Casaub. pp. 162-164.; *Cæsar*. Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 5.; *Strabo*, Geog. lib. vii.; Ed. Casaub. pp. 465. 481. and lib. v.

p. 326.; *Plinius*, Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 24.; *Ptolemy*.

³⁶ A. U. C. 528. See *Polyb.* loc. mod. cit. They were not finally subdued till the year 191 B. C. and 582-583 A. U. C. See *Livius*, lib. xxxvi. c. 38.

³⁷ Probably in the year 113 or 112 B. C.

and on the other with the savage nations of Dacia and Pannonia, vast tracts of country were so completely desolated and emptied of inhabitants as to acquire and merit the name of the "Desert of the Boii,"³⁹ and to this circumstance we may perhaps trace the ferocious boast of the Suevi—that they had interposed a desert of five hundred miles between themselves and their next neighbours.³⁹

The Romans forget or disuse the name of Boii.

But it is not to be believed that they were extirpated.

It is more consistent with the ordinary course of human habits that the national appellation should have been still retained by the mass of the people, though discarded by the Romans. It is likewise more probable that the immigrating tribes should adopt the native appellation than that of the expelled Romans, therefore they called themselves *Bojowaren*, or dwellers in the land of the Bojen.

No other mention of the Boii occurs,—with the exception of a passing notice of the ancient Boienheim by Ptolemy,—till the close of the fifth century. As long as they remain under the observation of the Roman writers, they are uniformly treated of as a Celtic race, whose primitive residence comprehended the modern kingdom of Bavaria and the adjacent provinces of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. The race, we are told, had been extirpated, and the very name had sunk into oblivion. But extirpation is often rashly presumed when vernacular names are either lost or neglected. After the conquest of Noricum by the Romans, the remains of the Boian people melted doubtless into the mass of the Romanized inhabitants, and like the rest, adopted the Latin language; and though the Roman statesmen might affect to sink the memory of their primitive name and origin in their own arbitrary divisions and nomenclature, yet it is extremely probable that the provincial population itself had neither dropped nor forgotten them;⁴⁰ and that in familiar conversation they might still call themselves by a name which was neglected only because they possessed no national literature to bring it into notice. Consistently with this view, Rhætia and the Danubian districts of Noricum would still be called the Boien-land, and it is obvious that the new comers would rather adopt the popular appellative than the merely organic and political dispositions of the Romans. When therefore the latter found it convenient to drop their tribe names on account of the manifest inapplicability of any one of them to the whole, they called themselves *Boiobaren* or *Boiowaren*,⁴¹ "dwellers in the land of

³⁹ Ἐρημος Βοίων. *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 326. *Adlzreiter*, in his "Annales Boicæ Gentis," (pars i. lib. iv. § 24. and 26.) denies the sounder conclusion of *Cluver*, (Germ. Antiq. in Vindelic. c. 5.) that the Boii were the ancient occupants of Noricum. Upon the authority of a passage in Pliny, (lib. iii. c. 24.) he places their original settlements in the central regions of Germany in the vicinity of the Hercynian forest. He then comes to the conclusion that after their expulsion by Marbod, the Boii were admitted by the Romans to new settlements in Noricum, probably about the period of the great Marcomannic war in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

³⁹ *Cæsar*, lib. iv. c. 3.

⁴⁰ It would be almost an endless task to enumerate the instances in which popular and unrecognized territorial divisions are still those by which the common people of every country under the sun familiarly distinguish themselves from their neighbours.

⁴¹ The terminations *arii*, *barii*, *varii*, signifying inhabitancy, from the substantive *wara*, denoting custody, possession. See *Schiller*, *Thes.* tom. iii. p. 837. Thus the modern verb *wahren* or *bewahren*, to keep or guard; hence also our ward and guard.

the Boien," as the readiest and certainly the most pertinent general name they could find.

Having thus brought the Boioarii upon the stage, I may be permitted hereafter to call them by the name familiarly applied to them in our language. The territory of the Bavarians was not confined to the province of Noricum. The new settlers extended themselves to the westward of the river Inn, which formed the boundary of the Roman province, towards and perhaps beyond the river Lech, where in modern times the circle of Bavaria terminated. Jornandes describes the Bavarians as the neighbours of the Suevi; and in the succeeding age Paul Warnefrid informs us that their territory extended from the confines of Pannonia⁴² as far as Suevia, and that it was bounded on the south by Italy, and on the north by the stream of the Danube.⁴³

Henceforward they will be called Bavarians.

They extend themselves westward as far as the river Lech.

Within the period assigned for the birth of the Bavarian people, another new nation had started into existence. That nation is the afterwards renowned Thoringi or Thuringi. Research and speculation have exhausted all their expedients in the vain attempt to trace this people back to some remote ancestry, and to assign to them a share in the mighty transactions of the past worthy of their more recent fame and power. To some of these grave inquirers they appear as the descendants of the powerful Thervingii, the noblest branch of the Visigothic stock, the conquerors of the Vandals and Gepidæ, who dwelt in the regions between the Vistula and the Elbe.⁴⁴ Others regard them as the offspring of the still more ancient Hermunduri.⁴⁵ *Toringi* are met with among the subject tribes of the great Gothic monarchy;⁴⁶ and the monk Witi-chind finds Thuringians in settled possession of the mouths of the Elbe, when the fierce Saxons first issued from their island haunts to expand their infant power over the rich lowlands of northern Germany.⁴⁷ But in the middle of the fifth century the mist which conceals this powerful people from observation clears suddenly away. Thuringians then ap-

11. Thuringians.

They are believed by some to be Gothic Thervingii.

They are heard of in the fourth century,

but do not appear upon the historic stage till the middle of the fifth cen-

⁴² Cis-Danubian Hungary.

⁴³ *Paul Diacon.* lib. iii. c. 31. p. 820. After perusing with some attention the older speculations of Cluver and Adlzreiter, and the more modern theory of *Luden*, (vol. ii. p. 439.) and comparing them with the several notices from the ancients above referred to, I had drawn up a memorandum, which, upon comparison with the sounder opinion of *Mannert*, (*Geog. der Griech. u. Römer*, vol. iii. book v. cc. 2. and 11.) I had the satisfaction to find very nearly coincident with the conclusions he had arrived at. The possession of his great work enabled me to correct

and expand the narrative in the text. Without indeed adopting the whole of his views, I have seen no reason to depart from him in the main. I have only to lament that his valuable Geography did not fall into my hands at an earlier period of this work.

⁴⁴ Comp. ch. vi. sect. 2. p. 228 of this volume. *Mascou* (book ix. § 30. p. 508.) advocates the identity of the Thervingii and the Thuringians.

⁴⁵ Of this opinion is *Mannert*, vol. iii. p. 203.

⁴⁶ *Mascou*, vol. ii. dissert. ii. § 2. p. 406.

⁴⁷ See the authorities quoted in ch. v. sect. 3. p. 197-199 of this volume.

tury, at which time they are found in that region of central Germany which still bears their name.

pear among the vassal nations of Attila's empire.⁴⁸ Eugippus, the disciple of St. Severinus,⁴⁹ brings them into the vicinity of Passau on the Danube, and the geographer of Ravenna settles a branch of the nation upon the river Regen, a little to the eastward of the modern city of Ratisbon.⁵⁰ At all events, a short time after the dissolution of the Hunnic empire, the Thuringians assume a definite station, and are recognized in all future ages as a settled people, possessing in perpetuity the central region of Germany, which still bears their name.

12. The Saxons

settle on the continent of Germany about the middle of the third century; they convert the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems into naval stations, from whence they lay waste the coasts of Gaul and Britain.

Here their naval power thrives rapidly, and in the year 447 their chiefs Hengist and Horsa overrun Britain.

The *Saxons* cannot boast of a much clearer pedigree or a more ancient descent than the Thuringians. If indeed we adopt the statements of their national historian Witichind, the Saxons had not made any continental acquisitions much before the close of the third century.⁵¹ But at that period, or shortly afterwards, they are found in undisputed possession of the swampy flats at the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, which, not many generations before that time, had been inhabited by the Chauci and Frisii.⁵² From the convenient harbours of the north sea, they assailed and laid waste the maritime districts of Britain and Gaul.⁵³ Their devastations occasioned the establishment of a separate defensive system for the coasts most exposed to their piracies, under the name of the *Limes Saxonicus*, and consisting of a strong coast-guard under the command of an officer called the "Count of the Saxon Shore."⁵⁴ In their new settlements the naval power of the Saxons continued to thrive; their riches increased, and their numbers were swelled by the accession of the neighbouring Cimbric tribes of the Jutes and Angles.⁵⁵ In the year 447, the Saxon chiefs Hengist and Horsa accepted the invitation of the feeble British prince Vortigern, and lent their powerful aid in expelling the predatory Picts and Scots from the

⁴⁸ *Apoll. Sidon.* in *Avit. Carm.* vii. v. 323. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 806.

⁴⁹ *Vit. S. Sever.* loc. cit. § 26. p. 81.

⁵⁰ *Mascou*, book ix. § 30. p. 509. *Luden* (vol. ii. p. 597.) refuses all credit to the geographer of Ravenna. Not so *Mascou*.

⁵¹ The Thervingians, whom I am inclined to regard as the *Thuringians* of a later period, were, as already observed, the chief tribe of the Visigoths. But as the Goths did not make their re-appearance in Northern Germany before the middle of the third century, the Thervingians could not have been established at the mouths of the Elbe much before the end of that century. The Saxons could not therefore have arrived before that period, since they found the Thuringians already established there.

⁵² And probably continued to be inhabited by the same nations first as subjects of the

Thervingii, and afterwards as members of the Saxon confederacy. See ch. v. sect. 3. p. 197 of this volume.

⁵³ See *Claudian.* in *Prim. Consulat. Stilichonis*, vv. 254, 255.; and comp. pp. 197, 265, (note 28) 278, and 282 of this volume.

⁵⁴ "Comes limitis sive littoris Saxonici." *Mascou*, book vii. p. 395. In an extract from the *Notitia Imperii* compiled in the reign of Valentinian III. and inserted by *D. Bouquet* in the first vol. of his great collection, p. 127., we find a mention of the "*Litus Saxonicum*" as the station of the tribune of the first cohort of *Armorica Nova*.

⁵⁵ It is more than probable that the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles were all members of the great Cimbric family. See the ethnographic arrangement of *Adelung*, in his *Mithridates*, vol. ii. p. 225 et seqq.

southern regions of Britain. That task accomplished, they threw off the character of allies, and by that mixture of insolence, artifice, and violence so unhappily familiar to every piratical people, in a few years succeeded in extending their dominion over the greater part of the island. Meanwhile the Saxon name on the continent had superseded the more ancient tribe-names; Chauci, Cherusci, Frisii, Amsivarii, and others had become obscured or obliterated by the superior renown of the more recent denomination. The attention of the Franks had become absorbed by their prospects of conquest in Gaul; they had lost sight of or neglected the more northern associates of their ancient league, most of whom seceded to the Saxon alliance; the limits of Eastern France gradually shrunk away from the shores of the North sea, and a new community was built up in the North of Germany destined to form hereafter, in conjunction with the Suevians, Bavarians, and Thuringians, the four great elements of that empire to whose history the details of this volume are to be regarded as introductory.⁵⁶

On the continent their name supersedes those of the Chauci, Cherusci, &c., who become detached from the Frankish league.

SECTION III.—A. D. 453 to A. D. 493.

I. *The Huns attempt to recover their predominance—Walamir defeats them—The emperor Marcian and the Ostrogoths—The Suevic League of Hunnimund against the Ostrogoths—Death of Walamir—Defeat of the Suevic League—Theodemir and his son Theoderich—The Goths quit Pannonia—The Goths in Macedonia and Thrace.* II. *State of the Western Empire—Capture of Rome by Gieserich—Richimer—Orestes—Odoaker, King of Italy—He invades Rugiland.* III. *Roman Colonies in Noricum—Severinus—His Miracles—Feva, King of the Rugians—Roman Colonists collected in Lauriacum—They are removed into the Territory of the Rugians—Death of Severinus—Odoaker destroys the Rugian Kingdom—Heruli and Longobardi—Dispersion of the Heruli.*

OF the various swarms set at liberty by the death of Attila, whose locality and domicile formed the subject of the preceding section, some had already taken up their definitive station, and were in a condition to become the progenitors of settled communities;¹ while the greater number were, to all appearance, as averse from that condition as their rude ancestors had ever been. Such was the disposition of the Ostrogothic, Longobardic, and Gepidic nations. The first of these was soon about to cast off the outer slough of barbarism; but the short interval was to be filled up by many changes and trials tending at least to fami-

The narrative reverts to the Ostrogoths of Pannonia.

⁵⁶ I may here observe, that as in after times the three great duchies of Saxony, Bavaria, and Swabia, together with the *markgraviate* of Thuringia—a territorial distinction, in the earlier ages, equal in dignity and superior in power to the duchies—formed the original elements of

the kingdom of Germany under the later princes of the Carolingian and the first of the Saxon dynasties, I have been the more anxious to introduce them in conjunction with each other to the notice of the reader.

¹ Such as the Suevi and Thuringians.

liarize them with the aspect of civilization, if not to prepare them for the enjoyment of its blessings. The remoter Longobardi were destined to close the great procession of nations, and after overthrowing the kingdom of the Gepidæ, to enjoy a more lengthened existence upon a soil cleared and prepared for them by their less fortunate predecessors.

Such are the beacons which prescribe the course of our narrative. The present section will conduct us some distance on the way. It will at the same time disclose other views, which though collateral are, it must be admitted, almost of absorbing interest. I shall treat these subjects with only so much of detail as shall be necessary to the clearness and coherence of the story, referring the reader for more ample information to the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," a work, the perusal of which must always be numbered among the most lively pleasures of our earlier years.

The Huns
again invade
Pannonia,
A.D. 454.

but are de-
feated by
Walamir, and
retire to the
banks of the
Dnieper ;

I. After the defeat and death of Ellac in the battle of the Netad, the surviving sons of Attila did not abandon the hope of reconquering the empire which they had lost. They continued to regard the emancipated vassals of their father as truant slaves and runagates, whose chastisement was as much a matter of duty as of interest. With these views, they suddenly collected all their powers, and crossing the Danube into Pannonia, they invaded the territory of Walamir so unexpectedly, that the Gothic king was compelled to bear the brunt of the onset unaided by the forces of his brothers Theodemir and Widemir. But the Goths had become familiar with the aspect and mode of warfare of these once dreaded adversaries ; and the Gothic prince met and defeated them with none to aid his own gallant subjects and followers. The Huns retired to the country watered by the tributary streams of the river Dnieper,² while Dingitsik, another of Attila's sons, maintained himself a short time

* "Ad eas partes Scythiæ quas *Danapri* amnis fluente prætermeant, quæ linguâ suâ *Hunni Var* appellant." *Klaproth* (Recherches, &c., p. 245) has discovered this obvious correction of the passage of *Jornandes* just quoted: the old reading—"quæ linguâ suâ *Hunnivar* appellant"—is ungrammatical; since "Gothi" must be understood in order to make sense of it, though the antecedent nominative is "Hunni," to whom, in fact, and not to the Goths, the entire passage relates. If *Jornandes* had meant to designate the former, why speak of their language as "*lingua suâ*," and not "*lingua nostrâ*," since on every other occasion he is proud to identify himself with his countrymen? The correction of "*Danapri*" for "*Danubii*," (which is

the ordinary reading) has the authority of a MS. in the royal library at Paris, No. 5873, (2) fol. 59, and is equally obvious with the foregoing. After the battle of Netad, *Jornandes* (c. 50. p. 687) says that the Hunnic princes "fugantur juxta littus *Pontici maris*, ubi prius Gothos sedisse descripsimus"—and thither, none can doubt, they would retire, and *not* to the Danube. This correction however militates wholly against all the speculations, old and new, upon the locality of this *Hunnivar*—"Quasi *Hunguar*, *Ounguar*, *Unguar*, *Hungaria*," says *Bonfinius*, decad. i. lib. vii. p. 107.; "*Hunnen-wahr* or *Hunnen-wehr*, quasi Hun-fence or Hun-march," says *Luden*, vol. ii. p. 441 and p. 598. note 14.

longer in Lower Hungary, and in the year 461 made an attempt upon Bassiana, a city situated upon the river Save; but here he was defeated by the Goths,³ and compelled to retreat to the eastward; one portion of his followers passed the Danube, and were settled by the Romans partly in Dacia Ripensis and partly in Scythia Minor; other divisions joined their countrymen on the Dnieper. Excepting only a few obscure adventures and inroads upon the eastern empire, little further notice of the Huns occurs in those regions where they had for more than a century possessed uncontrolled dominion, and from whence they had exercised so powerful an influence over the destinies of Europe.

after which they are not again heard of in these regions under their old name.

Not long after the formal cession of Pannonia to the Ostrogoths, the princes Walamir, Theodemir, and Widemir sent an embassy to the emperor Marcian to receive the customary annual stipends and presents to which they laid claim as marks of esteem and acknowledgments of good conduct. The Goths, like all the barbaric neighbours of the empire for many ages past, put forth claims to the imperial liberality founded almost solely upon their power to do mischief; nor did they now evince less jealousy of the favours or less eagerness to participate in the riches of the government than heretofore. The habitual vices of the barbaric character, inveterate indolence, and that exclusive love of war which rendered all other occupations distasteful, left them no alternative between plundering their neighbours and putting them under forced contributions for their own subsistence. Such contributions were regarded not only as a matter of right, but also as a subject of honourable distinction, and as testimonies to their valour—the quality which of all others they valued most in themselves, and for which they were of course anxious to procure the highest credit with other nations.⁴ When therefore the envoys arrived at the court of Marcian, they were unprepared to tolerate any interlopers between their own proud and far-descended princes and the sunshine of the imperial presence. In this light they regarded Theoderich, the chief of the minor Goths of Mœsia, whom they found in the full enjoyment of the imperial favour and liberality. The preference thus conferred upon a chief of their own kindred not sprung from the noble race of the Amali, was a manifest derogation from the dignity of their kings,—a contempt of their merits,—an abridgment of the people's rights. Roused to fury by this supposed insult, they ran to arms, and laid waste a great part of Illyricum. The emperor Marcian hastened to allay the sudden tempest by gratifying the capricious barbarians to the extent of

The Ostrogothic princes send ambassadors to the emperor Marcian to receive their annual stipends.

The envoys are offended to find another barbaric chief in the enjoyment of the imperial bounty.

The Gothic kings resent the supposed indignity by ravaging Illyricum.

But Marcian appeases them by yielding to their demands.

³ *Jorn.* c. 53. p. 691.

⁴ *Comp. Tac. De Mor. Germ.* c. 15. p. 395.

This was the Germanic character from the

earliest to the latest period of their migratory state.

Theoderich, the son of Theodemir, is sent to Constantinople as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty of peace.

The supplies derived from the Eastern empire are soon dissipated, and the Goths again plunge into war with their neighbours, the Satagæ and the Suevi.

A. D. 461
or

A. D. 462. Hunnimund, king of the Suevi, is taken prisoner by Theodemir for having committed depredations upon the flocks and herds of his subjects;

but Theodemir soon afterwards generously releases his prisoner. Hunnimund stirs up a combination against the Ostrogoths. Gepidæ, Scyrrî, Rugians, Markmannen take part in the coalition.

The Scyrrî are totally defeated, but Walamir is killed.

their desires. The reconciliation was cemented by an exchange of hostages. Theodemir was persuaded to surrender his son Theoderich as a pledge for the fidelity of his fickle subjects to their engagements. The noble youth had as yet scarcely attained his sixth year; the beauty of his person and the promise of his talents seem already to have excited the expectations of his countrymen, while they qualified him to rivet the attention of the new guardians to whom his education and future conduct were of such momentous interest.⁵

The presents extorted from the empire of the East were spent with the ordinary improvidence of uncivilized nations; provisions began to fail, and the distressed people resorted to their usual method for procuring a supply. They collected an army and marched against the neighbouring Satagæ in Styria, but were recalled by a transient invasion of the Huns under Dingitsik. Soon after the defeat and dispersion of that enemy, they became involved in a war with the Suevi, which furnished them with occupation, and diverted their attention from the empire for some years. Hunnimund, the king or duke of the Suevi, with a small body of hardy and adventurous followers, had traversed the whole distance between the river Lech and Dalmatia. After plundering the latter region, he took his road homewards through Pannonia, and would probably have met with no obstruction from the Gothic occupants, if he could have prevented his warriors from injuring the only valuable property of the inhabitants. The Suevi drove off the cattle of the Goths, in revenge for which outrage Theodemir surprised the whole body near the Balaton lake, and took them and their leader prisoners. But in the hope of converting a vanquished enemy into a grateful friend, the Gothic prince very soon dismissed his captive without a ransom. Hunnimund was incapable of appreciating such generosity; he still resented his defeat and detention, and upon his return to his native country, became the instigator of an extensive league for the overthrow of the Gothic dominion. Almost all the Trans-Danubian nations, from the extremity of Transylvania to the sources of the Danube, appear to have taken a part in the design of Hunnimund. The Gepidæ in Upper Hungary threatened the Gothic possessions on the eastward, the Scyrrî assailed them from the north, while the Suevi and Markmannen of Swabia and Franconia prepared to attack them along the course of the Danube. But the confederates acted obviously without a combined plan. The Scyrrî, at that time the nearest neighbours to the Goths, were the first in the field. But though the gallant Walamir fell in the battle which followed,

⁵ *Jornand.* c. 52. pp. 689, 690.

his subjects bravely avenged his death by the defeat and dispersion of his enemies.⁶

The Goths, now under the command of Theodemir and Widemir, followed up their successes against the Scyrri with such vigour and success as to compel Hunnimund and Alaric, the kings of the Suevi, to hasten with all the forces they could collect to save the remnant of their allies from total extinction. The Gepidæ from Hungary joined their standards; the Sarmatians under their princes Beuga and Babai, and the remains of the Scyrri, commanded by Edico and Wulfo, swelled their forces, and a considerable body of Rugians brought a further accession of numbers to their host. Collecting on their way stragglers and vagrants of every description, the motley assemblage at length took post upon the river Bollia in Pannonia. Here the Goths, superior in all but numbers, fearlessly encountered their enemies, and once more exacted bloody vengeance for the death of their king Walamir upon his ungenerous antagonist and the undisciplined swarm which followed his standards. "The field," says Jornandes, "resembled a sea of blood; the arms and the bodies of the slain lay heaped in hillocks for a space of more than ten miles." The innumerable host was scattered abroad, and each separate fragment retraced its steps in confusion and dismay towards its home.⁷

Hunnimund, with all his allies, hastens to the assistance of the hard-driven Scyrri;

but is totally defeated by Theodemir and Widemir on the Bollia, in Pannonia.

In the winter of the same, or of the following year, Theodemir crossed the frozen Danube, and invaded the confederate Suevi and Allemanni, who dwelt between that stream and the confines of the Thuringians.⁸ "The combined forces of these nations," says the historian of the Goths, "were defeated and dispersed, and in a manner subdued."⁹ Theodemir returned in triumph into Pannonia, there to receive and embrace his son Theoderich, whom the emperor Leo had just released and sent back charged with costly presents to his parent.¹⁰ At the period of his release, Theoderich was in his nineteenth year. His father was still absent upon his expedition against the Suevi, when he again set his foot upon the soil of his nation. The active and gallant youth immediately resolved to signalize his entrance into life by some exploit worthy of his illustrious

Theodemir invades the territory of the Suevi with success.

A. D. 473. His son Theoderich is restored to his country,

and signalizes himself by

⁶ See *Jorn.* c. 53. p. 691. The fortunes of the remnant of this nation have been touched upon in the preceding section.

⁷ *Jorn.* c. 54. pp. 692, 693.

⁸ See note 25 of the preceding section.

⁹ "Penè subegit" are the words of Jornandes. But Theodemir soon retired into Pannonia, and the subjugation of the Suevi must have remained incomplete—probably it never proceeded beyond

the gain of a battle.

¹⁰ According to the *Art. de Vér. &c.*, (tom. i. p. 407.) Theoderich was only six years of age when he was surrendered as a hostage to the emperor Marcian. The authors of that learned body of chronology think that he was sent to Constantinople in the year 461, and returned in 473.

birth, and useful to the people over whom he was destined to reign. The Huns, under their prince Babai, had retired from the field of the Bollia to the country adjoining the confluence of the Danube and the Save; they had expelled the imperial governor Camundus, and made themselves masters of the Roman city of Singidunum.¹¹ It was obviously of importance to the Goths to dislodge them from a position which interrupted their communications with the empire, as well as to rid themselves of so active and persevering an enemy. To this end Theoderich hastily and secretly assembled about six thousand men, consisting of his own and his father's immediate followers and friends. With this body he crossed the Danube, surprised Babai and his vagrant horde, slew the chief and plundered his camp and treasures. Crowned with victory himself, he hastened to meet his victorious father, and to present to him the fruits of his first achievement in arms. After the meeting, he returned to complete the task he had so gloriously begun; Singidunum was still in the possession of the Huns; Theoderich retook the city. But he found the first taste of the cup of conquest too palatable to forego the full draught. Singidunum formed no part of the territory ceded by the late emperor to the Goths; yet he declined restoring it to the Romans, and added it without scruple to his father's dominions.¹²

dislodging the Huns of Babai from their settlements in and about Singidunum on the Danube. After this victory, he hastens to meet his father, then on his return from the Suevic expedition.

He captures Singidunum from the Huns, and adds the city to his father's dominions.

A. D. 474. The Goths clamour for war, and compel their princes to break their engagements with the empire and to invade Italy and Illyricum.

But the Ostrogothic people were so averse from productive industry, and relied so supinely upon pillage or the extortions of war for the supply of the most ordinary wants of life,¹³ that scarcely a twelvemonth had elapsed from the termination of their late successful enterprises, when food and clothing again began to fail. The people complained of the decay of national valour, and became clamorous for war. They surrounded their princes and loudly demanded to be led whithersoever it might please them, however distant or dangerous the proposed adventure might be. The boisterous request could neither be refused nor eluded; a council of the chiefs was held, and it was determined that Widemir should invade Italy, while Theodemir should march for Illyricum. Whenever government falls, though but for a moment, into the hands of the mass of the people, all responsible warranty for the maintenance of the national faith vanishes. Necessity, real or presumed—the unanimous resolution of a whole nation adopted upon a deliberate view of its present condition and future interests—is held to supersede all treaties, and to transcend all obligations. Thus Theodemir, in com-

¹¹ The modern Belgrad.

¹² *Jornand.* c. 55. p. 694.

¹³ See the avowal of Theoderich to the emperor Zeno, that though contented for his own

part with what he had already obtained, yet that his people lived by war, which was their delight. *Malchus ap. Strit.*, tom. i. § 106. p. 111.

pliance with the popular voice, prepared for his unjust enterprise. Both divisions of the nation then turned their backs with total indifference from the land in which they had sojourned for a period of twenty years, and parted from each other with no greater degree of reluctance than might be felt by two corps of the same army, which had been accustomed to march and to act together for the same period of time.¹⁴

Widemir died soon after his entrance into Italy, and was succeeded by a son of the same name. Glycerius at this time sat upon the throne of the West, and succeeded in averting the danger which threatened Italy. By vast presents and gratuities he prevailed upon the younger Widemir to march into Gaul, assuring him of ample occupation in subduing the various nations which surrounded and pressed upon his kinsfolk the Visigoths, and recommending an union with that people for mutual support and aggrandizement.¹⁵ Upon the arrival of the Ostrogoths in Gaul, the projected union seems, under the imperial auspices, to have met with no obstruction; the two nations gladly acknowledged the ancient kindred, and readily melted into one political and social body for the maintenance and enlargement of their common dominion in Gaul and Spain.¹⁶

Theodemir and Theoderich migrate into Illyricum.

A. D. 474. Widemir invades Italy, where he dies soon afterwards. His successor is prevailed upon to march into Gaul,

where his followers melt into union with the Visigoths of Aquitaine.

Theodemir and Theoderich overrun Macedonia and Thessaly.

The more numerous division of the Ostrogothic nation meanwhile, under Theodemir and his son Theoderich, crossed the river Save, and following the valley of the Margus, possessed themselves of the city of Naissus. Macedonia and Thessaly were rapidly overrun; Heracleia and Larissa fell into their hands; and Thessalonica, though still bravely defended by the patrician Clarianus, was already reduced to extremity by the courage and impetuosity of the besiegers. The throne of Constantinople was at this moment occupied by Zeno the Isaurian, a man odious for his vices and obnoxious for the perfidy and cruelty by which he had raised himself to the diadem. Unprovided with an army or a general in whom he could confide, and surrounded by domestic enemies, a speedy reconciliation with the Goths might not only avert the present peril, but even contribute to prop up his tottering throne. The conditions of peace were soon adjusted. Extensive districts in Macedonia

¹⁴ *Jornand.* c. 56. pp. 694, 695. The historian very generally designates the army and the nation by the same word,—“exercitus.”

¹⁵ *Comp. Jorn.* c. 56. p. 694. “Quem Glycerius imperator muneribus datis,” &c. The inducements held out to Widemir are hinted at rather than expressed in this passage.

¹⁶ So *Jornandes* (ubi sup.) But I cannot help thinking that if the Ostrogothic followers

of Widemir had been numerous, they would not have been found so ready to adopt the advice of Glycerius, nor would the Visigoths have been so ready to receive them into national communion. *Jornandes* himself tells us that they were the weaker division of the nation. No other historian, to my knowledge, notices this incident at all.

The emperor Zeno the Isaurian grants them extensive districts in those provinces, with a stipend of two thousand pounds of gold for their maintenance, and confers honours and distinctions on their chiefs.

and Thrace, stretching southwards from Naissus as far at least as the river Axios, and bounded by the Rhodopæan chain on the East, and the mountain frontier of Illyricum on the West,¹⁷ were assigned to the Goths for their future residence; an annual stipend of two thousand pounds weight of gold was granted to the princes; Theoderich was raised to the chief command of the imperial body guard, and honours and distinctions were lavished upon the chiefs of the people. The Gothic rulers on this occasion restricted the duties which these concessions were to purchase to mere military assistance; it was understood that their kings were not to be regarded as vassals, but as independent confederates, binding themselves only to alliance offensive and defensive against all the enemies of the empire.¹⁸

Theodemir dies. Theoderich succeeds him as king of the Ostrogoths; he is adopted by Zeno, who raises him to the honours of the consulate, with an equestrian statue.

A.D. 475.
He takes up his residence at the court.

A short time after the conclusion of the treaty, Theodemir, who was already far advanced in years, died at an obscure place called Cerræ, after insuring the succession to his able son Theoderich. The emperor Zeno, anxious to attach the new king to his person and government, adopted him as his son, raised him to the consular dignity, and erected an equestrian statue to his honour in front of the imperial palace. Thus flattered and caressed, Theoderich took up his residence at the court of Zeno, where he and his personal followers became more familiar with the enjoyments, and gained an insight into the machinery of civilized life. With little interruption, this connexion lasted for a period of six years. Personally the Gothic king was disposed to requite the benefits lavished upon him by zealous services and sincere attachment. But after a time the daily excesses of his turbulent subjects became the subject of alarm to the court and of serious complaint against himself. Several cities of Thrace had been plundered with circumstances of great cruelty, and the old jealousies of the minor Goths of Dacia Ripensis had broken out afresh. These broils were insidiously fomented by the Byzantine court, with the view of keeping the hostile tribes employed against each other, and weakening them by mutual slaughter. But Theoderich, the son of Triarius, the king or chief of the Minor Goths, had been long familiar with the crafty policy of the Byzantine court; at the same time

His subjects again become uneasy, and manifest their discontent by plundering the country in which they are settled. They quarrel with the Minor Goths of Mœsia,

¹⁷ I conceive the ceded district in the shape of a triangle, of which Naissus or Mediana formed the northern apex. It comprised the south-western angle of Thrace (*Beræa*), the regions of Dardania, Pæonia, and a part of Emathia. Jornandes names the cities or districts of *Ceropellas*—which I cannot identify—*Europa*, or more properly *Europus*, on the Axios, in Pæonia; *Mediana*, a place about three

miles from Naissus; *Beræa*, in south-western Thrace; *Petina*, unknown; “and others which are called *Sius*,” a denomination for which I find no other authority. The text is probably corrupt. See *Cramer*, *Ancient Greece*, vol. i. pp. 231, 272.; *Mannert*, vol. vii. pp. 276 and 421.

¹⁸ Comp. *Jornand.* c. 56. p. 695. with *Malchus* in Excerpt. de Legation. ap. *Stritt*, tom. i. p. 93.

the king of the Ostrogoths penetrated the scheme of Zeno and his ministers. Both nations felt that they were about to become the dupes of Greek duplicity and cunning; and this conviction inclined them to a new reconciliation. The two Theoderichs sent an embassy to Constantinople to propose the measures necessary for the redress of their joint grievances. These proposals were at first rejected with scorn and indignation; but the feeble mind of Zeno bent beneath the contemplation of a war to be waged at the gates of his capital against the united nations. He recalled his generals, dispersed his troops into winter quarters, and submitted to the conditions imposed upon him.¹⁹ Theoderich the Ostrogoth returned to his alliance with Zeno, and enjoyed the honours of the court for some years longer. But the relations subsisting between him and the empire had become fluctuating and insincere on both sides. His people had by violence extended their quarters to the neighbouring province of Illyricum, but soon became again dissatisfied with the monotonous life they were compelled to lead and the moderate provision made for them by the government.²⁰ They longed once more for the excitement and adventure of war, and the provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly would again have become the scene of rapine and carnage, if, in the interim, events had not occurred elsewhere to open an outlet to the combustible mass in another direction. To these events we must now advert, in order to enable the reader to connect the various strands of the narrative, and to follow the history of the Ostrogothic people to its appropriate termination.²¹

but irritated by the bad faith of Zeno, both nations combine to obtain redress for their joint grievances from the court.

A.D. 481. Zeno again appeases them by concession. Theoderich returns to court.

But a few years afterwards the Goths again become discontented; they ravage Illyricum. A prospect of emigration to Italy is opened to them.

II. For more than a century before the dissolution of the Western empire, Rome had abandoned her defence to foreigners: she had re-peopled her deserted provinces with barbaric settlers; her fields were cultivated by foreign colonists, and along the vast expanse of her northern frontier the language of her predial population was almost exclusively German. By the enormous extent to which this system of foreign colonization had been carried, the population properly Roman became confined to the fortified cities and towns. All the proprietors of landed estates lived *there*; *thither* the produce of their farms was conveyed to them, and there it was consumed: from thence the officers of the government went forth to collect the revenues of the

Condition of the Western empire.

¹⁹ See *Malchus*, loc. cit. § 89, 97 and 110 to 117.

²⁰ *Jornand.* c. 57. p. 697.

²¹ I must here candidly admit my inability to extract a consistent or even a plausible narrative from the confused fragments of *Malchus*. The attempt of *Luden* (vol. iii. pp. 29-40) entitles

the author to all credit for ingenuity and diligence; but he sets out with the announcement of an intricate story, and in truth he redeems his pledge to the letter. After all, his exertions only prove the small historical value of his materials.

state; and there the stations of the military forces, requisite for the protection of the administrators and the execution of the mandates of the court, were fixed. In the cities everything was Roman—language, habits, luxuries, amusements, religion; but the relation between the proprietor within the walls and the husbandman without, was reduced to lord and bondsman, a condition which prevents common interests and feelings from springing up, by cutting off the mass of the people from every prospect of an improvement of their condition, and depriving them of the sympathy of those to whom they are entitled to look up for countenance and protection.²³

As long as Rome could maintain an army to keep open the communications between these numerous fortresses and the rural districts, no inroads, however destructive, could disengage the land from her grasp. But in the progress of her decay, many families of German descent had acquired the rights of citizenship; individual barbarians had risen to the highest dignities of the state; a few even to the purple itself. The armies were almost wholly composed of barbarians, and thus became connected by national sympathy with the oppressed and degraded subjects; and when by dint of mal-administration and devastation the revenues of the government declined so as no longer to afford the means of supplying the wants or gratifying the cravings of these foreign hirelings; when even *these* were for the most part withdrawn to protect the seat of empire itself,²⁴ then indeed city after city supinely yielded to the invader, and the hold of the metropolis upon the provinces was dissolved for ever.²⁵

In this state of decrepitude the empire had breathed on heavily and painfully for a period of nearly fifty years, dating from the abandonment of the frontiers by Stilicho, and the irresistible irruptions of the Germans into Gaul, Spain, and Italy. We have already entered into the history of the emperors, with particularity sufficient for the elucidation of German history down to the conclusion of the great Hunnic war in the year 452. We have now shortly to depict Rome in the last stage of her decay; Italy ravaged; Gaul and Spain wrested from her; Africa, the granary of the vast and unproductive population of the capital, in the hands of a powerful enemy, beset on every side with difficulties and dangers from without; while from within corruption, speculation, and tyranny, were daily rendering the people more and more indifferent to their fate,—our wonder is, not that she should have sunk at

²³ Comp. *Eichhorn*, Deutsche Staats und Rechts Geschichte, vol. i. p. 85.

²⁵ See the introduction to chap. viii., particularly pp. 309—314.

²⁴ By Stilicho, to encounter the invasion of Alaric, A.D. 403.

last, but that so much of vitality should have adhered to the disorganized body as to enable her to bear up against such an accumulation of diseases for a period of twenty-three years longer.

In the year 454, Valentinian III., at the instigation of his favourite eunuch Heraclius, embued his hands in the blood of Aëtius.²⁶ Within a twelvemonth of this wicked deed, the Patrician Petronius Maximus avenged the murder of his friend and his own private wrongs in the blood of the worthless tyrant. Maximus succeeded to the vacant throne, and with ruthless violence forced Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, into an unnatural marriage with himself—the murderer of her husband. Eudoxia dissembled her just indignation, and privately dispatched a trusty messenger to Gieserich, king of the African Vandals, imploring him, by the ties of friendship which had subsisted between him and the late emperor, to take the speediest measures for rescuing the empire from a detested tyrant, and herself from a monstrous connexion with the assassin of her husband.²⁷ Gieserich, excited by the prospect of the immense plunder of Rome, hurried his preparations, embarked his army, and landed at no great distance from the city. So complete was the surprise, and so favourable the juncture, that resistance was not to be thought of. Maximus fled; all who had the means of escape followed the example of the court. In the hurry of flight the satellites of Eudoxia contrived to separate Maximus from his attendants; they plunged their daggers into his body, and flung it into the Tyber. Eudoxia enjoyed the tidings of her revenge at Rome, and there she awaited the congratulations and compliments of her deliverer. The barbarian advanced towards the defenceless city with the determined purpose of abandoning it to the mercy of his African savages. But once more the heroic bishop Leo cast himself betwixt the lion and his prey; and a second time enjoyed the high honour of saving the capital of the Christian world from utter destruction. He went forth to meet the Vandal, and by his eloquent supplications, it is said, but more probably by an adroit and rational appeal to his interests, prevailed upon the barbarian to spare the city from the horrors and ruin of indiscriminate pillage. The dwellings and the lives of the citizens were saved, but Rome fell a second time into the hands of a foreign conqueror. A rigid scrutiny into the moveable property of the citizens was carried on for the space of fourteen days, and Rome was systematically drained of all its wealth both public and private. Many thousand captives of every age

A. D. 454.
Valentinian
III. murders
Aëtius;
he is himself
put to death by
Maximus in
A. D. 455.
Maximus for-
cibly marries
his widow
Eudoxia; who
applies for re-
dress to Giese-
rich, king of
the African
Vandals.

Gieserich in-
vades Italy.

Maximus is
killed.

The Vandals
capture Rome,

which is syste-
matically plun-
dered by them.

²⁶ *Prosp. Chron. ap. Bouq. tom. i. p. 635.*
Idatii Chron. ibid. p. 620.

²⁷ *Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. ap. Grot.*
p. 16.

Eudoxia and her two daughters are carried off prisoners to Carthage.

A.D. 455. Avitus is raised to the throne by the influence of Theoderich II., king of the Visigoths of Gaul.

Avitus raises the Suevian Richimer to the command of the armies of state.

He is deposed by the senate after a reign of scarcely fourteen months. A.D. 457. Majorian succeeds him.

and sex were embarked with other spoils of inestimable value, and the empress Eudoxia, with her two daughters by Valentinian, the princesses Eudocia and Placidia, adorned the triumphant entry of Gieserich into the port of Carthage.²⁸

During his short reign Maximus had promoted Flavius Cæcilus Avitus, a native of Auvergne, to the command in chief of the armies of Gaul. A connexion engendered by old political and military intercourse between the Roman patrician and Theoderich II., king of the Visigoths, had ripened into esteem and friendship. At the time of the death of Maximus in Italy, Avitus was residing at the court of Theoderich upon a mission of importance to the welfare of his province; and in the society of his friend and son-in-law Sidonius Apollinaris, enjoyed the free and intimate conversation of the barbaric sovereign and the nobles of his court. When the disastrous intelligence of the murder of Maximus and the sack of Rome by Gieserich became known in Gaul, the eyes of every one were simultaneously riveted upon Avitus as the man best capable of sustaining the burthen of the empire in this calamitous crisis. Theoderich approved of the popular choice; he proclaimed Avitus emperor, and his suffrage was unanimously confirmed by the armies and the magistrates of the province. The feeble senate however resented the contempt of their authority implied in this arbitrary and irregular election, and reluctantly ratified the nomination of a barbaric king. Avitus raised Richimer, a descendant of a royal family of the Suevi, to the captain-generalship of the armies, and took up his residence in Rome, where his popularity with all classes, and the affections of the army, seemed to promise a prolonged and tranquil reign. But Richimer, to whom the continued rancour of the senate offered a welcome instrument for the promotion of his irregular ambition, withdrew his support, and a short time afterwards deposed his sovereign and benefactor after a reign of scarcely fourteen months.²⁹

Julius Valerius Majorianus, a man of talent, integrity, and military reputation, succeeded the deposed emperor. The senate presented him to the all-powerful Richimer as the subject of their choice, and the latter consented to the election. Majorian defeated a dangerous incursion of the Vandals on the coast of Campania, and successfully vindicated the reduced dominion of Rome against the Visigoths³⁰ in Gaul. He was less

²⁸ *Prosper. Chron. loc. cit.* See also *Procop. loc. cit. p. 17.*

²⁹ See *Sidon. Apoll. Carm. vii. ap. Boug. tom. i. p. 804, et seqq. Idat. in Chron. ibid. p. 621. Art de Vér. &c. tom. i. p. 402.*

³⁰ As this summary of the history of the last

emperors of Rome is to be regarded only as introductory to the establishment of the Ostrogoths in Italy, I shall have occasion, in the following chapter, again to revert to the transactions here barely pointed to.

successful in his projects against Africa ; but even there his efforts were crowned by an advantageous peace. Various wise but vigorous measures were taken to reform abuses and check the growing disorders of the state ; the eyes of men were turned with wonder and with hope to the rare spectacle of a man of energy and virtue upon the throne of the empire. But the vultures who preyed upon the decaying body were not to be thus easily deprived of their habitual aliment. Richimer found his influence eclipsed by the growing popularity of a native Roman prince ; he regarded with apprehension the possible restoration of unity and vigour to the shattered state ; the army, now almost wholly composed of barbarian mercenaries, added its murmurs to the repinings of those whom the reforms of Majorian had offended or impoverished ; and that upright ruler was deposed at Tortona in the month of August, 461, after a reign of four years.³¹

The whole power of the state now rested in the hands of Richimer. He raised successively Severus III., Anthemius, and Olybrius, to the empty dignity of the purple. The death of the Suevian adventurer delivered the empire into the hands of Gundobald, the king of the Burgundians, and general of the barbaric mercenaries. He was declared patrician, and military chief of the imperial armies. The death of Olybrius, which occurred in the same year with that of Richimer, afforded Gundobald the vain honour of conferring a sovereign upon the empire of the West, and Flavius Glycerius was invested with the purple at Ravenna on the 5th of March, 473. But the hasty recall of the Burgundian to his own dominions in Gaul left the obscure adventurer, whom he had elevated, without support ; and after a few months of domestic faction and cabal, Leo, emperor of the East, placed Julius Nepos, a relative of his wife, upon the throne of the West ; Glycerius submitted to the tonsure, and was consecrated bishop of Salona in Dalmatia. After the retirement of his competitor, Nepos nominated the Pannonian Orestes, once the friend and servant of Attila, to the chief command of the armies. In conformity with the practice of his predecessors, Orestes soon became weary of legal control. He led his rebellious hordes into Italy ; he besieged Nepos in Ravenna, and compelled him to take refuge in Dalmatia. Orestes then raised his own son Augustulus to the vacant purple, and with that inauspicious name closes the long catalogue of the Roman sovereigns of the West.³²

After a vigorous reign of four years he is deposed by Richimer. A. D. 461.

Richimer raises successively Severus, Anthemius, and Olybrius, to the throne. Gundobald, king of the Burgundians, A. D. 472.

becomes commander-in-chief of the army.

He raises Glycerius to the throne ;

A. D. 473. but is soon recalled to his own dominions.

Glycerius is deposed, and Julius Nepos is raised to the purple by the eastern emperor Leo.

A. D. 474.

Orestes is raised to the command of the army. He soon turns upon his benefactor Nepos, and deposes him.

He raises his

³¹ A few facts relative to the elevation and reign of Majorian may be selected from the inane panegyric of *Sidonius Apoll.* Carm. v. in Major. Aug. See also *Idatius* in Chron. tom. i.

p. 620. ; and *Art de Vér.* &c. tom. i. p. 402.

³² See *Jorn.* c. 45. p. 679. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii.

own son Augustulus to the throne of the West.
Life of Orestes.

The incidents of the adventurous life of Orestes carry us once more back to the tents of Attila. He was sprung from a rich and noble Roman family of Pannonia. When that country fell under the dominion of the Huns, Orestes became a confidential officer of the Asiatic autocrat, and was trusted in affairs of importance relative to transactions with the Eastern empire.³³ After the dissolution of Attila's empire the history of Orestes is involved in obscurity. It is probable that he became a soldier of fortune; and that, after collecting the dispersed bands of Rugians and other erratic fragments of the Vandalic races, such as Heruli, Scyrri, Hirri, and Turcelingians, he once more entered the service of the Western empire. The accession of so numerous and gallant a body of warriors could not be otherwise than welcome to the government, to whom this pernicious mode of recruiting the armies had become familiar; and their experienced general Orestes, with the examples of Richimer and Gundobald before him, could not mistake the path which led to the same mischievous eminence. The superior numbers and valour of the barbarian mercenaries eclipsed the services, diminished the utility, and disparaged the character of the native Roman soldier. The rude warriors of the north looked down with contempt upon those painted satellites of the court, and trod under their feet the vapouring pretensions of the Roman armies.³⁴ The followers of Richimer and Orestes had attained the ends which Alaric had struggled for in vain,—a permanent engagement in the service of the state, and such a participation in its powers as suited their irregular habits, and ministered to their insolence and rapacity.³⁵ No mode of checking or managing these turbulent vassals remained to the government but to caress, to trust, and, if possible, to gain their leaders; and with that view, after the death of Richimer and the departure of Gundobald, Orestes was elevated by the emperor Nepos to the eminent station of master-general of the imperial forces.

The barbarian mercenaries, of which the Roman armies are now almost wholly composed, despise all legal control. Their leaders already participate too largely in the powers of the state to fear any check to their ambition, and the government is compelled to caress and truckle to them.

The mercenaries become discontented with Nepos, and compel their general Orestes to depose him.

Orestes obeys,

But no eminence of rank or reputation could raise the chiefs of the Teutonic nations above the influence and control of the popular voice. When that voice had once pronounced the wish, the feeling, the passion of the moment, the chief was degraded to be the obedient minister of the popular will. The mercenaries of Orestes had become discontented with the government of Nepos, and the general was directed to depose the obnoxious emperor. Orestes obeyed; but justly apprehending that he should himself become the sport of his capricious supporters if he aspired to the dangerous eminence abandoned by Nepos, he proposed his

³³ See chap. ix. sect. 1. p. 418.

³⁴ *Procop.* De Bell. Goth. lib. i. p. 139.

³⁵ See chap. viii. sect. 3. p. 382 of this volume.

son Romulus Augustulus to the army. The mercenary crowd cared little who possessed the empty title, provided they could keep open the channels by which the wealth and bounty of the government were made to flow into their laps, and Augustulus was permitted to wear the purple till some fresh extortion should provoke resistance, and afford a pretence for a new and a more profitable revolution.³⁶

But some Roman prejudices still lurked in the bosom of Orestes. He was anxious to reconcile the inconsistent duties of a barbaric chief with those of a servant of the state, and to gratify the army without abandoning the subject to their mercy. Meanwhile a remarkable change had taken place in the views of the Germans: the aspect of agricultural opulence and comfort had suggested the desire to participate in the advantages of landed property; they now regarded Italy as a conquered country, and they demanded that one-third of the productive lands should be divided out among them, so as to place the fortune of the soldier upon a level with that of the citizen. Orestes hesitated to comply with this extravagant demand, and was put to death by them for listening to the only patriotic feeling his untoward position had perhaps ever permitted him to entertain. The Rugian soldier Odovaker was immediately raised to supreme command, the required division of lands took place, and "the barbarians," says Procopius, "evinced their gratitude by permitting him to reign over them for the space of ten whole years."³⁷

and elevates his son Augustulus to the throne;

but having hesitated to comply with a demand of the army for one-third part of the cultivated lands of the Italians,

A.D. 476. he is put to death by the troops. Odovaker, a Rugian soldier of fortune, is elevated to the supreme command,

The new chief of the German mercenaries had no attachments or sympathies that could stand in the way of his popularity, and Odovaker wisely determined to suppress the imperial title, and thus to remove an encumbrance prejudicial at once to the freedom of his own actions, and fraught with duties and obligations for ever at variance with the capricious cravings of his wild and unruly subjects. The tender age and insignificance of Augustulus placed him at the mercy of the Rugian general; the timid youth descended without resistance,—apparently without reluctance,—from an eminence which presented nothing but danger without the compensation of power, and retired to the

³⁶ *Procop.* loc. mod. cit. *Gibbon* (vol. iii. p. 493) avoids suggesting the motive of Orestes for declining the purple. But I think the leader of the barbarian army could hardly so far mistake his character as to aspire to a station of power so obnoxious to his followers, and which could not afterwards be renounced without the ridicule, nor retained without the hatred of his

Roman subjects, whom he *must* have sacrificed to the greedy passions of the army. That the middle course he adopted was clumsy and inefficient does not seem to me to impugn the motive I have suggested.

³⁷ He reigned eighteen years upon the whole; but Procopius is rarely accurate in his chronology.

A. D. 476.
and deposes
Augustulus,

who is allowed
to retire into
private life.
Odovaker as-
sumes the title
of king of
Italy.

Lucullan villa in Campania, upon a pension of six thousand solidi, compassionately granted to him out of the revenues of the state.³⁸ With the removal of Augustulus Odovaker connected another measure necessary to the establishment of his own influence over the Italian people. He assumed the title of king of Italy, and sent an embassy in the name of the deposed emperor, and in that of the senate of Rome, to Constantinople, to obtain from Zeno the recognition of his authority in a form which might render it more palatable to his Roman subjects, without imposing any effectual limitation upon his own power to gratify his barbarian followers. The ambassadors represented that Rome no longer required a resident emperor; that one sovereign was now sufficient for both divisions of the empire; that neither the army nor the senate desired any other supreme lord but Zeno himself; and that waiting his confirmation they had adopted as their provisional governor and president Odovaker, a person perfectly qualified by long experience, both as a ruler and a warrior, for the administration of public affairs and for the defence of the frontiers. The address concluded with a request that the emperor would be pleased to invest Odovaker with the dignity of the patriciate, and to confer upon him the government of the diocese of Italy.³⁹

But the deposed emperor Nepos was still living in Dalmatia; and Zeno found himself fettered by obligations towards his unfortunate relative which it was difficult to break through, and inexpedient to fulfil. Nepos was at this moment in conjunction with the Gallic subjects of the empire, soliciting the aid of Zeno to reinstate him upon the throne of the West; and the latter, fully sensible of the personal advantages implied in the proposal of Odovaker, and yet unwilling openly to abandon the legitimate emperor, returned a politic and qualified reply to the Roman embassy. He advised Odovaker to solicit the patriciate from Nepos as the competent authority; but intimated that if the Western emperor should refuse, he would take upon himself to grant his request. He exhorted him at the same time to adopt the habit and the practice of a Roman governor, and manifest his gratitude for the honour intended him by a dutiful regard to the state and its chief. But the death of Nepos, which occurred shortly afterwards, relieved Zeno from the necessity of further hesitation. Anxious not to forfeit the advantages which might accrue to him from the proposed arrangement, in securing his influence over Italy and such fragments of the Western empire as had

³⁸ *Procop.* loc. cit. *Marcellinus* in *Chron.* ap. *Mascou*, lib. x. § 33. *Jornand.* c. 446. p. 679.

³⁹ *Malchus*, ap. *Ss. Hist. Byz.* pp. 93, 94.

not yet fallen into the hands of the Germans, he hastened to invest Odovaker with the patriciate, and accepted with pleasure the imperial ornaments of the West, which were sent him by the new king of Italy as a token of dutiful attachment to the now undivided empire.⁴⁰

By this compact Odovaker acquired a legal claim to the obedience of Italy and its dependencies. He devoted the first ten years of his reign to the reduction of Cisalpine Gaul and of Sicily, and to the internal regulation of his government. He then carried his arms across the Alps, and invaded that portion of Noricum Ripense which was possessed by Fletheus or Feva, the king of the Rugians. Odovaker was himself a native of Rugiland; but the relation of sovereign and subject, always exceedingly loose among the natives of ancient Germany, was swallowed up in the dignity of the king of Italy. Noricum, as well as other Cis-Danubian provinces, might be claimed as a dependency of his kingdom, and no prejudice in favour of his native prince was likely to deter him from making good his pretensions. This enterprise connects itself with the history of one of the most remarkable men of his age. The story of Severinus, called, perhaps erroneously, the Apostle of Noricum, exhibits so vivid a picture of the condition of an isolated remnant of civilized society, surrounded and almost overwhelmed by barbarism, that it cannot be passed over without losing one of the very few opportunities we possess of acquiring a practical notion of the conduct of the Germanic barbarians in their new conquests.⁴¹

III. Soon after the death of Attila, and the dissolution of his empire,—at a period therefore of unparalleled confusion, distress, and bloodshed,—a pious recluse named Severinus appeared in that part of the late Roman province of Noricum, which stretches along the Danube between the river Inn and the Kahlenberg, a hill a few miles to the westward of Vienna;⁴² from which position this district obtained the name of “Nori-

and is recognized by the emperor Zeno.

Odovaker reduces Cisalpine Gaul and Sicily.

He invades Noricum Ripense. A. D. 487.

Severinus, a religious recluse, takes up his residence in Noricum Ripense.

⁴⁰ *Malchus*, loc. mod. cit. *Art de Vér. les Dates*, tom. i. p. 405.

⁴¹ The life of St. Severinus, by his disciple Engippus, was written in the year 511, about twenty-nine or thirty years after the death of the saint. The biography includes the entire period between the death of Attila in 453 and the conquest of Rugiland by Odovaker in 487; and affords several facts and many inferences necessary to amplify and correct the exceedingly defective notices of Jornandes, Paul the Deacon, Cassiodorus and others. It is in general exceedingly clearly written. Though without any pretension to chronological arrangement, it affords the means of ascertaining the

dates of several events which must otherwise have remained doubtful; and the simplicity and honesty of the writer—who though, like the Venerable Bede, he has stuffed his story with miracles, never vouches for one of them as an eye-witness—leave a pleasing conviction of the general faithfulness of his report. I have consulted two editions of the life; the *first* is contained in the first vol. of *Petz*, Ss. Rr. Austriac., p. 64.; the second in *Marc. Velser*. Opera Historica, p. 637. There is no material variation in the text of these two editions; I quote from that of *Petz*, which is the more recent.

⁴² *Mannert*, vol. iii. p. 548.

A few of the Roman colonists still cling to the decayed towns and colonies between the Inn and the modern city of Vienna; but in a condition of great weakness and constant alarm.

cum Ripense;" and here a remnant of the Roman population still clung to the decayed towns or stations of Quintana, Batava, Lauriacum, Favianana, Comageni, and Asturis; while the walls of Cucullæ and Juvavum,⁴³ in the interior of the province, afforded a precarious refuge to the possessors of a district enriched with every gift and every beauty which nature can bestow upon the abode of man.⁴⁴ The inhabitants of these towns had been for more than half a century exposed to the incessant depredations of Huns, Suevi, Thuringians, and other barbaric tribes, till little was left to them of their former riches and industry but the roofs which covered them; the lands in the immediate vicinity, which yielded them so much of their produce as their predatory neighbours might suffer them to gather in; and the walls which protected them from sudden inroad. The Roman towns on the Upper Danube, situated above Quintana, had fallen one by one into the possession of the Suevi, Alemanni, and Thuringians, the inhabitants who escaped death or slavery congregated in the remaining forts, and brought with them an accession of numbers rather than of strength to their new abodes. The frontier garrisons maintained by the Roman government had dispersed or dissolved themselves when the funds for their support were withdrawn;⁴⁵ the provincials, accustomed to cast themselves wholly upon the armies of the state for their defence, had become incapable of those sacrifices and exertions which their deserted condition called for; and the constant loss of property to which they were exposed by obstructions to commerce, by the spoliation of their harvests, and the waste of numbers occasioned by the daily abduction of multitudes of persons into slavery, reduced them to a state of listless despondency which must very shortly have ended in total extermination.

Severinus endeavours to raise their courage by the restoration of

In this state of destitution they were found by Severinus. As a first step towards the revival of their courage under these accumulated sufferings, he endeavoured to communicate to them those hopes and that

⁴³ The positions of these places, in the order of the text above, correspond with those of the modern towns of *Osterhofen*, twenty-four miles west of Passau (*Mannert*, vol. iii. p. 623.); the city of *Passau*, at the confluence of the Inn and the Danube (*Ibid.* p. 624.); the towns of *Ens* and *Pöchlarn* in Lower Austria (*Ibid.* pp. 637, 642.), and *Tuln* in the same district (*Ibid.* p. 641.). *Asturis* was a small fort on the frontier between Noricum and Pannonia. *Petz*, reads *Casturis*, *Velser*, *Asturis*; I have preferred the latter, because that name occurs in the same locality in the *Notitia Imp.* See note of

Velser, Op. p. 666., and *Mannert*, vol. iii. p. 643. *Cucullæ* and *Juvavum*—the latter on the river Juvavo, is the modern city of *Salzburg*, in the valley of the Salza, the first an obscure fort about fourteen miles distant, on the high Roman road to the south. It is now called *Kuchl*, an obvious contraction of the ancient name. *Mann.* *ibid.* pp. 633, 650.

⁴⁴ I shall not be charged with exaggeration by any one who has seen the valley of the Salza from *Hallein* to *Werfen*, where the high mountains close in upon the river.

⁴⁵ *Eugipp.* Vit. S. Severin. c. 21. p. 78.

confidence which glowed in his own breast; he bent all his efforts to re-kindle piety and devotion among them; and thus to encourage them, by implicit obedience to the divine commands, to fulfil the only conditions upon which any just hope of the divine assistance could be built. Had the views of Severinus been more of a secular character than they really were, he could not have struck into a more eligible course for promoting their temporal welfare. The first step must always have been to dissipate despondency; and to this end religion afforded the most powerful stimulant. He had taken up his abode in the town of Asturis.⁴⁶ Here his active benevolence, conjoined with the rigid penances and self-denials to which he subjected himself, spread his fame almost as widely among the neighbouring Rugians as it was already among his Roman countrymen. Driven from Asturis, he removed to Comageni, the inhabitants of which place regarded him almost as a tutelary divinity; the other towns soon evinced much anxiety for his presence. The common opinion already imputed to him the gift of miracles. Severinus perceived that the people were more desirous to enjoy his protection than to benefit by his spiritual instructions; and he became all the more zealously intent upon that religious discipline which he believed himself commissioned to restore, and which he regarded as the one condition upon which the temporal no less than the eternal welfare of his flock depended.

religion among them.

He takes up his residence at Asturis.

He afterwards removes to Comageni.

He obtains the reputation of a worker of miracles.

From Comageni he removed to Faviana, a town which lay within the territories of Flaccitheus, king of the Rugians. Here he founded a convent for a few monks, whom he destined to be the ministers of his designs for the benefit of his flock. He himself retired to a solitary cell at a short distance from the town, where he practised those penitential exercises which he recommended to others, and from which he derived that unselfish energy which enabled him to devote himself wholly to the performance of the arduous duties he had undertaken. The people of Faviana soon felt the benefit of his services. Their cattle had been carried off by a band of predatory barbarians. They complained of their losses to Severinus, who assured them that if they pursued the marauders boldly and in full reliance upon the divine assistance, they would not fail to recover their property. Thus encouraged, they went in search of the depredators, and found no difficulty in rescuing their cattle. At another time famine had reduced them to great distress. Severinus discovered a concealed store of grain, and compelled the selfish possessor to distribute it among his famished fellow-citizens. At the same moment an unusual thaw occur-

He founds a convent of monks at Faviana.

He retires from the world, and ad-dicts himself to ascetic devotion.

⁴⁶ *Vita S. Sever.* c. 2. p. 66.

He believes in his own inspiration.

but humbly ascribes his gifts to the Deity.

He becomes weary of the life of a retired devotee. He is divinely admonished to take upon himself the superintendence of the Norican churches,

but carries the habits of the hermit with him into public life.

ring in mid-winter, released certain vessels laden with provisions, and enabled them to pass from the river Inn into the Danube, and restore abundance to the town. The devout belief of Severinus in his own inspiration, and the grateful credulity of his countrymen imparted to the results of his sagacity, and even to the accidents of nature, the colouring of miracle.⁴⁷ His enthusiasm was indeed of that kind which inspires a promptitude of action and produces effects upon the conduct of the possessor, and of those under his immediate influence, so far exceeding any powers they are conscious of possessing, that nothing short of supernatural agency is thought adequate to account for the change they perceive in themselves. Severinus was so completely under the dominion of this conviction, that he always taught his disciples to regard the temporal means he made use of as little more than the signs or symbols for connecting the human and visible effect with the divine and invisible Cause; and he made the efficacy of those means to depend altogether upon the purity of the purpose and the firmness of the faith with which they were used.

We easily collect from the ingenuous narrative of the biographer Eugippus, that a life of solitary devotion had become unconsciously irksome to the ardent and benevolent disposition of Severinus. His mind was distracted, and the continuity of his devotional exercises was broken in upon by perpetual visits of the needy or the curious; and he was admonished by many successive revelations not to withhold his assistance and counsels from his afflicted flock. In obedience to such intimations his ministry became more active; and the powers of endurance he had acquired by ascetic practice were made subservient to the arduous duties he had to perform, and to the establishment of his influence over the minds of others. He continued the same course of self-denial as that he had pursued in his solitude: during the rigours of a winter which froze the rapid Danube so as to bear the weight of the heaviest waggons, he went about barefooted: he wore a hair-shirt, and restricted his food to the smallest allowance consistent with the support of life. His admiring followers, incapable of appreciating the power of an energetic will to support the body under the most unnatural privations, and prepared to look for a miracle in every thing he did, published these self-denying performances as wonders of spiritual perfection. But the better spirit of Severinus rebuked the rash encomiums of his disciples; he exhorted them to beware of spiritual conceit; and far from imputing to him the gifts he possessed as merits, to

⁴⁷ *Vit. S. Sev.* cc. 3 and 4. p. 67.

attribute them to the only source of all good things, and to pray without ceasing that he, as well as they, might not after all fall into condemnation.⁴⁸

The people of the towns, as well as the Roman slaves and dependents of the barbarian princes, looked up to him as their father and protector; and the wild chiefs themselves, in spite of the perpetual obstacles which he threw in the way of their tyranny and rapacity, partook of that reverential awe which his pretensions inspired, and became desirous of participating in the advantages to be derived from his super-human endowments. Flaccitheus, king of the Rugians, was alarmed by the menaces of the Ostrogothic princes of Pannonia. In his distress he resorted to the cell of Severinus, as a Greek would have done to the caves of Dodona or Delphi. The saint received him as a prophet of old might have received a king of Israel; he listened to his complaints and apprehensions, and counselled him "as one having authority." It is probable that Flaccitheus could inform Severinus of very little relative to the designs of the enemy, with which the latter was not already acquainted, through the medium of those numberless visitors whom the fame of his sanctity had attracted to his cell. But it must be recorded to his credit, that he resisted that fatal temptation to practice upon the credulity of his client, which superior information and ability raise up, and which has almost always been found too strong for the stoutest virtue to withstand. The king told him, with the deepest dejection, that the Ostrogothic princes had refused him their permission to migrate with his people into Italy;⁴⁹ and he inferred from that circumstance that they were bent upon his ruin. The reply of Severinus is characteristic. "If," he said, "the bond of one true and Catholic faith united us, you would rather have consulted me about the things appertaining to eternity than to this transitory life. But since, alas! this life is the only interest which you and I have in common, listen to what I shall advise you thereupon. Fear neither the numbers nor the enmity of the Goths; put not your trust in the arm of flesh; be not ashamed to study the welfare of the least among the people; seek rather to avoid the snares set for you, than to set snares for others; so shall

He is regarded by the colonists as their protector and guardian. The barbarian princes honour him.

Flaccitheus, king of the Rugians, resorts to him for advice in his distress,

⁴⁸ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 5. pp. 68, 69. In the infancy of hagiography, the miracles recorded of the saints were far less liable to the charge of imposture than those of later ages, when the multiplication of such fables became part and parcel of the system of Romanism—the machinery of that covert polytheism, by which it accommodated itself to the natural idolatry of the human character.

⁴⁹ Italy seems to have been regarded as the natural asylum of the weaker barbaric clans against the stronger. It may be here remarked that instead of the reading in *Petz* (c. 6. p. 69.), which implies that Flaccitheus only apprehended a refusal—"Si hoc ei denegatum fuisset"—*Velser* and the *Bollandists* read, "*quia hoc ei denegatum fuerat.*" See *Vels.* Op. p. 641.

and receives from him such advice and information as enable him to avoid the snares of his enemies, the Ostrogoths of Pannonia; for which service he becomes the friend and protector of Severinus. His fame spreads.

He is visited by Odovaker on his road to Italy.

and prophesies his future elevation.

Numerous miracles are ascribed to him.

you live prosperously, and die peaceably in your bed." Pleased with this consolatory response, Flaccitheus quitted the presence of the seer, and received from him from time to time such information of the movements of the enemy as enabled him to avoid the dangers which beset him.⁵⁰ The Goths made no other attempt to fulfil their hostile intentions, and the Rugian king preserved a grateful remembrance of the benefit conferred upon him to the end of a lengthened and a prosperous reign.⁵¹

The fame of Severinus was now at its height. The Rugian people flocked to the monastery of Faviana to do homage to the miraculous endowments of the man of God,⁵² and to obtain his intercession for the cure of their diseases and the relief of their wants. Persons from the remotest countries, we are told, anxious to behold the countenance of the valiant soldier of Christ, turned aside from their way to visit the retreat of Severinus, and to obtain his benediction upon their undertakings. Among these distant visitors there appeared a youth whose distinguished stature and demeanour, though he was clothed in no better garb than that of the meanest of the people, announced a person of no ordinary endowments. Him the saint saluted, as he bent his body to enter the low porch of his cell, exclaiming in the spirit of prophecy, "Go forth, O Odovaker—go forth into Italy; though now thou art clothed in sorry skins, soon shalt thou confer largely upon others that of which thou thyself now standest most in need."⁵³ The fortunate object of this prophetic address did not forget the encouragement; and after his sudden and extraordinary elevation, kept up a friendly intercourse of messages,—perhaps of intelligence and councils,—with the holy man of Noricum.⁵⁴

The numerous miracles with which his credulous biographer has so profusely adorned his story may be adduced as evidence at least of the high reverence in which he was held by the church and people of Noricum.⁵⁵ One of these miracles may deserve notice as a specimen of the

⁵⁰ It seems probable that the hostility of the Ostrogoths referred to in this passage of the biography arose from the unfortunate connexion of the Rugians with the league of the Suevic kings, Hunnimund and Alaric, against Theodemir and Widemir, which was dissipated by the battle of the Bollia in Pannonia. See *Jorn.* c. 64. p. 692.; and ch. ix. sect. 3. p. 451 of this volume.

⁵¹ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 6. pp. 69, 70.

⁵² "Homo Dei." a distinction constantly conferred by the hagiographers upon their heroes, nearly in the same sense as it is applied to the prophets in the Old Testament.

⁵³ Without the exertion of any supernatural prescience, the saint might have guessed that a stout and enterprising soldier like Odovaker was very likely to verify his prediction.

⁵⁴ *Vit. S. Sev.* cc. 7 and 31. pp. 71 and 87.

⁵⁵ The biography was written within thirty years of the death of Severinus, when many persons who had seen and conversed with him were still alive, and would have been little edified by such posthumous exaltation if he had been an *obscure and uninfluential person*, however insatiable their appetite for miracles may have been.

materials of which such stories were then made up, and particularly as it may tend to mark the difference between the credulous piety of the fifth century, and the fraudulent impostures of the succeeding ages of the Roman church. Eugippus tells us that a Rugian widow brought her son, who was afflicted with a painful and lingering disorder of many years standing, and laid him down at the gate of the convent of Severinus, in the hope that the saint would take compassion upon him and heal him. When Severinus was informed of what had taken place, he, in the deep humility of his spirit, shed abundance of tears, bewailing the infatuation of the people in imputing to him works impossible to man. He nevertheless enjoined the poor widow to hope all from the mercy of God, and in the meantime to continue in prayer and in almsgiving. The woman obeyed his injunctions, and not only gave away all she possessed, but even parted with her own raiment to clothe the poor. Overcome at length by the wonders of faith and patience displayed by the unfortunate widow and her sick son, he consented to join his prayers with theirs. The result was a perfect cure; and the healed person was afterwards seen by many at fairs and public markets in perfect health. "Yet," says Eugippus with much simplicity, "some there were who doubted whether the person who appeared thus in public as the widow's son was truly the sick man whom Severinus had healed, not because there was really any ground for doubt, but because the minds of men were too much agitated and bewildered by the greatness of the miracle all at once to comprehend the full truth thereof."⁵⁶

He heals a widow's son of a lingering disease.

And the saint had need of all the weight and authority resulting from his reputation for holiness, as well as of all the secret intelligence with which his distant friends and barbarian partizans could supply him, to maintain his ground against the cruel tyranny and persecution to which both he and his flock were hourly exposed. Though Christianity in the Arian form had spread among the Rugians long before the arrival of Severinus, yet the difference between that form and the orthodox creed of the Roman church had engendered a spirit of intolerance which stimulated to mutual contempt and dislike, and afforded to the stronger

Severinus incurs the enmity of Gisa, the wife of Feva, king of the Rugians.

The Rugians are Arian Christians.

⁵⁶ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 7. p. 70. It may be observed on behalf of the biographer, that the miracles recorded of his hero were, with a few exceptions, directed to worthy and useful objects. The exceptions are the "self-kindled tapers" in the 12th and 14th chapters; the "talking corpse" in the 17th chapter, and the "Miraculous distribution of oil" in the 27th chapter of the Life. The miracle of the tapers was performed for the detection of a secret heresy at Cucullæ near

Salzburg. Perhaps we might add to this list that of the locusts, performed at Lauriacum to make the inhabitants pay their tithes more regularly. These and the other miracles imputed to Severinus must be received as evidence of the devout credulity of the century immediately preceding the age of pious frauds, and which may be regarded as the soil in which they took root and throve. Severinus himself was not an impostor.

He foils the queen in an attempt to re-baptize certain Catholics into the Arian communion, and subdues her enmity by rescuing her son Frederick from the hands of certain prisoners whom the queen had shut up to work for her.

He restores discipline;

he lays up stores for the use of the poor, and persuades the townsfolk to pay tithes for the release of captives, the sick, and the destitute.

party an ever-ready pretext for oppression. The Rugians already looked upon their Roman subjects as a degraded caste, justly amenable to every caprice of their conquerors. They not only restricted their trade, and subjected them to heavy imposts and personal services, but even reduced them to absolute slavery whenever they could ensnare them or remove them to a distance from the protection of their walls. Gisa, the wife of Feva king of the Rugians, son and successor of Flaccitheus the protector of Severinus, was a zealous Arian. Feva himself however inherited some share of regard for his father's friend; and Gisa was accordingly foiled in an attempt to re-baptize certain Catholic Christians into the Arian communion. She revenged herself for this disappointment by causing some Roman husbandmen to be carried off as slaves. Severinus remonstrated boldly against this outrage; but without success. Gisa laughed at his prophetic menaces, and dismissed him with scorn and anger. A few hours more brought her back humble, penitent, and in tears, to the feet of the man of God. Her infant son Frederick had been suffered to stray into an apartment where certain gold-workers were confined to minister by their labours to the vanity of the queen. These men, rendered desperate by oppression, seized the young prince, and detained him as a hostage for their liberation, threatening to put him to death unless they were instantly released, and their freedom confirmed to them by the oath of the king and queen. In this distress Gisa implored the mediation of Severinus; at his desire the imprisoned artificers delivered up the child to his parents, and were themselves set at liberty; and the Roman monk obtained a triumph over the haughty spirit of the queen, which entitled him to command that forbearance which he had before solicited with tears and supplications.⁵⁷

The interval of peace thus procured for the oppressed churches of Noricum was improved by Severinus for the re-establishment of discipline, and for the acquisition of funds for the relief of the poor and indigent. He prevailed upon the inhabitants of the towns to lay up stores of provisions and clothing for the use of the poor; and persuaded the richer citizens to pay him the tithe of all their substance for the support of those who were reduced to beggary by barbaric spoliation, or had become disabled by disease and suffering. Thus he obtained the means of purchasing the release of many Roman captives, and sometimes of procuring the restitution of property carried off by the spoiler. Wherever he sojourned his presence was regarded as that of a prophet; a cheering sense of security followed him, and his admonitions were received as the words of inspiration.⁵⁸ The care of a small convent of monks,

⁵⁷ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 9. pp. 71, 72.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* c. 12. p. 78, and c. 18. p. 77.

which he had founded outside the walls of Batava, sometimes brought him to that town. The inhabitants had been much exposed to the inroads of the Suevic Alemanni; and Severinus, at their request, interposed his influence with Gibold the king of that people, to persuade him to withdraw his army from their vicinity, and to save the townsfolk from the daily losses and injuries his savage warriors inflicted upon them. In this he was not only successful, but obtained the release of all the Roman captives who might be found within the dominions of that prince.⁵⁹

He prevails upon Gibold, king of the Alemanni, to withdraw his army from the neighbourhood of Batava, and to release all the Roman prisoners to be found within his dominions.

But the signs which portended a sudden and violent change in the condition of the remaining colonies had not escaped the penetration of Severinus. They were cut off from all communication with the metropolis, and destitute of military organization. They possessed no internal strength capable of resisting the augmented pressure of the surrounding barbarians; the influence of Severinus met with frequent checks and contradictions from those who were jealous of his reputation, or disbelieved his pretensions; the citizens and clergy of Batava became weary of his austerities, and displeased with the severity of his reforms; Severinus perceived that in this temper of the people no efforts could save them from impending ruin; and he quitted the town after warning the faithful, and apprizing the townfolk at large of approaching ruin.⁶⁰ He himself withdrew to his old monastery at Faviana, about one hundred miles lower down the river. Soon after his retirement, Hunnimund king of the Suevi surprised Batava, while the inhabitants were employed in gathering in their harvest, and fulfilled the prediction of the seer.⁶¹

The people of Batava grow tired of the austerities of Severinus.

He warns them of impending ruin; they despise his admonitions; he retires to Faviana, and Batava is surprised and subverted by Hunnimund, king of the Suevi.

The kingdom of the Heruli was about this period powerful in northern Hungary.⁶² These needy barbarians extended their marauding expeditions far and wide over the neighbouring countries. While great numbers took the road towards Italy, and swelled the forces of Orestes and Odovaker, another swarm turned aside towards the Norican Alps, and invaded the fertile valley of the Salza. This valley terminates in a labyrinth of mountains,⁶³ affording no practicable

The Heruli invade the Noricum Mediterraneanum.

⁵⁹ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 20. p. 78.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* c. 21. p. 78.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* c. 23. p. 79. In c. 20. Gibold is named as king of the *Alemanni*; in c. 23. Hunnimund is king of the *Suevi*; therefore the Alemanni and Suevi, though both of Suevic race, were governed by independent princes, much in the same way as the Franks before Chlodwig (see c. 8. sec. 4. p. 401); unless, indeed, Hunnimund should have been the successor of

Gibold. But then *Jornandes* (c. 53. p. 691) names Hunnimund as king of the Suevi, shortly after the death of Attila, without noticing the Alemanni at all. It is my belief that both nations acted in league; but that the influence of Severinus at the court of Hunnimund was weak, and that he quitted Batava when the protection of his friend Gibold was withdrawn.

⁶² See sec. 2. p. 440, of this chapter.

⁶³ Of which the Gasteiner Alpen and the

Severinus
warns the in-
habitants of the
Roman colony
of Juvavum ;

but they neg-
lect his advice,

and are carried
away as slaves
by the barba-
rians.

Severinus as-
sembles the fu-
gitive inhabi-
tants of the
upper colonies
at Lauriacum,
where they are
attacked by a
predatory
horde of barba-
rians, and are
saved by the
exertions of Se-
verinus.

road into Lombardy ; it had therefore been less exposed to depredation than the districts which lay in the more direct routes across the Julian Alps.⁶⁴ In these protected districts several Roman colonies had thus been enabled to maintain themselves in some degree of prosperity. The designs of the Heruli upon the unsuspecting colonists had become known to Severinus, and a messenger was hastily dispatched to the principal towns, Juvavum and Cucullæ, to warn the inhabitants of the approaching danger, and urgently to impress upon them the necessity of immediate removal to a less exposed station. A few only of the citizens gave credit to the messenger of the prophet and quitted the town. The Heruli appeared suddenly before the walls ; the place fell without resistance into their hands, and those of the inhabitants who survived the pillage and ruin of their city were carried away as slaves by the barbarians.⁶⁵

Meanwhile the fugitive inhabitants of Quintana, Batava and other ruined towns of Noricum Ripense, had been collected by Severinus within the walls of Lauriacum. The experience of the past was, it seems, of little avail to overcome the reckless indifference of the unhappy colonists to the dangers which surrounded them. The accumulated numbers and property of the refugees of Lauriacum excited the cupidity of their persecutors the Thuringians and Alemanni. Severinus indeed prevailed over their supineness so far as to induce them to collect all their cattle and provisions from the open country into the town, in the hope that the enemy, who depended wholly upon plunder for subsistence, would be compelled to retreat by want and famine. But the outposts and watches were so negligently maintained, that the freebooters were enabled to approach unperceived to within a short distance of the walls, and to conceal themselves in a forest hard by, where they only awaited the darkness to scale the walls with the ladders they had brought with them for that purpose. Severinus sent immediate notice of their danger to the bishop and people. Their own scouts however assured them that they had observed nothing to excite alarm, and the inhabitants went about their usual occupations. Severinus now appeared among them in person, and by the vehemence of his gestures and exhortations persuaded them once more to resume their arms and repair to their posts on the walls. The night fell upon these preparations. A

Gross-Glockner above Zell are the chief passes into Carinthia and the Tyrol ; a few difficult mountain paths conduct into the Veronese.

⁶⁴ By the routes of the Isonzo and the Tagliamento.

⁶⁵ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 25. p. 80.

little after even-song a stack of hay in a conspicuous situation was observed to be on fire; the citizens rushed to extinguish the flames; the barbarians, alarmed by the sudden blaze and the clamour of the townsfolk, believed themselves detected and abandoned their design for that night. On the morrow they emerged from their concealment; but finding the country bared of cattle and provisions, and no prospect of obtaining sustenance where they were, they relinquished their enterprise and retired.⁶⁶

But Lauriacum could not long prove a safe asylum for the congregated inhabitants of the Danubian colonies. Feva king of the Rugians desired to bring the last remnant of the Roman population within his own dominions. He appeared with an army before Lauriacum, and disposed himself to carry off the inhabitants by force. In this strait the citizens placed their cause in the hands of Severinus; and the saint, convinced of their incapacity to maintain their ground, prevailed upon them to yield to the demand of the Rugian prince for their removal, and persuaded the latter to commit the management to him. And, accordingly, under his auspices all the inhabitants were safely conducted to the appointed stations, and became peaceably settled at Faviana, and in other depopulated towns within the dominion of Feva, without loss or even peril of life, liberty or property.⁶⁷

The discernment of Severinus was rather sharpened than led astray by his enthusiasm. He had interested himself for a long period, and upon the whole with success, in favour of his fellow-catholics of the Danube; but he knew that the time was not far distant when all human means of maintaining them in their actual position would fail; and then slavery and exposure to the contagion of Arianism,—a fate more to be dreaded than death itself,—would be their doom. The infirmities of age already admonished him of his approaching end, and he desired to leave behind him such an impression as should afford at least a temporary protection to his deserted and helpless flock, and reserve them for the opportunity, which he probably foresaw, of migrating into Italy, and reuniting themselves with the great body of the faithful in that land of orthodoxy. When no longer able to quit his cell, he was visited there by Feva and his queen. He endeavoured to impress upon the king a sense of his responsibility to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth; he exhorted the queen, as she valued the prosperity, even the life of her husband, to abstain from oppressing and persecuting her Roman sub-

Feva, king of the Rugians, compels the inhabitants of Lauriacum to desert their town, and take up their abode within his territories.

Severinus foresees the necessity of removing the colonists from the Danube. His health declines.

He admonishes Feva and his queen to deal justly with their Roman subjects, under pain of the

⁶⁶ *Vit. S. Sev.* c. 29. p. 83.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* c. 30. p. 84.

divine vengeance.

He threatens Frederick, the king's brother, with the wrath of God if he should persist in his design of robbing the churches.

He directs his disciples to seize the earliest opportunity to emigrate into Italy, and to carry his remains along with them. He dies.

A. D. 482. Frederick plunders the church of Faviana, and is killed soon afterwards by his nephew, Frederick, the son of Feva. Odovaker invades and puts an end to the kingdom of the Rugians. Frederick takes refuge at the court of Theoderich, in Illyrium. The colonists of the Danube are removed into Italy by command of Odovaker.

A. D. 487.

jects ; he denounced the promptest vengeance of God upon her and her house and kingdom, if she yielded to her evil habits of covetousness and oppression, and dismissed them both, as he believed, sufficiently imbued with the warnings and instructions thus impressively conveyed. Frederick, the brother of Feva, likewise came to receive his parting admonitions. The rapacious character of this man was well known to Severinus ; he therefore taxed him roundly with the design of seizing the stores and provisions collected for the support of the church and its pensioners, and threatened him with condign punishment if he carried his nefarious intentions into effect. Frederick feebly and angrily denied the charge ; the saint repeated and enforced his warnings with the most explicit denunciations, and sent him away trembling, but not humbled, from his presence.⁶⁸

Severinus was so fully impressed with the approaching downfall of the Rugian kingdom and the ruin of the few remaining Roman colonies, to which it afforded a momentary protection, that he earnestly enjoined his followers to prepare all things for their speedy removal. He desired them—so his biographer assures us—as a last request, to carry his bones along with them into Italy ; and, after an affectionate farewell, expired in the arms of his faithful disciples.⁶⁹ After his death, the church of Faviana was exposed to fresh indignities. Frederick, the brother of Feva, stripped the convent to the bare walls ; but soon afterwards fell a victim to the resentment of that other Frederick, the son of the reigning king, whom when a child Severinus had rescued from the hands of the exasperated slaves of Gisa. Within five years of the death of the saint Odovaker invaded the kingdom of the Rugians. Feva was defeated in battle ; both he and his queen were taken prisoners and carried away into Italy ; and Frederick, after an ineffectual attempt to recover his father's dominions, took refuge at the court of Theoderich the Ostrogoth. Odovaker directed his brother Aonulphus to remove all the colonists from the banks of the Danube into Italy ; the predictions of Severinus were accomplished ; and “the Romans,” says Eugippus, “were led forth from that country of suffering, slavery, and spoliation, like the Israelites of old out of the house of bondage in Egypt.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Vit. S. Sev.* cc. 34 and 35. pp. 87, 88.

⁶⁹ Severinus died on the vi. id. Jan., under which month the Bollandists have registered his life. His death is generally presumed to have taken place in the year 482.

⁷⁰ *Vit. S. Sev.* cc. 37, 38, 39, pp. 89, 90. The monks carried away with them the body of their saint. The community afterwards settled at Naples ; the body was deposited in the Castel-

lum Lucullanum, the modern Castel d'Uovo, in that city. The relics of Severinus soon obtained the highest reputation for the cure of almost every disease. Eugippus enumerates many marvels of that kind. In general it may be said of that biographer—what Southey has remarked of the Venerable Bede—that though he believes without reserve, yet he does not attest the miracles he relates by his own personal testi-

After the conquest of Rugiland and the extinction of the royal dynasty of the Rugians, great numbers of that people followed Odovaker into Italy as their sovereign.⁷¹ Others adhered to their legitimate prince Frederick, and strengthened the forces of Theoderich king of the Ostrogoths, in Illyricum; and when the Roman colonists had quitted the country, Rugiland became an abandoned and unappropriated region.

The Rugians
are dispersed.

Ever since the death of Attila, the Heruli of Northern Hungary had been growing into a formidable nation. Either the tidings of the Gospel had not yet reached them, or the good seed had not thriven among a people of the harsh and ferocious character attributed to that nation. They worshipped many gods, and thought it expedient to propitiate them with human victims. The old and the decrepit were not allowed to live; and in such cases it was usual for the sufferers themselves to call for death at the hands of their relatives. But as relations were not permitted to shed each other's blood, a dagger was, on these occasions, put into the hands of a stranger to the family, and he immediately dispatched the victim: the body was then placed upon a lofty funeral pile and consumed, and the ashes were buried with much ceremony. It was considered highly creditable to the widow to strangle herself upon the grave of her deceased husband; if she refused, she incurred the resentment of all his relatives, and forfeited her fame and station in society. With these fierce habits and superstitions they united an incorrigible love of war and rapine. The Christian Longobardi and other neighbouring tribes were reduced by them to a state of tributary vassalage, the more harsh and intolerable as the character of the dominant people was more rapacious than that of any other Germanic race.⁷²

The Heruli, a
heathen people,

practise
human sacri-
fices, put the
aged and the
decrepit to
death,

and use other
savage cus-
toms.

They reduce
the Christian
Longobardi to
subjection.

After the departure of the Ostrogoths from Pannonia, there remained no check to the encroachments of the Heruli. The Longobardi languished for many years under the yoke of those fierce neighbours, and evinced the deepest dread of their power and the profoundest submission to their will; till the latter, impelled by wanton insolence, determined to reduce them to the condition of bondsmen. The Longobardi made

The Heruli
attack their
vassals, the
Longobardi;

mony. He frequently gives his authorities, and never avers that he had witnessed any one of them, except that which took place at the opening of the tomb of the saint at Faviana, when the body was taken up for removal. The whole place, he says, was filled with a delicious perfume, and the body, though it had been buried

six years, was found entire and undecayed. Imagination may have helped him to the first of these miracles; the second is no miracle at all.

⁷¹ According to *Cassiodorus*, (Chron. Boetio Cons.) the conquest of Rugiland took place in the year 487.

⁷² *Procop.* Hist. Goth., lib. ii. c. 14, p. 419.

every effort to avert the danger; they sent three several embassies to Rodulf king of the Heruli, to deprecate hostilities; they proffered an additional tribute, and declared themselves ready to submit to any terms by which the sincerity of their professions might be put to the proof:—"but if," they added, "the Heruli should obstinately shut their ears to the voice of justice, that then they must, however reluctantly, take up arms to repel aggression; and this they would do, calling for aid upon that God whose very weakness was stronger than the utmost strength of man." The fierce Heruli spurned the suppliants from their presence. The armies of the two nations encountered each other upon a fair field; victory declared in favour of the injured party; Rodulf was slain, and the Heruli suffered an overthrow so decisive that very few escaped from the field, and the nation was so much weakened by its losses as to be unable to maintain itself in its actual territory. The whole people, with their wives and children and cattle, betook themselves, like outcasts, to the deserted wilds of Rugiland.⁷³ But finding no sustenance there, they retraced their steps, and settled for a time in a vacant territory bordering upon the country of the Gepidæ. But here they were not permitted to rest long. The Gepidæ treated them with those indignities which, in such a state of society, weakness may be said to legalize. The Heruli once more shifted their ground, and were permitted by the emperor Anastasius to colonize a district on the southern bank of the Danube; but so fierce and untameable were their habits, that Anastasius was soon obliged to rid himself of his troublesome guests by force of arms. The people now became scattered abroad; a considerable body was indeed afterwards admitted by Justinian into the armies of the East, but the bulk of the nation gradually melted away and was lost amid those adventures and perils to which it was impelled as much probably by inclination as necessity.⁷⁴

but are defeated, and driven to take refuge in Rugiland, now deserted by the Rugians.

But finding no means for their support there, they migrate to the Gepidæ, who oppress and ill-treat them. They again disperse, and are gradually lost sight of.

⁷³ The contest between the Heruli and Longobardi must therefore have taken place subsequently to the year 487, in which year the Rugian people was dispossessed and dispersed.

⁷⁴ Such is the narrative of *Procopius* (Hist. Goth., lib. ii. c. 14, pp. 420—422.) The story of *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. i. c. 20, p. 759) is in most of its parts irreconcilable with it. The latter casts the fault of the quarrel upon the Lombards. A daughter of the Lombard king Tato, he tells us, caused the brother of Rodulf, king of the Heruli, to be treacherously murdered; whereupon the Heruli proclaimed war; but conducted it with such a haughty contempt of their adversaries, as to expose themselves to a defeat.

The Heruli, he further tells us, after that, lost all the consideration they had once enjoyed; but he gives no account of their subsequent adventures. *Procopius* conducts them in a long and adventurous voyage from the coasts of the North Sea to the island of Thule! an island, he says, twice as large as Britain, and far away to the northward of it. His story has very much the air of an innocent fiction, introduced for the purpose of giving the writer an opportunity of bringing forward a great deal of miscellaneous lore which he had gathered from various travellers relative to the hyperborean regions, their climate and inhabitants, but especially the marvel of perpetual day and night during the two opposite

After the dispersion of the Heruli, the Longobardi continued to increase in power and expansion. Some time prior to the victory by which they had vindicated their independence, the rugged and barren Rugiland had been forsaken for a more open and fertile country, which, says Paul Warnefrid, they called in their language "*Feld*,"⁷⁶ denoting a plain or level country. The northern districts of Pannonia alone answer to this description, if we except the flat country on the left bank of the Danube then still occupied by the Heruli; while Pannonia, on the contrary, was vacant ground, open to any who might think fit to take possession. In this position they became next neighbours to the Gepidæ, of Lower Hungary.⁷⁷ The latter spread themselves over a great part of Northern Illyricum, while the Longobardic possessions stretched probably along the plain country of the rivers Drave and Save to the foot of the Julian Alps. Two nations of so turbulent and martial a character could not long subsist in peace side by side; but the conflict which put an end to their rivalry belongs to another age, and connects itself with a revolution of a far more interesting character⁷⁸ than that by which the decision itself was brought about.

The Longobardi gain strength and expansion.

They occupy Pannonia, and extend their possessions to the vicinity of the Gepidæ, in Lower Hungary, on the one side, and to the frontier of Italy on the other.

A. D. 527.
Art. de ver. les Dates, i. p. 412.

The history of the nations which sprung up in Germany out of the ruins of Attila's empire is here brought down to a definite period, and those nations themselves are exhibited in the position in which they must be contemplated at the commencement of a more certain and a more important stage of their existence.

SECTION IV.—A.D. 488 to A.D. 498.

Theoderich and the Ostrogoths quit Illyricum—Fall and Murder of Odovaker—The Ostrogoths conquer Italy—Division of Lands—Gothic "Tertie"—State of Italy—Condition of the Goths in their new Settlements—Administration of Justice—Foreign Policy of Theoderich—His internal Government.

THE narrative goes back for a moment to the province of Illyricum and its Gothic occupants.¹ In the actual situation of the latter, no improve-

seasons of summer and winter. See pp. 260, 261.

⁷⁶ Literally *Field* or *Plain*. *Paul Warn.* lib. i. c. 20. p. 758.

⁷⁷ Paul Warnefrid (loc. cit. c. 22.) brings the Longobardi into Pannonia, under their king Audoin, the second from Tato, under whose command the great victory over the Heruli had been gained. The *Art. de ver.*, &c., (vol. i. p. 412) assumes the date of 527 as that of the occupation of Pannonia by the Longobardi. This date is indeed barely reconcilable with the

statement of *Procopius* (*De Bell. Goth.* lib. iii. c. 33.), that the emperor *Justinian* had given Pannonia to the Longobardi, since *Justinian* only began to reign in the year 527; yet it is probably the true one, as appears from *Paul Warnefrid*, lib. i. c. 7.; *Muratori*, tom. i. p. 428; and note (55) ad loc.

⁷⁸ To avoid obscurity, it may be noticed that the overthrow of the Greek exarchate and the establishment of the Lombard kingdom of Italy is the revolution here alluded to.

¹ See preceding sect. p. 455.

The Ostro-
goths are
straitened
and uneasy in
their settle-
ments in Illy-
ricum, and
become cla-
morous for a
change.

The emperor
Zeno encour-
ages this dis-
position.
Wearied of his
barbaric
guests, and
displeased with
the conduct of
Odovaker,

ment of condition, no advance in civilization, was even possible. They had no more than a temporary interest in the land upon which they lived; and the stipends paid them by the court were just sufficient to exempt them from the more laborious occupations, but wholly inadequate to impress upon them the advantages of a settled and stationary life. The disturbances occasioned by this restless and uneasy state alarmed the emperor Zeno. Theoderich was assailed by his subjects with daily complaints of the hardships they endured, from the narrowness of their territory and the insufficiency of food and pasturage,² and they clamorously demanded to be led forth in search of better and more productive settlements. The emperor Zeno had a twofold motive for encouraging the disposition to emigrate. The chief of these was no doubt the desire to disencumber his exhausted states from those unruly guests. But he likewise conceived the possibility of rendering them subservient to the purposes of his own ambition. Odovaker, the imperial patrician of Italy, had shown so little respect for the commands or regard for the interests of the Byzantine court, as to excite the vehement indignation of Zeno. Theoderich, he thought, might turn out a more compliant vassal; and this chance was, in the enfeebled condition of the empire, a sufficient reason for transferring the possession of Italy from one race of barbarians to another, and exposing that country to the vicissitudes and miseries of another conquest.

Whether the first proposal for the invasion of Italy proceeded from Zeno or from Theoderich, the suggestion when made was equally welcome both to the princes and to the people. It appeased the clamours of the Gothic multitude; it promised relief to the provinces; it afforded a chance of increased dominion or influence to the court, and opened a wide and independent field of action to Theoderich himself. The Rugian prince Frederick and his fugitive subjects, who since the year 486 had been the guests of the Gothic monarch, never ceased to solicit vengeance upon the destroyer of their race; and it can hardly be doubted that their influence contributed to strengthen the resolution of their patron and protector.

he transfers
the kingdom
of Italy to
Theoderich,

The historians of the age³ represent the terms upon which Zeno and Theoderich parted as mutually agreeable. "If I am successful," observed the latter, at their last interview, "I shall hold whatever I gain as of your free gift and favour; if I fail, you, my father, will lose nothing; may you will save all that such an enterprise might have cost you."⁴ In return for this obsequious profession, Zeno exhorted him with

² *Jorn.* c. 57, p. 696.

(*Hist. Goth.*, lib. i. c. 1. p. 308).

³ *Jornandes* (c. 57. p. 696) and *Procopius*

⁴ So *Jornandes*.

the utmost benignity of demeanour “to spare no effort to accomplish the downfall of the traitor Odovaker, and to obtain the kingdom of the West for himself, since it was more becoming for one who, like him, was enrolled of the Roman senate, and a member of the imperial family, to rule over Rome and Italy by the expulsion and punishment of a rebel and a tyrant, than to be dragged by his own turbulent subjects into an unnatural war with his adoptive father and sovereign.”⁵ The understanding was indefinite enough, but it was for the present satisfactory to both parties; and the emperor dismissed his future viceroy with many splendid presents, and furnished him with the necessary mandates to the senate and people of Rome.⁶ Little time was required to set the people in motion for their new destination; the women and children and household goods were conveyed in the tented waggons which always accompanied the Gothic armies. “An innumerable multitude,” says the panegyrist Ennodius, “thronged these moveable dwellings, and willingly followed whithersoever fate or fortune might conduct them.”⁷

and exhorts him to expel Odovaker and hold the sovereignty as the vicegerent of the empire.

The Goths put themselves in motion for Italy.

Being unprovided with the shipping necessary to transport so numerous a host across the Adriatic, the Gothic prince took a more circuitous route towards the frontier of Italy, and marched from Dyrrachium northward towards Sirmium. Here the Gepidæ, who were by this time established in the angle which the Danube makes with the Save, opposed his advance, but were totally defeated by Theoderich, in a battle fought upon the river Ulca, in Lower Pannonia.⁸ No further obstacle impeded his march; and on the 28th day of August, in the year 489, he passed the bridge over the Isonzo, a little above Aquileia, and encamped upon Italian ground.⁹

They march to the Danube,

defeat the Gepidæ, who oppose them, and cross the frontier of Italy, A. D. 489, 28th August.

Here the army halted for several days for the purpose of refreshing the men and cattle, and of making the necessary preparations for the campaign. Odovaker was known to be advancing towards the Adige with a powerful army of Rugians, Heruli, and Italians; and Theoderich, as soon as he had completed his preparations, broke up his camp and marched rapidly to Verona. Here, or in the neighbourhood, a fierce engagement took place, in which Odovaker suffered a total defeat,¹⁰ and was compelled to take refuge within the walls of Pavia.¹¹ This victory delivered the city of Milan and the whole of Italy north of

Theoderich defeats Odovaker at Verona, and compels him to take refuge in Pavia.

⁵ So *Procopius*.

⁶ *Jorn. loc. mod. cit. Conf. Procop. Goth. Hist. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 402.*

⁷ *Ennodius ap. Mascou, book xi. § 3.*

⁸ *Procop. ibid. lib. i. ch. 1. p. 308, and Ennodius, loc. mod. cit.*

⁹ *Cassiodor. Chron. Oper. tom. i. p. 368; Marii, Episc. Chron. ap. D. Bouq. tom. ii. p. 14; Cuspinian's Anonymous Chronographer, ap. Mascou, book xi. § iv. p. 9.*

¹⁰ *Jorn. c. 57.*

¹¹ *Anonym. Cuspinian. loc. mod. cit.*

Tufa deserts to Theoderich; Odovaker retreats to Faenza. Tufa again goes over to him, and Theoderich is compelled to retreat.

But after obtaining assistance from the Visigoths, he again defeats Odovaker and drives him into Ravenna

Aug. 3, A.D. 490. Theoderich blockades Ravenna, and is acknowledged as the legitimate sovereign of Italy.

After a three years' siege Odovaker makes terms with his adversary.

He surrenders Ravenna,

the Po into the hands of Theoderich. The mercenaries of Odovaker went over in great numbers to the conqueror; Tufa, the general of the Rugian king, was the first to desert his unfortunate master; and the latter was forced to abandon Pavia and retreat to Faenza, whither he was followed by the Gothic prince. Here however fortune once more bestowed a faint smile upon the sinking cause of Odovaker. In the ensuing battle, the traitor Tufa, whom Theoderich had trusted with the command of an important post, again went over to Odovaker, and the Gothic king found himself so weakened by this defection, that he retreated precipitately to Pavia. In this extremity he applied to Alaric II., king of the Visigoths of Aquitain, for assistance; and with the help of the reinforcements granted to his request, he again encountered his competitor; the battle was fought upon the river Adda, and Odovaker sustained a defeat so decisive as to compel him to shut himself within the strongly fortified city of Ravenna.¹²

Here the vanquished prince might indeed maintain himself for a time; the natural and artificial defences were of a nature to defy all the ordinary methods of attack. Theoderich therefore contented himself with closely blockading the city and repelling the repeated and the desperate efforts of his adversary to keep open his communications with his friends in the provinces. Meanwhile successive defeats broke the power of the Herulan and Rugian adventurers; the Italians had been long since weary of the yoke of a lawless and rapacious soldiery, and Theoderich had but to exhibit the imperial commission to obtain the ready submission of the senate and people of Rome, and shortly afterwards of all the other cities and provinces of Italy.¹³

For a period of three years the blockade of Ravenna was kept up with unremitting vigilance both by sea and by land. The garrison, originally not numerous, was much reduced by incessant toil, and latterly still more by famine and disease. Odovaker was now forsaken by all his friends, and not an adherent remained from whom he could expect relief. He therefore bent at length to necessity, and implored the clemency of his adversary. The condition of surrender, whatever it may have been, was, according to Jornandes, granted by Theoderich. That it guaranteed the life of Odovaker is past all question; nevertheless, the same writer informs us he was shortly afterwards put to death.¹⁴ Procopius explains the transaction rather more to the advantage of the Gothic prince. The condition of the peace, he says, imported that

¹² *Procop.* loc. cit. *Jornand.* loc. cit. *Ennodius* and the *Anonym.* *Cuspin.* locis citatis.

¹³ *Jornandes* and *Procopius*, loc. cit.

¹⁴ *Jorn.* c. 57. p. 698.

Theoderich and Odovaker were to remain the joint sovereigns of Ravenna; and that for a time a good understanding prevailed between them; but a conspiracy against the life of the former having been secretly traced to Odovaker, his rival requited the intended treachery by a deed of a similar character; he invited him to a banquet and there put him to death. Taking the truth of the imputed conspiracy for granted, a Roman lawyer of that age would have found little difficulty in defending the act of Theoderich upon recognized principles of law. And indeed Cassiodorius, a man of learning and piety,¹⁵ rests the justification of his sovereign and friend upon some such grounds. Theoderich himself, though in many respects he rose above the level of the age in which he lived, and of the school in which he imbibed his earliest lessons of government, yet in a question upon which all sovereigns are naturally, perhaps pardonably sensitive, could not be expected to be more scrupulous than his models and instructors, the lawyers and statesmen of Byzantium and Rome.

and is put to death by Theoderich not long afterwards.

An anonymous author¹⁶ tells us that the murder of Odovaker was followed by the merciless slaughter of his son Thelanes and his adherents, their wives and children. Nor is this account wholly incredible, since men rarely stop short in evil doing; the reason of political crime is always in favour of its complete perpetration, while the moral feeling which would arrest its progress is as nothing in the balance after the first step is taken. And if one great crime often draws after it many others, it likewise frequently renders the repetition of them unnecessary; and this, in the mind of a politic prince, is always the most powerful, and perhaps, to the moral sense of mankind, the least revolting motive for committing them. The character of Theoderich was not naturally sanguinary or cruel; and until he became soured by age and spoiled by prosperity, we meet with little in his career but what is commendable,—with reference always to the current moral standard of the age in which he lived. After the death of Odovaker he went to Rome; he confirmed the privileges of the senate, and gained the affections of the citizens by distributions of money and provisions; he repaired the decayed cities and towns of Italy, improved their fortifications, and erected new forts and castles for the defence of the coasts and frontiers; he restored the public buildings, and erected others, which his panegyrists assure us might vie with the architectural wonders of antiquity.¹⁷ The Romans were once more entertained with the pageant of a triumph, and gratified

He is likewise said to have killed Thelanes, the son of Odovaker, and his adherents.

He goes to Rome, and confirms the privileges of the senate; distributes provisions, repairs the cities and towns of Italy, provides for the public defence, restores public buildings, and makes himself popular.

¹⁵ Cassiodor. Chron. Op. tom. i. p. 368. So also Ennodius, as quoted by Mascou.

¹⁶ Anonym. Cuspinian apud Mascou.

¹⁷ Cassiodor. Chron. p. 368.

Theoderich assumes the dress of the Cæsars, adopts their forms of government, and administers the laws with impartiality.

He assigns over the thirds of the land already appropriated by Odovaker to the Goths. This is the "tertiarum deputatio" of Cassiodorus.

by the restoration of the games of the circus; the poorer classes were conciliated by an annual provision of one hundred and twenty thousand bushels of wheat for their maintenance; and considerable sums were set apart for the repairs of the public baths, theatres, and other useful or ornamental edifices. Without assuming the title of Augustus, Theoderich imitated the dress of the Cæsars, took the surname of Flavius, and retained most of the forms of the imperial government. He caused the laws to be rigidly observed, and as far as in him lay, impartially administered them, whereby he gained the affection of his Italian subjects without forfeiting those of his Gothic countrymen.¹⁹

This, however, must have been a task of no little nicety; and the steps he took with that view, though imperfectly reported, impart a favourable impression of the general ability and justice of his government. He could not withhold from the companions of his adventures and successes the reward of their toils: the want of a settled property in the soil and control over it, was one of the great hardships of their condition while they sojourned in the Eastern empire: again it must be remembered, that Odovaker had set apart one-third of the cultivated estates of the Romans as a maintenance for his own followers; and that resistance to this unavoidable measure was the immediate occasion of the downfall of the imperial title in the West.²⁰ The Goths therefore found these thirds already severed from the private estates of the inhabitants, and ready to pass into other hands by simple transfer. All that remained to Theoderich was to put his own subjects in possession of a property which he found already adjudged to a prior conqueror. These assignments, or "tertiæ," were effectuated in two ways: by the first, an actual severance took place, and then the third of the estate was set out by metes and bounds, and so transferred to the new proprietor; by the second, an annual render in kind was reserved, payable out of the whole, and equivalent in value to the produce of one-third part, an arrangement which rendered the *tertiæ* equivalent to a *tax* payable out of all lands not subjected to actual partition.²¹ The circumstance that this tax, for such it became in reality, was not new, was in favour of Theoderich's popularity. The steps, however, which he took prove that it had not before been carried completely into effect; and it is obvious that without great management, and above all without strict justice, it must have excited the most bitter feelings in the minds of all

¹⁹ *Procop.* Hist. Goth. lib. i. c. I. p. 310. *Ennod.* ap. *Mascou*, book xi. § 6. p. 13.

²⁰ See sect. 3. p. 461. of this chapter.

²¹ It is thus that *Savigny* (vol. i. pp. 283-

289) explains the "Tertiarum deputatio," alluded to by Theoderich in his letter to the senate and people of Rome. See *Cassiodorus*, *Variar.* lib. ii. Ep. 16. p. 28.

who had hitherto escaped its operation. There is however evidence that principles of equity were not lost sight of in apportioning the burthen,²² and the judicious mode in which this difficult operation was effected by the pretorian prefect Liberius served to introduce into the relations of the conquerors and the conquered a degree of certainty at least which could not but be favourable to the future peace of the whole community.²³ The Romans conceived a degree of confidence in the government to which for many an age they had been total strangers, and the reign of Theoderich may even now be pointed to as perhaps the most striking instance on record of the power of an able ruler to produce good out of evil, and to bring the most adverse and apparently the most irreconcilable interests into such a salutary harmony as to render them, for a time at least, conducive to the general benefit of society.

This difficult operation is managed with such adroitness and equity as not to excite any serious disaffection in the minds of the Italians. They take confidence in their government.

In the new state the Goths formed a privileged military class, and the chief of that people was the sovereign of the whole country. In other respects the Roman institutions were allowed to subsist almost unaltered; the senate, the great officers of state, prefects of provinces, and other civil appointments were retained, and mostly filled up by native Romans. The courts of justice were presided over by a pretorian prefect as heretofore.²⁴ Few if any changes were made in the municipal constitutions of the cities of Italy. Cassiodorius enumerates a great number of the old magistracies as legally existing offices in his own time.²⁵ Besides this testimony the discovery of several ancient records of judicial proceedings during the reigns of Odovaker, Theoderich, and his Gothic successors, gives reason to believe that even in that age of revolutions very little change was made in the civil government of the Italian cities. And thus it happened that those cities were enabled to transmit a model of municipal institutions, founded upon principles tried by the experience of centuries, for the guidance of after ages.²⁶

The Roman state institutions are retained; the old forms of administration are upheld;

few changes are introduced into the municipal government of the towns.

²² Comp. *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. ii. Ep. 17. p. 28*, with *Savigny's* explanation, loc. cit. p. 287. We shall probably have to recur hereafter to the great work of this incomparably clear and intelligent writer.

²³ "Juvat nos referre," says Theoderich in his letter to the senate of Rome just alluded to, "quemadmodum (Liberius) in *Tertiarum deputazione*, Gothorum Romanorumque et possessiones junxerit et animos." And a little further on, "En factum novum," he exclaims, "et omnino laudabile: gratia dominorum de cespitis divisione conjuncta est: amicitiae populis per damna crevere; et ex parte agri defensor acquisitus est, et substantiae securitas integra serva-

retur. Una lex illos, et æquabilis disciplina complectitur."

²⁴ *Mascou*, book xi. § 42, 43. pp. 64, 65, 66.

²⁵ Thus Curiales, Defensores, Curatores, Decemviri, Quinquennales, &c. *Savigny*, vol. i. p. 87, quoting the edict of Theoderich concerning donations of land, art. 52, 53. See also *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. viii. Formulæ 11 and 12, p. 107*.

²⁶ See *Savigny's* extracts from the *Papiri of Marini*, vol. i. pp. 296-303. The Lombards, indeed, are currently believed to have made greater changes than their predecessors the Goths had done; but still the substance of the old Roman corporate institutions was retained till far

The Goths form the military establishment of the new state; they are exempted from all burthens but those of military service. They are inspected, paid, and rewarded once a year by the sovereign.

They are commanded by their own generals with the title of dukes, whose duties are for the most part restricted to military affairs.

Among the Goths justice is administered by their own counts,

But though Theoderich retained all that could be retained of the old forms and practices of the empire, he abstained from any premature and injudicious attempt to force them upon his own untamed and turbulent subjects. He regarded the Goths as the sinews of his power;²⁷ they alone constituted the army of the state; military service and the exercise of arms were as much their privilege as their duty; they were exempted from all taxes and from all servile employments; once every year the chiefs assembled at the court of the sovereign to receive the customary gratuities,²⁸ to account for their conduct in their several commands, and to keep up that intercourse between the warriors and the sovereign which it was always the pride and the principle of the Germanic princes to maintain.²⁹ The army was distributed through the provinces and quartered on the more exposed frontiers for the protection of the Roman inhabitants, who seem to have taken either no share at all, or a separate and subordinate one, in the public defence. The Gothic forces were commanded by dukes, whose office was chiefly military; and though the mandates of the sovereign to do particular acts of justice were frequently directed to them, and commissions, not purely of a military nature, were sometimes entrusted to their management, yet they were as much secluded from interference with the administration of justice, the collection of the revenue, and other civil duties, as the military officers of the empire had been before them.³⁰ The administration of justice among the Goths was entrusted to individuals of that nation with the title of counts.³¹ If the parties to the suit were both Goths, the jurisdiction

into the middle ages, when the democratic mania, which spares nothing that is susceptible of change, overthrew all which would not square with recent theory or imaginary rights. See also *Savigny*, vol. i. c. 5. p. 248.

²⁷ "Instrumenta roboris." *Ennodius*, Panegy. p. 314. ap. *Mascou*, Annotat. xiv. vol. ii. p. 469. "They had taken upon themselves the burthen of foreign war—ne interpellentur otia nostra."

²⁸ "Solennia dona." *Cassiodor*, *Variar*, lib. v. Ep. 27. p. 82.

²⁹ *Cassiodor*, *Variar*, Ibid. Ep. 26 and 27. "Quatenus qui bene nobis meriti fuerint majore munificentia gratulentur. . . . Decet etiam nos, sub hac occasione singulorum facta perquirere." And as reasons in policy for these periodical meetings,—“Quia majora de conspectu principis populi sumunt quam de largitate beneficia consequuntur. . . . Trepidus discat ad judicem venire, ut melius possit hostibus violentus insurgere qui nostræ maluit impu-

tationis vulnera declinare.”

³⁰ There are passages in the collection of *Cassiodorus* which might lead to the inference that to a certain extent the administration (or rather perhaps the *execution*) was entrusted to the dukes (*Variar*, lib. vii. Form. 4. p. 104; lib. iv. Ep. 17. p. 61; and lib. v. Ep. 30. p. 83); but I think they imply no more than a general police superintendence, and a recommendation to be solicitous for the honour of the king's justice and the execution of his lawful commands, not in any degree conveying a power to act as judges for the judicial determination of suits.

³¹ The title of *comes*, or count, is always used by historians as the equivalent of the German word *graf*. The office of the *graf* was that of a judge (see c. ii. p. 87, note 11. of this History); the Roman count—though, like the *graf*, a civil officer—had nothing to do with the law, except perhaps as head of the police in his province. It is highly probable, that in the new German states, the duties of the Roman count were

of the Gothic count was exclusive; but in actions between a Goth and a Roman, the Gothic judge was bound to call in the assistance of a Roman properly qualified for the duty, in order to constitute a competent court. But these judges were expressly prohibited from interfering in any disputes where the parties were both Romans; such matters were to be decided in Roman courts and by Roman judges alone. Theoderich indeed throughout his adaptations evinced much anxiety that the natural judge should not in any case be divested of his jurisdiction; he desired to preserve to every man his national and personal rights.³² But the Ostrogoths possessed no written laws; and the nation appears to have accommodated itself with a degree of pliancy to those of the conquered, which is as yet, and will probably for ever remain, unaccounted for. That Theoderich should have availed himself of this disposition of his people, to avoid that present confusion and ultimate defect of justice which must have arisen from a diversity of judges and the adoption of two different rules of law, is greatly to his praise. The voluminous laws of the empire were ill-observed in many provinces of the kingdom, probably from being ill-understood by the Goths and easily evaded by the Romans. Theoderich therefore published a short code, consisting of one hundred and fifty-four articles, containing a selection and general re-enactment of those rules of ancient law which were most wanted and best adapted to the condition of both nations,³³ without derogating from the validity of the great body of the Roman jurisprudence.

where both parties were Goths; if the parties were Goth and Roman, the tribunal was composed of two judges, one of each nation. If the parties were both Roman, the cause was determined in the Roman courts.

He publishes a short code of laws for the use of both nations.

The territories of Theoderich comprised at this moment the whole of Italy and the greater part of the island of Sicily,³⁴ a part of Provence, the whole of Dalmatia, and the mountain districts of Rhætia and Noricum up to the crest of the High Alps.³⁵ Beyond these regions lay

The dominions of Theoderich comprise all Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, with the mountain districts of

assigned to the *graf*, which gave occasion for the transfer of the title *comes* to the civil officer of the Teutonic gau or canton.

³² "Ut unicuique sua jura serventur, et sub diversitate judicium una justitia complectatur universos." *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. vii. Form. 3. p. 104.*

³³ The selection was burrowed almost wholly from the Theodosian code. There are a very few traces of the common or unwritten law of the Ostrogoths in it. See *Cancian. Barb. Leg. Ant. tom. i. p. 5. Gothofrid. Cod. Theodos. Prolegom. c. 3. p. exci. Savigny, vol. i. p. 91.*

³⁴ *Cassiodor. Chron. A. 491. Op. vol. i. Ennodius, ap. Mascou, book xi. § 6. note 4.* A corner of Sicily was left in possession of the African Vandals.

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³⁵ *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. i. Ep. 11. p. 8; lib. vii. Form. 4.; lib. iii. Ep. 50. p. 52; lib. iii. Ep. 25. p. 45.* The Rhætia of the Romans extended to the Danube. But the plain country of Rhætia was by this time occupied by the Suevi; and according to *Paulus Diaconus* (see *De Gest. Longob. lib. ii. c. 15. p. 785*) the name of Rhætia was confined to the mountain country, bounded by the province of Liguria (Lombardy) to the southward, and by Suavia (the country of the Suevi) to the northward. From this passage *Mannert* (vol. iii. p. 577) infers with great reason, that Theoderich's dominion did not extend over the plain country of the Danube. Compare *Mannert, ibid. pp. 524, 525.*

Rhætia and Noricum. He erects these districts into dukedoms or military divisions for the protection of Italy against the inroads of the Suevi. He enters into alliance with the Bavarians or Bajobari.

A.D. 498. He marries his sister Amalafrida to Thrasimund, king of the African Vandals. His daughter Theudigotha to Alaric II.; another daughter, Ostrogotha, to Sigismund of Burgundy; and his niece Amalaberga to Hermenegrid, king of Thuringia.

Theoderich recommends himself to his new subjects by obtaining the sanction of the Eastern empire for his authority.

the warlike Suevi and Bajoarii: against the assaults of the former he strengthened himself by erecting Rhætia into a separate military district or dukedom, and stationing there a considerable body of Goths under the command of a chieftain named Servat;³⁶ with the latter³⁷ he entered into friendly connexion, and conciliated the good will of their king by a present of horses, swords, shields, and other warlike implements. But though the dominion of Theoderich did not extend greatly beyond the mountains, yet the complete possession of those important regions tended as much to the extension of his fame and influence among Swabians and Thuringians on both banks of the Danube, as to the security of his realm of Italy. He extended his foreign alliances by marrying the female members of his family to the barbaric princes of Gaul, Germany, Spain, and Africa. His sister Amalafrida became the queen of Thrasimund, king of the African Vandals; a daughter named Theudigotha married Alaric II. king of the Visigoths; another daughter, named Ostrogotha, espoused Sigismund, king of Burgundy, and his niece Amalaberga became the wife of Hermenegrid, king of the Thuringians. He himself married Audefleda, a sister of the Frankish king Chlodwig, and thereby secured an interest at the court of that powerful and ambitious monarch. Much pains had been bestowed upon the education of his children, and the accomplishments and the polish they carried with them to their new stations contributed not only to enhance his own reputation, but to procure for him political advantages enjoyed by no contemporary European monarch.

Theoderich evinced sound judgment in the choice of his ministers. It was plainly the maxim of his internal government to show himself to his subjects as little as possible in the light of a conqueror, and to identify his authority with that of the empire to which it succeeded. With that view he sedulously cultivated the friendship of the Eastern empire; because the recognition of that court inclined the Romans to regard him as the legitimate successor of the Cæsars, and tended to stamp his pretensions with that current value which legitimacy imparts. The transmission of authority through ancient and accustomed channels is quite as much in accordance with the interests as it is with the feelings and prejudices of men in society. If Theoderich had determined to hold his kingdom by the power of the sword alone, he would have evinced little anxiety to cultivate the friendship of the feeble Anastasius: he would never have condescended to acknowledge in terms so ample and

³⁶ *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. i. Ep. 11. p. 8.*

³⁷ Under the name of Heruli. *Mannert* (vol. iii. p. 577 and 578) has very acutely and

satisfactorily identified this branch of the Heruli with the Bajoarii. *Comp. Cassiodor. Variar. lib. iv. Ep. 2.*

respectful as those he thought fit to use the exalted prerogative of the Cæsars, the indivisibility of the empire, and the derivative character of all other power on earth,³⁸ if he had not been convinced that the recognition demanded and obtained would impart to his authority a sanction which no wise statesman would despise; and in fact, under the government of this extraordinary man, Italy enjoyed a longer period of repose than she had done since the beginning of the fifth century. The Vandals ceased to desolate her coasts; her northern frontiers were closed against the migratory hordes of Germany; internal peace, a more equitable system of taxation, reviving commerce, and the encouragement of arts and learning, brought back a portion of her ancient prosperity and splendour. The fame of the wise administration of Theoderich, supported as it was by success so brilliant, and by an army more formidable and better organized than that of any contemporary prince, rendered him an object of wonder and a model for imitation to his barbaric brethren. His neighbours courted his alliance, respected his counsels, and solicited his bounty: the exalted opinion thus promulgated of his talents and his power inspired a salutary dread of his arms, and for a time conduced to restrain the ambition and to subdue the mutual jealousies of Franks, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Thuringians; and when the demon of discord could no longer be exorcised by policy, Theoderich found himself in a condition to profit largely by the crimes of his neighbours, and to rest that preponderance among them which he had hitherto owed to influence, upon the prouder, though not perhaps the safer, basis of territorial aggrandizement.³⁹

Italy enjoys a long period of prosperity under his government.

He restores commerce, arts, and learning.

His neighbours court his alliance.

He restrains their jealousies, and for a time maintains peace among them.

³⁸ See his letter to the emperor Anastasius, ap. *Cassiodor*. *Variar*. lib. i. Ep. 1. That letter was no doubt written by Cassiodorus himself; it speaks too plainly the conventional language of a Roman scribe to have been the production of the unlearned Theoderich. In the actual writer the language used may have been dictated by habitual reverence for the sacred name of the empire; the concurrence of Theoderich could

have been dictated by policy only. It is, however, cautiously worded, and it would be difficult to extract from it any acknowledgment of direct sovereignty.

³⁹ The authorities relied upon for the facts stated in this paragraph are the *Variarum* of *Cassiodorus* passim, *Procopius*, *Ennodius*, and *Gregory of Tours*, compared with *Masou* (book xi.) —and *Luden*, (vol. iii.)

CHAP. X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION IN GAUL AND GERMANY.

As it is the object of this chapter to elucidate the rise and earlier history of the great Frankish monarchy, it is necessary to recur once more to the events of the fifth century, that we may acquire a distinct view of the elements of which that monarchy was made up, as well as of the state of things out of which it took its rise. We have already adverted to the origin of the Frankish nations, and traced them to the position from which their advance was to commence.¹ We must now shortly survey the condition of the adjacent nations prior to the revolution by which those nations were about to be so materially affected. The Franks encountered in their progress the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Alemanni, and it is to the state of these nations that the successes of the conqueror, whose achievements will form the subject of the ensuing section, must be principally attributed.

SECTION I.—A.D. 453 to A.D. 496.

I. *Visigoths*—2. *Burgundians*—3. *Alemanni*.

1. Visigoths in Gaul. Thorismund breaks with the Romans soon after the battle of the Catalaunian plains.

I. THE league which the common danger had cemented between the Romans and the Visigoths of Gaul did not long survive the victory of Aëtius and Thorismund upon the Catalaunian plains. A very short time after the return of the Gothic prince to Thoulouse, he became dissatisfied with the conduct of his late allies; he declared war, and laid siege to the Roman city of Arles. Ferreolus the prætorian prefect of Gaul prevailed upon him to retire, and he soon afterwards fell

¹ Chap. viii. sec. 4, p. 401.

a victim to the apprehensions or the ambition of his brothers Theoderich and Frederick.² His violent and insolent temper had rendered him as dangerous to his relatives as he was generally odious to his subjects; and Theoderich II., though polluted by fratricide, ascended the throne amid the rejoicings of the people, and ruled with a reputation scarcely sullied by the crime to which he was indebted for his elevation.³

He is murdered by his brothers Theoderich and Frederick.

Theoderich II. ascends the throne amid the rejoicings of the people.

A.D. 453.

He proclaims his friend Avitus emperor of the west.

A.D. 455.

Eod. Ann.

During the reign of this vigorous and able prince, a remarkable occasion occurred for interference in the affairs of the falling empire. The violent deaths of Aëtius and Valentinian III.⁴ had placed Maximus, the personal friend of Theoderich, upon the throne of the empire. Maximus soon paid the penalty of his ambition, and afforded the Gothic monarch an opportunity of exalting his friend Avitus to the purple. The Roman nobles and governors of Gaul acknowledged him as emperor; the senate of Rome reluctantly ratified their appointment.⁵ Theoderich does not appear to have made any effort to maintain his friend at the elevation to which he had raised him; but when Avitus was deposed and murdered by Richimer, Theoderich resented the deed as a personal quarrel, and kept no measures with his successor Majorian. In the year 459 he invaded the territory of Arles, and laid siege to the city. The count Ægidius, at that time the governor of the province, undertook the defence; the besieging forces were repulsed, and Theoderich was induced to listen to terms of accommodation.⁶

After the deposition and death of Avitus he declares war against his successor Majorian, and besieges the city of Arles, but is repulsed by Ægidius the governor, and makes peace with Majorian.

The names of Ægidius and of his son Syagrius are the last Roman names to which any degree of interest attaches; and that interest arises less from the singularity or brilliancy of their career, than from their being the last generals upon whom a ray or two of the ancient military glory of Rome appear to have fallen. When, in the year 461 the emperor Majorian was deposed and murdered by Richimer and his lawless barbarians, the governor-general of Gaul refused to recognize princes who owed their elevation to the irregular and degrading nomination of a mercenary army and a foreign chief.⁷ But while he defied the power of Richimer in Italy, Ægidius found himself involved in a war with the

Ægidius, governor-general of Gaul, refuses to acknowledge the emperors nominated by Richimer.

A.D. 461.

² *Sidon. Apoll. lib. vii. Ep. 12. ap. Bouq. tom. i. p. 800. Isidor. Hispal. Chron. Goth. ap. Grot. p. 718.*

³ See the animated panegyric upon the personal and mental qualities of this prince by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (lib. i. Ep. 2. *Bouq. tom. i. p. 783.*) The apathy with which fratricide and parricide among the barbaric rulers of this period are talked of by their contemporaries, churchmen

as well as laity, is remarkable.

⁴ See c. ix. sec. 3. p. 457.

⁵ *Sidon. Apoll. in Avitum, carm. vii. vv. 500 to 518. loc. cit. p. 810. Idat. Chron. ap. Bouq. tom. i. p. 620.*

⁶ The deliverance of Arles is ascribed by *Gregory of Tours* (De Mirac. S. Martini ap. *Bouq. tom. ii. p. 469*) to the intercession of St. Martin.

⁷ See c. ix. sec. 3. p. 459.

The death of Majorian dissolves the connexion of the Visigoths with Rome.

Ægidius abandons the Gallia Narbonensis to Theoderich, and retires to the central regions of Gaul,

A. D. 462.
and defeats Frederick, the brother of the Gothic king, in an attempt to expel him from Armorica.

A. D. 463.

A. D. 466.
Theoderich II. is murdered by his brother Euric, who succeeds him without opposition.

Euric, an active, vigorous, and warlike prince.

A. D. 467.
He conquers the greater part of Spain.

A. D. 468.

Goths. The death of Majorian had again dissolved the connexion between them and the empire, which had subsisted during the latter period of that emperor's reign ; and Theoderich prepared to take advantage of the distracted state of the Roman government to extend his own dominion over the most beautiful and fertile of its possessions in Gaul.

Ægidius soon became sensible of his inability to maintain himself in that province against two such enemies as Richimer and Theoderich ; or, in his actual position, to save any part of the disconnected and straggling dominion of the empire in that country. He therefore withdrew his forces to the regions adjoining the river Loire to the southward, and those districts between that river and the Seine which still maintained their allegiance to the empire. By this movement Theoderich dropped without resistance into possession of the whole of Narbonensian Gaul lying to the westward of the Rhone. At the same time he sent his brother Frederick with a powerful army to expel Ægidius from Armorica ; but Frederick suffered a total defeat at the hands of this "last of the Romans," and a short respite was obtained on behalf of the Gallic subjects of the empire. In the following year Ægidius died, it is said by poison, bequeathing an independent but precarious sovereignty to his son Syagrius, under whom, twenty-seven years afterwards, the last shadow of Roman power in Gaul was destined to disappear for ever.⁸

Two years after the death of Ægidius, Theoderich II., who—wise, gallant, and humane as he is described to us—was yet stained with the blood of one brother, fell by the hand of a younger. Euric the third son of Theoderich I., who died in the Catalaunian plains, did not find his claim to the crown of the Visigoths at all weakened by the murder of his accomplished relative. He ascended the throne without opposition, and recommended himself to his subjects by a degree of activity and enterprise which suited their temper. The Visigoths were in the zenith of their glory ; their love of conquest and adventure was as yet unabated by the sedative influence of fixed property and secure settlements. In the choice of a king therefore they were still swayed more by the qualities of the warrior than of the statesman ; and accordingly the new king carried his arms straightway into Spain, where he made strenuous efforts against the roving Suevi of Gallicia. He then advanced into Lusitania, and committed great ravages in that region ; on his return he took Pampeluna and Saragoza.⁹ In another campaign he defeated and almost anni-

⁸ *Marii Chron.* (ad Ann. 463.) *Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 13. *Idat. Chron.* *ibid.* tom. i. pp. 621, 622.

Comp. Lembke, Geschichte von Spanien, vol. i. p. 39.

⁹ Pampelona et Cæsar Augusta.

hiliated the Romans of the Tarraconensian province, and subdued nearly the whole peninsula to his sceptre. Upon his return into Gaul he marched against a tribe of expatriated Britons, under their king Riothemus, whom the emperor Anthemius had settled in Armorica¹⁰ as a frontier guard against the Visigoths. Euric reduced the greater part of these colonists to subjection, and pursued the rest to the confines of the Burgundians, who as the faithful allies of Rome afforded them the protection they claimed. Subsequently to the death of Anthemius, the whole of Aquitaine between the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Loire, submitted to the dominion of Euric; Syagrius and his Romans withdrew still farther northward, and in the year 475 the emperor Julius Nepos formally surrendered Auvergne, hitherto the stronghold of the Roman power in Gaul, to the Visigothic conqueror. A few years later the cities of Marseilles and Arles were added to his territories, and there now remained scarcely a spot of land in the entire province of Gaul in the possession of her ancient and once all-powerful lords. And indeed within a twelvemonth of this last and most flagrant admission of utter exhaustion, the Rugian Odovaker put an end to the nominal authority of the Cæsars in Italy, and Euric mastered the last fragments of the Roman dominion in Spain; and thus, by the total subjugation of that country, the Visigothic kingdom attained to its greatest power and extension precisely at the moment when the Roman empire of the West drew its latest breath.¹¹

A.D. 469.
He defeats
the Britons of
Armorica.

The whole of
Aquitaine sub-
mits to him.

Syagrius and
his Romans
retire north-
ward, and the
emperor Ne-
pos surrenders
Auvergne to
him.

Marseilles and
Arles were af-
terwards added
to his terri-
tories.

A.D. 476.
Spain is wholly
subdued, and
the Visigothic
kingdom
attains to its
greatest exten-
sion and power.

In the year 484 Euric died of natural decay at Thoulouse, in the nineteenth year of his reign.¹² He was a man of a stern ambition and great military talents, qualities which fitted him well for the task of extinguishing the dominion and influence of Rome in Gaul and Spain. At the same time a grave and reflecting habit of mind prompted him to become the legislator of his people. He caused the customary law of the Visigoths to be reduced into a written code, whereby he in a great degree secured the national character of the Goths from that enervating conformity by which a victorious minority often melts into identity with the vanquished majority. The Romans who lived under his sceptre were permitted to enjoy their own laws, altered and simplified so as to suit their new condition.¹³ The contempt which the Visigoths felt for

A.D. 484.
Euric dies.
His character
stern, ener-
getic, and war-
like, but
grave and
reflecting.
He reduces
the laws of
the Visigoths
to writing.

The Visigoths

¹⁰ So *Jornandes*, c. 43. p. 678; from which it may perhaps be inferred that Ægidius was not the absolute lord of the midland regions of Gaul.

¹¹ *Jornand.* loc. mod. cit. *Idat.* Chron. loc. cit. *Isidor. Hispal.* Chron. ap. Grot. pp. 719, 720.

¹² *Jorn.* c. 47. p. 680. *Isidor. Hispal.* ibid. *Lembke*, vol. i. p. 46, note 2. *Art de vér. les Dates.*

¹³ *Cancian.* Leg. Barb. Ant. tom. iv. p. 50. The *Breviarium Aniani* is the abridged code here referred to. The extant copy was compiled in the reign of Alaric II., the son and

use the Latin language in their official writings, and adopt parts of the civil law of Rome.

The kingdom begins to feel the weakness incident to too rapid a growth.

Two causes concur to endanger its prosperity and greatness.

1. The advance of the Frankish power under Chlodwig :
2. The spirit of religious discord.

the Romans did not in fact extend either to their laws or their literature; they made use of the Latin language in their official writings, and did not scruple to adopt such portions of the civil law as served to improve or explain their own, without any intention of giving to that law validity as a whole, or submitting to it as an established rule of conduct.

The kingdom of Thoulouse had now subsisted for a period of sixty-five years, and in that short space the Visigoths had become the most powerful nation in Europe. But it soon began to suffer under the weaknesses incident to rapid growth. The warlike Euric was succeeded by his son Alaric II., a prince of a less strenuous character. Under him the movement slackened which had carried the nation forward in the career of aggrandizement. The want of a warlike occupant of the throne is a radical defect in the condition of a state which has built itself up by conquest only; for when the momentum which raised it to the pinnacle of its glory ceases, there is nothing to prevent it from receding almost as rapidly as it advanced. With this natural tendency to decay two circumstances concurred to endanger the prosperity of the Gothic monarchy. At this moment the Frankish tribes of Belgium and northern Gaul were receiving an impulse from the talents and activity of Chlodwig, the son of Childerich, equal at least to that which was now subsiding among the Visigoths. But the tide of Frankish conquest might nevertheless have been arrested upon the banks of the Loire if it had not been accelerated by the spirit of religious discord. The Roman inhabitants of southern Gaul adhered to the Trinitarian form of Christianity with a firmness often found in minds either originally deficient in the active qualities, or restrained by outward circumstances from active pursuits. In such cases the mental powers retire inward; every faculty becomes concentrated in some peculiarity of opinion or feeling; and when they are pursued to this last hold, a power of resistance displays itself which often amazes and confounds the assailant. The Visigoths had adopted the tenets of Arius. The natural tendency of that view of the Christian doctrine was perhaps to damp the extreme fervour of religious zeal, but also to generate a scornful feeling which required but little opposition to inflame it into active persecution. Men begin to hate those whom they despise the moment they discover them to be not quite so powerless as their contempt at first suggested.

successor of Euric; but there is evidence that the Romans had all along enjoyed the benefit of their own laws, and this was a natural consequence of the ignorance of the barbaric invaders, and their indifference to the forms of

civilized life, especially as they never allowed those laws to control their own conduct either among themselves, or towards the vanquished. Compare the different conduct of Theoderich Ostrogoth in Italy, c. ix. sec. 4. pp. 484, 485.

Disappointments of this kind wofully embitter the spirit of the scorner; and thus it happened that when Euric, who had zealously espoused the tenets of his people, became sensible of the pertinacious opposition of the Gallic clergy to the progress of the court religion, he could not fail to recognize in it a power greater than his own, counter-working his influence, and loosening his grasp upon the mind of the conquered people. The proud spirit of the king bent as reluctantly to spiritual as to temporal resistance; and the Arian monarch, unused to dictation from the priesthood of his own sect and nation, easily confounded the limits between the temporal and spiritual power. "The bare mention of the Catholic name," says Sidonius,¹⁴ "brings a scowl into his countenance and disturbs his temper; and, indeed, he appears to regard himself no less as the chief of his sect than as the sovereign of his people."

Euric resents the pertinacious opposition of the Catholic clergy to the progress of Arianism.

The incessant and bitter strife which these religious differences engendered in the court and the kingdom, was a source of debility to which the vigilant monarch could not be inattentive. To put them down with a strong arm was the mode of cure recommended as much by the imperious character of the man as by the temper of the age.¹⁵ He therefore, in the first instance, seized some of the most active and stirring of the adverse laity and put them to death; several inferior priests were next thrown into prison; and, lastly, many of the superior clergy were either banished or delivered over to the executioner. The churches were closed, thorns and briars were planted in the avenues and porches, and it was hoped by impeding the exercise of the Catholic rites gradually to weaken the hold of the orthodox tenets upon the public mind. The persecution raged with the greatest violence in the region of Novempopulana, between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, where nine churches were deprived of their bishops by violent deaths. But these outrages, like all feeble and ill-concerted measures of persecution, only fed the flame they were intended to quench, and conducted directly to quicken the germ of dissolution in the bosom of the state. The sanguinary attack upon their religion and its pastors alienated the entire Catholic and Roman population of the kingdom; it prepared them to second the efforts of *any* foreign invader, and *that* the more zealously if he should chance to bear the banner of orthodoxy in his van.¹⁶

The court and kingdom become distracted with religious strife.

He puts to death some of the most turbulent lay Catholics, throws some of the lower clergy into prison, and banishes a few bishops. He closes the churches of the Catholics,

and kills the bishops of Novempopulana.

He alienates the entire Roman population.

II. The advance of the Burgundians into Gaul has been noticed in a former chapter.¹⁷ During the ascendancy of Aëtius the Burgundians

II. The Burgundians,

¹⁴ In a letter to Basilius, a Catholic bishop; ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. i. p. 793. p. 174. *Sidon. Apoll.* ap. *Bouq.* tom. i. p. 798.

¹⁵ *Lembke*, *Geschich.* v. Span. vol. i. p. 46.

¹⁷ Chap. viii. sec. 4. pp. 395, 396, where their history is brought down to the year 417.

¹⁶ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 25. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii.

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A.D. 432.
obtain a
grant from
Valentinian
III. of the
angle between
the Rhone and
the Saone, the
Jura moun-
tains, and part
of Switzerland,
and undertake
to defend the
passes into
Gaul against
all the enemies
of the empire.

A.D. 450,

or

A.D. 451.

In the execu-
tion of this
duty, king
Gundichar en-
counters At-
tila, and pe-
rishes with all
his army.
The Burgun-
dians demand
Gundieuch, a
Visigothic
prince, for
their king, and
by the assist-
ance of the Vi-
sigoths obtain
an extension
of territory.
Gundieuch
leaves four
sons behind
him, viz. Gun-
dobald, Gode-
gisel, Chilpe-
rich, and Go-
domar, who
share their

were courted by the Romans. A grant was made to them of an extensive tract of country in the angle of the Rhone and the Saone, including the chain of the Jura, a share of the territory occupied of old by the Allobroges, and a part of that of the ancient Helvetii.¹⁸ In this region, though at the period of the transfer it is described as a naked wilderness of trackless mountain and desolated plain, they found sufficient pasturage for their cattle; and they requited the favour by a solemn undertaking to defend the passages into Gaul and Italy against all assailants. The first enemy that presented himself was no other than Attila; and Gundichar, the king of the Burgundians, with all his followers, perished in a gallant but fruitless attempt to arrest the progress of the destroyer on the Gallic frontier.¹⁹ After the death of their king, the Burgundians, it is said, sent to the court of Thorismund of Thoulouse to demand Gundieuch, a prince of the royal family of the Balthi, for their king. This wise measure brought them into friendly connexion with the powerful kingdom of the Visigoths; and when by the death of Aëtius the empire of the Romans was left in a state of hopeless distraction, the Burgundians, favoured by their mighty allies, advanced boldly into Gaul, and possessed themselves of the districts around Lyons, together with a considerable share of Dauphiné lying between the Savoyan Alps and the Rhone, and spread themselves thence westward into Gallia Sequanica as far as the Cevennes.²⁰

Gundieuch, the Balthic king, under whose sway the Burgundian kingdom had thus enlarged its boundaries, left behind him four sons, Gundobald, Godegisel, Chilperich, and Godomar. These princes shared the territories of their father among them.²¹ It is hinted by Jornandes that Eurich, king of the Visigoths, a short time before his death, reduced the Burgundians to submission.²² If the fact be true, the death

¹⁸ *Prosp. Chron. Aquit. Bouq. tom. i. p. 627.* See also *Prosp. Tyro. ibid. p. 639.*

¹⁹ *Hist. Miscell. ap. Murat. tom. i. p. 97.* See also *Müller, Gesch. der Schweiz, vol. i. p. 89.* To accomplish this achievement Attila must have turned a good deal to the left out of the route he is usually supposed to have taken (see sec. I. p. 428 of the preceding chap.), or Gundichar must have advanced a considerable distance to the northward to encounter him.

²⁰ *Marii Chron. D. Bouq. tom. ii. p. 13. Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 9. p. 166. Comp. Aimoin. ap. Bouq. tom. iii. p. 21; and Müller, Gesch. der Schweiz, vol. i. p. 91.*

²¹ *Sidon. Apoll. (lib. v. Ep. 6. Bouq. i. p. 795)* designates Chilperich by the titles of *Magister Militum* and *Tetrarcha. Luden* (vol. iii. p. 61)

thinks the four brothers held the sovereignty in common:—"Sie regierten gemeinsam das reich." *Müller* (loc. cit. p. 103) tells us that Gundioch (so he spells the name, instead of Gundieuch, after *Greg. of Tours, lib. ii. c. 28*) bequeathed a city and its district to each of his four sons: Geneva was given to Chilperich, Besançon to Godegisel, Lyons to Gundobald, and Vienne to Godomar; and he quotes *Gautier, Müller, and Spon, (Hist. de Genève, tom. i. ed. 1731.)* Not having the work of *Spon*, I am ignorant of the authority upon which he grounds his statement; but they must be strong to have induced so diligent an inquirer as *Müller* to adopt them.

²² See *Jornandes, c. 47.*

of Eurich in 480, in all probability, emancipated them from the Gothic yoke, and gave free scope for those pernicious domestic broils by which the kingdom of the Burgundians was reduced to the very verge of ruin. father's dominions.

The date of Gundieuch's death, and the succession of his four sons, is left in obscurity. We are, however, entitled to infer that it took place not later than the year 472, since in that year Gundobald was honoured by the emperor Olybrius with the title of patrician of the West, at which time he is also designated by the Roman writers as king of the Burgundians.²³ He was a prince of great spirit and activity, and enjoyed a high reputation at the court of the emperors Olybrius and Glycerius.²⁴ As commander-in-chief of the Roman army he seems to have served the state with fidelity; but his engagements with Rome were dissolved by his recall to his patrimonial dominions in the year 472. The causes of this sudden departure are not known, though we may fairly presume that since the rights of any possessor of a barbaric throne would in that age be little regarded by others, if he were not upon the spot to defend them in person, Gundobald felt that he must either relinquish his brilliant station in Italy, or forfeit his Burgundian inheritance. His conduct in the government is highly extolled by his contemporaries. Though he adhered through life to the tenets of Arius, yet he was honoured with the approbation of the Catholic clergy, and St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, thought him worthy of his correspondence and instructions.²⁵ Gundobald goes to Italy, and is made commander-in-chief of the Roman armies. A.D. 472. He returns to his own dominions. His conduct as a ruler is extolled by his contemporaries.

It appears that after the dissolution of the empire of the West in 476, the Ligurian province of Italy had been frequently laid waste by the Burgundians of Dauphiné. The chief object of the invaders was to procure a body of predial labourers to till their own desolated and depopulated acquisitions; with that view they carried away the inhabitants of the Italian towns and villages, and distributed them principally over the districts of Savoy and the Lyonese. The limit of time within which this occurrence must have taken place is marked by the deposition of Augustulus on the one hand, and the final establishment of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy under Theoderich the Great on the other.²⁶ During this period Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, enjoyed that ascendancy The Burgundians invade Liguria, and carry off the inhabitants as predial slaves, between the years 476 and 493.

²³ See c. ix. sec. 3. p. 459 of this volume. The authors of *Art de vér. les Dates* have arranged the early history of the Burgundians upon different views; but as they mostly omit their authorities, it is often difficult to determine the grounds upon which they rest their opinions.

²⁴ See his eulogy in *Ennodius*, Vitâ S. Epiphaniî, *Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 371. *Comp. Mascou*, vol. ii. p. 20, note 7.

²⁵ See an Epistle of St. Avitus to Gundobald, ap. *Baluz.* *Miscell.* tom. ii. p. 9. Ed. Lucæ, 1761. The letter treats upon the doctrine of the church relative to the merit of works.

²⁶ It is altogether improbable that it should have occurred after the establishment of Theoderich, since under a prince of his character such outrages could never have been committed with impunity.

Theoderich, king of Italy, sends Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, to redeem the Ligurian captives.

Gundobald receives Epiphanius with respect, and releases his own share of the human booty. Godegisel does the like.

Gundobald a prince of a tolerant character.

He reduces the unwritten laws of the Burgundians to writing.

Gregory of

over the minds of his contemporaries, to which talent, courage, and disinterested devotion in the cause of humanity justly entitled him. The redemption of the captive from servitude and suffering was a task to which the Catholic priesthood of that period zealously and generously devoted themselves. Theoderich therefore selected Epiphanius for the noble duty of negotiating with Gundobald for the release of the Ligurian prisoners. While their contemporary, Alaric II. of Thoulouse, was pursuing the fierce and impolitic example of his father Euric, both Gundobald and Theoderich, though professed Arians, appear to have been sincerely desirous of ingratiating themselves with the powerful and united Catholic party by due toleration and favour. The Ligurian province had been totally emptied of inhabitants by the inroads of the Burgundians; and in the hope of restoring the prosperity of that beautiful region, Theoderich despatched Epiphanius to the court of Gundobald, furnished with a sum of money for the purpose of redeeming such of the captives as their masters might be unwilling to release without ransom. Gundobald received the holy man with kindness and respect; he complied, as far as it was in his power, with his request for the release of the prisoners; he gave up his own slaves to the bishop, and zealously seconded his efforts for the redemption of the remainder. Godegisel, the brother of Gundobald, followed his example; Avitus, the bishop of Vienne, emptied the treasures of his church for the same wise and benevolent object; a train of six thousand redeemed captives at one time set forth on their way rejoicing to their homes, and were followed about three months afterwards by several other detachments, under the immediate superintendence of their pious liberator; his errand of mercy was accomplished, and Epiphanius enjoyed the rare felicity of fulfilling by the same act the will of his heavenly and of his earthly master.²⁷

The captives released by Gundobald were Catholics, and the promptness with which he extended his protection to religious opponents so strenuous as the bishop of Pavia and his captive flock entitles him to the praise of a moderate and tolerant temper. The Burgundians were moreover indebted to him for a written collection of their ancient laws and customs, which still bears his name.²⁸ The friendship of Avitus, the humane and exemplary bishop of Vienne, affords a favourable impression of his conduct, and the general testimony of his own age would have transmitted his character to posterity among the best princes of his day, had not Gregory of Tours, more than a century afterwards, brought

²⁷ *Ennodii, Vitâ S. Epiphan. Bouq. tom. iii. p. 371.*

²⁸ *Cancian. Barb. Leg. Ant. tom. iv. pp. 1-12.*

charges against him, which, if credited, class him at once with the most blood-stained tyrants of ancient or modern times. “Gundobald,” he says, “slew his brother Chilperich with the sword; and threw his wife, with a stone about her neck, into the river, and banished his two daughters Sedeleuba and Chlothildis.” Godomar did not long outlive his brother Chilperich, and the survivors, Gundobald and Godegisel, put themselves in possession of the capitals of the deceased princes.²⁹

Tours charges him with the murder of his brothers, Chilperich and Godomar.

The character of the Burgundian king has been defended against this foul charge by reference to a letter of condolence from Avitus to Gundobald, upon the death of a daughter, in which the bishop alludes to the decrease of the two brothers in terms which are presented to us as irreconcilable with the notoriety at least of Gundobald's guilt. After placing the misfortune under which the king was at that moment suffering in a religious point of view, Avitus thus proceeds:—“On a former occasion you deplored, with unspeakable anguish, the death of two brothers, and your grief was re-echoed by the public lamentation. But, behold! by the mysterious dispensation of divine providence the causes of grief were ordained unto gladness; for the number of royal personages was then an hinderance to the welfare of the kingdom; but now no more are left alive than are needful for the good government thereof. In them likewise is laid up whatever is of advantage to the Catholic faith; whereas we knew beforehand that in them who perished only so much was broken away as could not afterwards have been made to bend to the welfare of the church.”³⁰ But the exculpatory inference here pressed upon us is ambiguous. Avitus upon his own showing *might* have reasons for dissembling his knowledge of the crime of Gundobald, and covering its enormity by the veil of public and religious *expediency*. Nothing, indeed, strikes the reader of the church annalists of the dark ages with more surprise than their indifference to the crimes of princes when not committed against the church, or when redeemed by gifts and favours towards its ministers. Nor were pious dissimulations and pious frauds less familiar occurrences among churchmen than domestic bloodshed in the palaces of kings; and, consistently with our knowledge of this disposition, it seems hardly less probable that Avitus should have been, in this instance, a hypocrite, than that Gundobald should have been a murderer.

The defence of Gundobald against this charge is not sufficiently made out.

Of the two daughters of the unfortunate Chilperich, Sedeleuba, the elder, retired from the world and became the superior of a convent of

Sedeleuba and Chlothildis, the daughters

²⁹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 28. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 175. *Ennod.* Vitâ S. Epiph. loc. mod. cit. *licæ veritati.* *Mascou*, book xi. § 10. p. 20, note 3.

³⁰ No doubt “*utilitati ecclesiæ*,” or “*Catho-*

of Chilperich, are exiled to Geneva. Gundobald marries his son Sigismund to Ostrogotha, a daughter of Theoderich, king of Italy. He resides at Lyons; Godegisel at Geneva.

religious recluses at Geneva; the younger, Chlothildis, was reserved for a far more brilliant, but not a more happy destiny. Meanwhile Gundobald strengthened his political position by the marriage of his son Sigismund to Ostrogotha, a daughter of Theoderich, king of Italy.³¹ He had chosen the city of Lyons for his residence; Godegisel had established the seat of his government at Geneva; and in this position the surviving brothers of the royal house of Gundiuch sullenly watched each other. For the present fear chained down their mutual jealousy. Gundobald was the more vigorous, but Godegisel the more crafty ruler; and he therefore beheld with satisfaction the rapid progress of the Franks as a means in prospect of supplanting and ruining his rival.³²

III. The Alemanni.

III. Since the peace between Valentinian I. and Macrianus, which terminated the great contest with the Rhenish Alemanni,³³ the latter elude the notice of history. The all-engrossing occurrences which filled up the interval between that event and the dissolution of Attila's empire, might, even in a better age of history, have withdrawn the attention of writers from all minor topics. But in fact it is probable that the death of the heroic Macrianus was the term of Alemannic vigour.³⁴ The progress of the nation was obscured by the rapid strides of the Vandals, the Suevi, and Alani, by the advance of the Franks, the Visigoths, and finally of the Huns; and it was not till the great storm of migration had in some degree subsided that they again emerged from obscurity.

The Alemanni are to be regarded as members of the great Suevic race.

Regarding the Teutonic descent of the Alemanni as beyond dispute,³⁵ the question remains,—to which of the several branches of that great stock are they to be assigned? The progress of history seems to furnish a satisfactory answer. Jornandes, in the sixth century, recognizes the Alemanni as the associates of the Suevi;³⁶ and Walafrid Strabo, a Swabian monk of the ninth century, tells us that mixed tribes of Suevi and Alemanni had been from a remote period in possession of territories closely corresponding with those ascribed to them by Jornandes. “And thus,” he continues, “it happens that there being two names for the same people, those among our neighbours who have adopted the Latin tongue³⁷ call us ‘Alemanni;’ while those who use the barbaric speech call us ‘Suevi.’”³⁸ Towards the close of the fifth century, therefore, the

³¹ See c. ix. sec. 4. p. 486 of this volume.

³² *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 54. pp. 179, 180.

³³ See c. vii. sec. 3. p. 287 of this volume.

³⁴ *Luden*, vol. iii. p. 17.

³⁵ See c. v. sec. 3. p. 195; and c. ix. sec. 2. p. 439.

³⁶ *Jorn.* c. lv. p. 693.

³⁷ The Italian and the barbaric Latin of the Franks and Visigoths are here meant.

³⁸ *Walafr. Strabo* in *Proleg.* ad Vit. S. Galli, ap. *Goldastum.* Ss. Rr. Alemann. tom. i. p. 147.

two nations had become mingled together; and three hundred years afterwards they are recognized as the same people, and possessing the same regions, but having two names, both of which, however, are admitted by a competent witness to be equally applicable to both. This is strong evidence of identity of origin, since such an intermixture would, upon a different supposition, be altogether unexampled in the history of the Teutonic races.³⁹

It is now currently believed that the Alemanni passed the Rhine towards the middle of the fifth century.⁴⁰ Without relinquishing their Trans-Rhenane possessions, they seized upon a large part of the ancient Roman province of Germania Prima,⁴¹ together with that portion of the Maxima Sequanorum⁴² which extended from the Jura mountains to the district of Aventicum⁴³ and the northern confine of the Burgundian kingdom.

It is believed that the Alemanni passed the Rhine towards the middle of the fifth century, and occupied a part of Germania Prima, and the northern districts of the modern Switzerland.

SECTION II.—A.D. 456 to A.D. 511.

State of Gaul at the Accession of Chlodwig—Ancestors of Chlodwig—Chlodio—Meerwig—Childerich—Fall of Syagrius—Religion of the Franks—Remigius and Aurelian—Marriage of Chlodwig and Chlothildis—Defeat of the Alemanni—Conversion of Chlodwig—Gundobald and Godegisel—Wars of the Franks and Burgundians—Government of Gundobald—Religious state of Gaul—Franks and Visigoths—Intervention of Theoderich—Rupture between the Franks and Visigoths—Battle of Vouglé—Fall of Alaric II.—Chlodwig Consul—Murders of Sigerich and Chloderich—Of Ragnachur, Richard, and Rignomer—Death of Chlodwig—His Character.

FROM the tenor of the events adverted to in the foregoing section, it will be apparent that several important changes had taken place in Gaul since the invasion of Attila. The scattered appendages of the empire to the southward of the Loire had fallen one by one into the hands of the Visigoths, while the districts lying upon the Saone, and between that

Gaul is in a tranquil state at the accession of Chlodwig.

³⁹ Modern historians contend for a distinction between *Alemanni Proper* and *Suevic Alemanni*. See Müller, *Geschich. der Schweiz*, vol. i. p. 93; and Pfister, *Gesch. von Schwab.* p. 103. But the distinction appears to me unimportant.

⁴⁰ *D. Bouquet*, in his marginal note to *Sidon. Apoll.* (vol. i. p. 807), fixes the first appearance of the Alemanni as settlers in Gaul in the year 456.

⁴¹ *Sidon. Apoll.* vv. 373-375. ap. *Bouq. loc. mod. cit.*

“ Rhenumque ferox Alemanne bibebas
Romanis ripis et utraque superbus in agro
Vel civis vel victor eras.”

Namely, *civis* upon the right bank and *victor* on the left.

⁴² The modern Alsace, with a part of northern Switzerland, as far as the Rhone, the Lemane Lake, and the Berner Oberland.

⁴³ The site of the ancient Colonia Julia Aventicorum is commonly placed near the modern town of Avenche, or Wifflisburg, on the lake of Morat, in the canton of Berne.

river and the Rhone, had become subject to the Burgundians. The Visigothic kingdom had reached the pinnacle of power; but it had likewise lost the first impulse which the spirit of conquest imparts; and while the state was undermined by religious discord, the hand which was to uphold it was found deficient in vigour. Meanwhile Gundobald and Godegisel were too much occupied in watching each other to avail themselves of the powers at their disposal for the aggrandizement of their people. Any movement or change therefore calculated to effect material disturbance in the actual order of Gaul might be expected to proceed from some quarter where the original principle of barbaric migration still existed in its pristine strength; and this was the precise condition of a powerful clan or canton of the Salian or Isalian Franks, which acknowledged Chlodwig the son of Childerich as its king.¹

The ancestors
of the Me-
rovingian race
of Frankish
kings.

Chlodio,

Meerwig, or
Meroveus,

Childerich.

A.D. 456.

There is a strong propensity in men to trace their origin to a remote and illustrious ancestry. Nations, like individuals, delight in ascribing the first feeble beginnings of that which is great and mighty in the earth to the visible design and agency of the Deity; they love to invest their heroes with the character of demigods, and to identify their own honour with that of the first deified ancestor of the ruling family. The traditions of the primitive Franks offer an instance of this disposition. Chlodio, the king of Cambray—so the saying ran—was walking with his wife upon the sea-shore, when suddenly a marine deity emerging from the green ocean assailed and overcame the queen. Meerwig or Meroveus, the offspring of this supernatural violence, was reverently adopted by Chlodio, and succeeded him upon the throne of the Franks.² It is singular that not a single incident of the reign of this Meerwig should have been handed down to us. His son and successor Childerich however fills a more ample space in the traditionary annals of the Franks. While the emperor Marcian sat upon the throne of the East, and Ægidius governed the remnant of the Roman dominion in Gaul, Childerich, we are told, reigned over the clan of Salian Franks resident in Picardy, Artois, and Hainault.³ In his youth he had been carried off by the Huns, but was rescued by his faithful friend Wiomad. Childerich was a voluptuary, and his unbridled licentiousness at length drove his

¹ See preceding section, p. 492.

² *Fredegarius Scholasticus*, Epit. Hist. Franc. ap. *D. Bouq.*, tom. ii. p. 396. *Eckhart* (Franc. Orient., tom. i. p. 29) thinks that the name of this prince, *Meerwig*, quasi *Meer-vich*, a sea monster, suggested the fable. But the two syllables of which it is composed are perfectly significant without any alteration: thus

Meer, the ocean, and *Wig*, a hero or warrior, and *Meerwig*, a warrior of the ocean or sea rover;—in allusion either to his parentage or to his favourite occupation; unless it be supposed that the Franks had by this time abandoned their maritime habits.

³ *Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. cap. 11. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 168 and note (e) ad loc.

subjects to rebellion. Unable to resist the current of public indignation, he fled to the court of Basinus, the king of Thuringia, after agreeing with his friend Wiomad upon a token by which he might be promptly advised of any change in his favour.⁴ By the advice of Wiomad, the tribe then placed themselves under the protection of Ægidius, king of Soissons, and the adviser himself was rewarded by the confidence of the Roman prince. The Franks bore the unusual burthens imposed upon them by their new protector for a period of eight years. An easy poll-tax was paid without much reluctance; but at the treacherous instigation of Wiomad, this tax was first doubled and then trebled; still the recollection of their sufferings under the tyranny of Childerich subdued their natural impatience. Emboldened by this extraordinary passiveness, Ægidius began to treat them as a Roman ruler was accustomed to treat Roman subjects, and he imprisoned or put them to death upon the least appearance of discontent or disaffection. Wiomad privately encouraged these excesses with a view to drive his oppressed countrymen into insurrection, and thus to prepare the way for the restoration of his friend. This scheme succeeded to his wish; the Franks threw off the yoke of the Romans and unanimously recalled Childerich to the throne. The token was sent, and the exiled prince hastened to put himself at the head of his reconciled subjects. The Romans were defeated in several engagements, and the independence of the nation was secured.⁵

While he resided at the court of Thuringia, Childerich had engaged the affections of Basina, the wife of Basinus. Soon after his restoration, the princess eloped from her husband, and presented herself suddenly before Childerich. The astonished prince inquired why she had abandoned her husband's protection, and dared the perils of so long and dangerous a journey? Basina boldly answered that she had fled to him because she knew him to be an able and a brave man, and assured him that had she met with one of superior capacity and gallantry to himself, she would not have chosen *him* for her companion. Flattered by this open and public homage to those qualities of which he was most vain, he instantly took her to wife. The celebrated Chlodwig was the issue of this singular union. Basina was obviously a woman of that irregular

a voluptuary, who, by his violence, drives his subjects into rebellion, and is obliged to fly to the court of Basinus, king of Thuringia. His subjects place themselves under the government of Ægidius, of Soissons.

Wiomad, the friend of the banished Childerich, instigates the Roman prince to commit excesses against his voluntary subjects; they renounce their allegiance to Ægidius. Childerich is recalled from banishment and reinstated. Basina, the wife of Basinus, king of Thuringia, elopes from her husband, and throws herself into the arms of Childerich, who marries her.

Chlodwig is the son of this marriage.

⁴ At parting, we are told, they broke a golden solidus into halves; Childerich retained one part, and Wiomad was to send him the other when a favourable time should arrive for his return to his dominions.

⁵ *Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. p. 168. Gregory says

that after the restoration of Childerich, they (Ægidius and Childerich) "reigned together." This expression might imply that a division of territory took place between the Franks and the Romans, and that a part of the tribe still adhered to the latter.

imagination which, in an earlier age, might have raised her to the dignity and influence of an Aurinia, a Velleda, or a Ganna.⁶ On the first night of her nuptials, she is said to have revealed to her husband, in a kind of waking vision, the future fortunes of their progeny,⁷ in the similitude of a procession of wild and ferocious animals, whose several characters prefigured those of their descendants. The story, though obviously the fiction of an after age, is still the natural expression of that wonder with which nations often look back upon the earlier and obscurer stages of their progress, and compare them with their actual condition.⁸

Childerich extends the dominion of his tribe in Gaul.

He allies himself with the Romans.

He takes Orleans,

and conquers Anjou.

A.D. 463.

Though the events of Childerich's reign are involved in the utmost obscurity and perplexity, owing to the ignorance or carelessness of the writers from whom they must be gathered, yet he appears to have greatly extended the territories of his tribe, and to have ruled with advantage to his subjects. He is said to have combated the Saxons in the North and the Visigoths in the South. From the period of his restoration he continued upon terms of peace, and occasionally of alliance, with Ægidius and his son Syagrius. Thus when Theoderich II. sent his brother Frederick to dislodge the Romans from Armorica,⁹ Childerich took part in a battle near Orleans as the ally of Ægidius, and afterwards added that city to the territory of his nation. According to the testimony of Aimoin, he subsequently carried on the war against the Visigoths on his own account, and even wrested the district of Anjou from their grasp.¹⁰ He considerably extended the power of his tribe in North-western Gaul, and transmitted to his son an extent of dominion

⁶ See chap. ii. sect. 3, p. 95 of this vol.

⁷ The vision, as told by Fredegarius (in *Epit. &c.*, p. 396) runs thus: On the first night of their marriage, Basina admonished her husband to abstinence; "And do you, my lord," she said, "go privately to the gate of the palace, and, upon your return, tell your handmaid what you shall there behold." The king arose and went out, and saw before the palace the similitude of a lion, a unicorn, and a leopard. At the desire of his wife he went out a second time, and saw the figures of a bear and a wolf. Again a third time she bade him go out and tell her what should next present itself. On this occasion, he saw several smaller animals tearing and devouring each other. On the morrow, Basina thus expounds the visions of the night. "The appearances you have seen," she said, "are the shadows of things to come. A son shall be born unto us strong and bold as the lion, and

his children shall be as the leopard and the unicorn. From them shall arise a generation like unto bears and wolves for valour and voracity. The things last seen prefigure the princes which shall succeed them; and these shall reign with a strength no greater than that of dogs; while the crowd of smaller animals tearing and devouring each other denote the people, who, unrestrained by the fear of their princes, shall attack and destroy one another." *Comp. Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. p. 168.

⁸ Fredegarius wrote less than a century and a half after the birth of Chlodwig, which imparts a suitable antiquity to the fable.

⁹ See sect. i. p. 490 of this chap.

¹⁰ *Aimoini Monachi de Gest. Franc.* c. 7, ap. *D. Bouq.*, tom. iii. p. 32. *Comp. Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. c. 12, p. 168; and *Marii Chron.* ap. *Bouq.*, tom. ii. p. 13, (A.D. 463).

which might well excite the apprehensions even of the most powerful among his neighbours.

Yet when in the year 481 Chlodwig succeeded his father, he was but the most considerable of several reigning princes, among whom the government of the Gallic Franks was parcelled out. Three of these princes only are noticed by name, but several others exercised sovereign authority over different cantons in the remoter settlements of the nation. Sigibert reigned over the Ripuarian Franks of Cologne; Chararich ruled a powerful body in some unascertained district of Belgic Gaul; and Ragnachar held his court at Cambray; but all these princes appear to have sprung from one family, in which the kingly dignity was regarded as inherent, as among the Goths it was attached to the races of the Amali and Balthei. Unity of effort for the common aggrandizement of the nation was thus for the present rendered unattainable; though in their actual position the Franks were in possession of the whole of Northern Gaul, from the Rhine to the Loire, with the exception of the Roman kingdom of Soissons. But that feeble state was already encompassed and threatened on every side; and indeed its destruction seemed to flow so inevitably from this forlorn and deserted position, that when the event occurred, the historians of the period content themselves with the simple announcement that in the fifth year of his reign Chlodwig, in conjunction with his kinsman Ragnachar of Cambray, attacked and totally defeated Syagrius king of Soissons, and forced him to take refuge at the court of Alaric II. of Thoulouse. In the pride of success, the combined princes called upon the powerful Gothic monarch to deliver the fugitive Roman into their hands; and that feeble prince, intimidated by this daring requisition, surrendered his guest to the messengers of Chlodwig. Syagrius was privately put to death, and the entire Roman principality fell into the hands of the victors.¹¹

A.D. 481.
Chlodwig one of the many Frankish princes among whom the nation was divided,

puts an end to the Roman kingdom of Soissons.
A. D. 486.

Thus perished, not ingloriously, the last remnant of that prodigious edifice of human greatness, which, less than a century before, had overspread the whole civilized world. But this event, however insignificant it may appear when compared with many others which succeeded it, was pregnant with the most important consequences to the conquerors themselves; it brought them more directly within the influence of Christianity.

The conquest of Soissons brings the Franks within the influence of Christianity.

Of their religion and religious rites prior to their earliest migration little is known beyond what we learn from Tacitus and the Roman historians.¹² In reference to a later period—yet still long prior to their con-

The Franks originally worshippers of the powers of nature.

¹¹ *Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. c. 24, p. 174.

¹² See c. ii. sec. 3. p. 91, et seq. of this volume.

Their principal
divinities are
Wodan, Thor,
and Freya.
Odin, the God
of War.
Thor, the God
of the Ele-
ments.
Freya, the ge-
nerative power
of nature.

version to Christianity,—Gregory of Tours observes, that “the ancient Franks were altogether ignorant of the true God; they made unto themselves idols of the forest and the flood; of birds, of beasts, and of the elements, and these they worshipped as gods, and were accustomed to offer up sacrifices to them.”¹³ Putting out of view the charge of idolatry, the objects of worship here described are substantially the great powers of nature. They divided the government of the world between the two great principles of good and evil; and this dualism was singularly combined with a notion of a threefold nature in the Divinity. Without any, or, at best, a very remote conception of the divine Unity, they figured the aggregate powers of the universal mind under the forms of Wodan, and Thor, and Freya. They assigned the pre-eminence in rank to Wodan, the god of war, the Roman Mars, the Odin or Othin of the Scandinavians, Goths, Saxons, and Longobardi. Thor, worshipped also by the ancient Franks under the name of Irmin and Thunaer, and by the Scandinavians under that of Erich, presided over the elements and wielded the thunderbolt. Freya, or as she is named by the northern nations, Frigga,¹⁴ was the Venus of the Teutonic mythology, the mother of the gods, the symbol of the generative and conservative powers of nature. Though these ideal forms underwent several changes in their passage through so many different channels, yet they preserved such a general resemblance as to leave no doubt of their common origin.¹⁵ The three divinities, Wodan, and Thunaer, and Saxnote, or Odin of the brand, composed the latest Frankish triad. The attribute of the second person Thor is well expressed in the

¹³ *Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. c. 10, p. 167. This passage charges direct *idolatry* against the ancient Franks; but I am inclined to think that there is at least some exaggeration here. The evidence of idolatry, i. e. *the worship of idols*, as distinguished from mere polytheism or false religion, is exceedingly weak against the ancient Germans. The ecclesiastical writers of the middle ages made little or no distinction between *false deities* and *idols*, that is, between polytheism and idolatry. I do not recollect a solitary passage in any ancient author from the age of Cæsar downwards, in which a single idol is mentioned by name, or the place of its worship distinctly pointed out. The dark and shadowy account of the worship of the goddess Hertha, in Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 40), does not seem to me to furnish any contradiction; since it is by no means clear that the worshippers in that in-

stance made use of any image to represent the object of their adoration. The zeal of the Christian clergy caused them wholly to overlook this distinction, and to assimilate every kind of heathenism with that system of flagrant idolatry which they had succeeded in overthrowing. They could not even figure to themselves a pagan but as an image-worshipper.

¹⁴ Probably the Hertha or Mother Earth of Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 40.).

¹⁵ And this opinion is quite consistent with the fact that the later form of the Teutonic Triad is unquestionably of Scandinavian origin. Sweden, or Scandinavia, had become the holy land of the Teutonic religions. See the curious description of the temple or sanctuary of the Scandinavian Triad at Upsala, in Sweden, given by *Adam of Bremen* in his *Ecclesiastical History*, ch. 233, ap. *Canciani*, tom. iii. p. 77.

vernacular variety of pronunciation, importing the Thunderer, the Forger of the Thunderbolt, the power of the Air.¹⁶

The Franks propitiated these deities by bloody sacrifices, which were performed upon an altar of natural rock, or of hewn stone. This altar, when artificial, consisted of a huge oblong block or slab, resting upon several smaller slabs, and placed in a direction from east to west. The great sacrificial stone was provided with a deep groove or runlet to drain off the blood of the victim. The Franks, like all the members of the great Teutonic family, selected the glade of a forest, the margin of a fountain, or the summit of a rocky hill, for the performance of their religious rites; and there they erected their massy altars.¹⁷ Human victims were sometimes sacrificed upon them, and relations are even said to have slaughtered each other to avert some great evil, or to obtain some great benefit from the gods.¹⁸ But these occasions were not frequent; goats, horses, cattle, and swine were the ordinary victims. A solemn sacrifice was always accompanied with feasting and revelry; minstrels and jugglers entertained the worshippers with song and dance, and scenic representations, the subjects of which were taken from the story of the god, or the deeds of ancient heroes.¹⁹

The dignity of the priesthood among the Franks was not restricted to any separate order or description of persons; they had nothing resembling the sacerdotal castes of the Egyptians and Hindûs, or the priestly orders of Christendom. The dignity and the privilege of the priest-

To these deities they sacrifice animals—occasionally human victims—upon massive altars of hewn stone or natural rock.

But there was no sacerdotal order among the Franks.

¹⁶ See the form of abjuration and confession appended to the *Indiculus Superstitionum*, ap. *Canc.* tom. iii. p. 76. According to *Eckhart* (*Francia Orient.* tom. i. p. 406) this formula was drawn up at a synod held in the year 742, for the conversion of the half pagan dependencies of the Frankish kingdom. Conf. *Monë* *Gesch. der Heidenthumes im Nördlichen Europa*, tom. ii. pp. 135 and 149.

¹⁷ See *Monë*, vol. ii. pp. 35—87.

¹⁸ *Procop.* de Bell. Goth. lib. ii. c. 23, p. 448; and Conf. *ibid.* c. 15, in which he gives a striking account of the religious rites of the Jutes (*Γαυτοί*) and Scandinavians (*Σκρηδιφιννοι* and *Θουλιται*). The sacrifice of human victims was a very general practice, but the occasions were rare, excepting among the piratical Saxons. *Eckhart*, *Francia Orient.* tom. i. pp. 413, 416, and *Monë* (*loc. cit.*) p. 58.

¹⁹ See *Monë*, *loc. cit.* *passim*. It is still a matter of discussion whether the ancient Franks had temples. *Tacitus* (*Germ.* c. 9) declares that the Germans built no temples and made no images, because they believed the divine nature

too great to be confined within walls, and too mysterious to be represented under a human form. This statement is substantially confirmed by the extreme rarity of images among the numerous antiquities of the old Teutonic religion met with in Germany, Scandinavia and France; and by the innumerable sacred groves, rocks, hills, and fountains, the locality of which has been satisfactorily determined from language, and names, as well as from the objects brought to light by modern antiquaries. The passages in *Tacitus* (*Ann.* lib. i. c. 51), relative to the temple of Tanfana, may raise a difficulty. *Monë* (*loc. cit.* p. 18, note 12) however gives substantial reasons for believing that this temple was nothing more than a sacrificial rock or altar of great sanctity. But the "*Casæ*," or "*Casulæ seu Fani*" of the *Indiculus*, require explanation. *Canciani*, however, finds no difficulty; he regards them as temporary wicker-houses or sheds erected for the protection of the worshippers against the weather. See his essay upon the fourth article of the *Indiculus*, tom. iii. p. 53.

hood was attached in no degree to the person, but solely to the office. The head of each family was at the same time its priest; and the noblest of the Gau or Canton, without regard to temporal office or function, was in all probability likewise the high priest of the community.²⁰

They are much
addicted to
sortilege and
divination;

It may be questioned however whether the influence of the priestly office ever stood so high among the people, as that of a numerous class of persons whom we find in every Germanic community, feeding upon the fears, the ignorance, and the superstition of the multitude. The priests were, it is true, the public sacrificers, the moderators in the general assemblies, and the official augurs of the canton; but the natural desire to penetrate into the secrets of futurity incident to a life of wandering adventure, peril, and privation, called into being a multitude of pretenders to the occult sciences. Thus magicians and sorcerers, enchanters, wizzards, storm-conjurers, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, casters of lots, and expounders of dreams, administered to the general appetite for the marvellous, sustained the anxious hopes of the distressed, and fostered the secret desires of the ambitious; while necromancers and witches, and poison-dealers²¹ fed the malicious or vindictive passions of the people; or avenged their own wrongs by a ruthless use of that power which their own cunning and the superstitious terrors of their victims had placed in their hands. But as this class of persons does not necessarily attach itself to any settled system of religious belief, there remained no order of persons in society mainly or exclusively interested in supporting the ancient polytheism. The Christian teachers, therefore, had to contend not with opinions or creeds, but simply with prejudices and superstitions. They must have met the former in open combat; with the latter they might dally and tamper. They took the field with the advantages of a settled doctrinal system, a trained militia strictly severed from the rest of the community, endowed with temporal wealth, and far advanced beyond the age in learning and intelligence. It is true that the Christianity of the fifth century had greatly declined from the spirituality of the apostolic age; but the zeal of the priesthood for the dissemination of the religion of Christ had not yet greatly slackened;

but possess no
system of reli-
gious doctrine.
The Christian
priesthood
have only to
contend with
superstitions,
not with
creeds.

²⁰ Tac. Germ. c. 7 and 11. *Monē*, loc. cit. tom. ii. p. 15. Thus in the fifth century the word *Sinist*, elder or noble, denoted the high priest of the Burgundians.

²¹ The *Indiculus* (ubi sup.) and the Capitularies give a long list of these practitioners. They are called *Cauculatores* (Gaukler, jugglers), *Incantatores*, *Tempestarii*, *Obligatores*

(knot-tyers), *Somniatorum conjectores*, *Harioli*, *Sortilegi*, *Divini*, *Venefici*, *Vaticinatores*, *Mathematici*, and *Magici*. Vid. *Capit. Reg. Franc.* lib. i. § 62, ap. *Cancian.* lib. iii. p. 162; lib. vi. § 215. p. 283; § 374, p. 298; § 397, p. 303. See also *ibid.* lib. vii., and the *Additiones*, *passim*.

and the accommodations and compliances to which, in the course of that decline, they had learnt to stoop, afforded advantages which greatly abridged the process of conversion. The fortune of war, its chances and its perils, were the divinities most interesting to the German warrior; these unseen, incomprehensible, irresistible influences surrounded him on every side, and entered inevitably into every favourite pursuit of his life. His devotion towards his gods depended in a great degree upon the success of his undertakings; their credit rose or fell in proportion to their supposed power to assist him in his projects and enterprises; and that power could be measured and ascertained by the event alone. The Christian priesthood soon perceived the advantage which might be made of the weak and variable creed of the pagan; the victory could not fail them if they could persuade the Frank that the God of the Christians was a more powerful God of battle than his Wodan; and that while his own capricious duties slept or diverted themselves, or deserted to the enemy, the saints were ever attentive to the wants and wishes of the servants of the true God, and ever present to help and console and save their pious worshippers.

The devotion of the German to his gods depends upon his opinion of their powers to help him in his wars, and he is ready to abandon them as soon as that belief is shaken.

After the defeat and death of Syagrius, Chlodwig found occupation for his arms in reducing the Roman cities to obedience and in chastising the Tungrian Franks, who had invaded his territories.²² The city of Paris is said to have resisted his arms for the space of two whole years;²³ but after its conquest or surrender, he made it the seat of his government. In the tenth year of his reign, the greatest part of Northern Gaul, from the forest of the Ardennes to the Loire, acknowledged his dominion; and in the interval a more frequent intercourse of messages and embassies had grown up between him and his neighbours the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Alemanni. Meanwhile his Christian subjects had experienced most of the calamities incident to barbaric conquest. In the first impulse of victory, the Franks had shown as little regard for the property of the church as for that of the laity. The furniture, the plate, and the utensils of the Christian temples were ruthlessly carried off, and cast among the heaps of spoil, there to abide the customary division by lot among the captors. But the clergy, who were

Chlodwig subduces the Tungrians, and takes Paris.

A. D. 491.

The Franks despoil the churches, and carry off the sacred vessels and treasures.

²² *Gregory of Tours* says that in the tenth year of his reign, Chlodwig made war upon the *Thoringi*. The Abbé *Du Bos* (*Hist. Crit.*, &c., liv. ii. c. 7) proposes *Tungri* as the true reading. The *Art de Vér. les Dates* (vol. i. p. 531) and *Mascou* (vol. ii. p. 15) adopt the speculations of Daniel and Cointe, and by dint of conjecture make up a war between Chlodwig and

Basinus, king of Thuringia, in which the former, after several victories, expels Basinus and reduces the Thuringians to subjection. *Luden* (vol. iii. p. 644, note 2), I think properly, reads "*Tungri*," and rejects the conjectures of the French critics.

²³ *Vit. S. Genovevæ* ap. *Bouq.*, tom. iii. p. 370.

interested as a body in the preservation of these hallowed deposits, never lost sight of the purloined treasures; they traced and followed them with indefatigable perseverance, and their zeal was rewarded, in many instances, by the recovery of the sacred property.

St. Remigius,
Archbishop of
Rheims, ob-
tains the favour
of Chlodwig.

Much of this kind of spoliation occurred not only without the consent but against the wishes of Chlodwig. The reputation of Remigius, the Roman archbishop of Rheims, for sanctity and probity of life, had made no small impression upon the minds of the conquerors. "Though they were as yet but mere heathen," says his biographer,²⁴ "yet they honoured *him* in whom the lustre of divine grace shone forth so brightly. The king also delighted in his conversation, and at his suggestion did many good deeds, and abstained from much evil." By the interest of Remigius the Christian churches obtained a degree of relief and security. The king himself, on some occasions, interfered to procure the restitution of the sacred vessels and other church property.²⁵ Remigius appears, about this time, to have found an able coadjutor in a Roman gentleman named Aurelian, who had recommended himself to the favour of Chlodwig by that adroitness in public affairs which a civilized education imparts, and to the advantages of which the intelligent barbarian could not be insensible. The tenour of the subsequent events points strongly to the instrumentality of these two men in the conversion of Chlodwig to the Christian faith.

Remigius finds
an able coad-
jutor in the
Roman
Aurelian :

and they de-
termine to
unite the king
in marriage
with an ortho-
dox Christian
princess, as a
preliminary
step to his
conversion.

Hitherto the Frankish king had no acknowledged or legitimate wife; and his Christian subjects, both clergy and laity, looked forward with the deepest anxiety to the choice he might make. The laity instinctively perceived the advantages which must result to them from his marriage with a Christian princess; and the clergy, to whom the orthodoxy of their intended convert was at least as important as his conversion itself, were equally anxious that the faith of the elected bride should be free from that taint of Arianism so fatally prevalent in the neighbouring barbaric courts. With these interests in our view, and comparing their tendency with the direction which this important transaction actually assumed, we cannot resist the impression that Remigius and Aurelian had already fixed upon the person whom they designed to become their

²⁴ *Vita S. Remigii* ap. Bouq., tom. iii. p. 374.

²⁵ On one of these occasions, Chlodwig is reported to have requested that a rich vase which had been taken from a Christian church might be added to his share of the spoils, to enable him to restore it to its owners. But a private warrior stepped from the ranks and struck his battle-axe into the vessel, declaring that the king should have nothing beyond his appointed share of the booty. Chlodwig suppressed his anger;

but about a twelvemonth afterwards, observing the same soldier at a public muster with neglected armour and unserviceable weapons, he took the javelin from his hand and flung it upon the ground; and as the other stooped to take it up, cleft his skull with his battle-axe, exclaiming, "Be it unto thee as thou didst unto the hallowed vessel." *Greg. Turon.*, lib. ii. p. 175; *Aimoin* ap. Bouq. tom. iii. p. 37.

instrument for the conversion of Chlodwig and the triumph of orthodoxy in Gaul.

In the course of Chlodwig's transactions with the neighbouring Burgundians, Aurelian had been sent upon an embassy to the court of Gundobald, at Lyons.²⁶ Upon his return, he took occasion to praise the beauty and the many noble qualities of Chlothildis,²⁷ the daughter of Chilperich, the deceased brother of Gundobald. Though the greater part of her family were attached to Arianism, the princess herself had been brought up in the orthodox faith. She lived in retirement at Geneva, in the society of her sister Sedeleuba, and in the practice of those religious and charitable observances to which the church ascribed the highest merit. Though Chlodwig had already had a son born to him by a native concubine, to whom, consistently with the custom of the Franks, the succession to the throne of his father was as much open as if his mother had borne the character of a legitimate wife,²⁸ yet the curiosity or the appetites of the king had been so successfully wrought upon by the representations of his servants, that he determined to make a formal demand of the hand of Chlothildis from her uncle Gundobald. But whether from a consciousness of the foul injuries currently imputed to him against her parents,²⁹ or from some political motive of which we are ignorant, the Burgundian prince evaded the request. But in the interim Aurelian had obtained a private interview with the princess; he had exchanged the tokens of betrothal with her on behalf of his master, and had carried back to the Frankish prince a message of approbation and encouragement, which added fuel to the flame of his passion, and determined him to brook no delay. He sent his ambassador Aurelian a third time to the court of Gundobald, with the alternative of compliance or war. The Burgundians were not in a condition to encounter him in the field, and the princess was reluctantly permitted to accompany the Frankish embassy to the city of Soissons, where she became the wife of Chlodwig.³⁰

Aurelian is sent ambassador to the court of Gundobald, king of Burgundy. He praises the beauty and talents of Chlothildis, the niece of Gundobald, to Chlodwig,

who becomes desirous to make her his wife.

After some hesitation, she is allowed to depart with the envoy of Chlodwig, and is married to him at Soissons.

A.D. 493.

²⁶ From the notices of Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, Aimoin, and the author of the "*Gesta Francorum*," one is naturally led to infer that *Aurelian was the ambassador* on this occasion. The author of the *Vita S. Chrotildis* (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 397) expressly affirms it.

²⁷ This name is uniformly written *Chrotechildis* by Gregory of Tours and Fredegarius; but the sound is so harsh and guttural, that I have ventured to approximate the spelling to that of Aimoin and the author of the life of "*St. Chlothildis*." The change of the letter *r* into an *l* is allowable.

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²⁸ That son was Theuderich or Theoderich, who actually ruled over the kingdom of Austrasia after the death of his father.

²⁹ See sect. 1, p. 497 of this chap.

³⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. p. 175; *Aimoin* ap. *Bouq.* tom. iii. pp. 37, 38; *Fredegar.* *Ibid.* tom. ii. pp. 398, 399. The two last-quoted writers have amplified the story of Chlodwig's courtship into a kind of dramatic romance; but though this story is properly rejected by modern writers as a matter of history, it is not without its value as a picture of the manners attributed by the Franks of the eighth century to those of the

The new queen immediately sets about the conversion of her husband ;

By the union of Chlodwig with a Catholic princess the churchmen had obtained an important triumph. The new queen pursued the task of converting her husband with unremitting zeal and assiduity, and prevailed upon him to permit her first-born son to be baptized into the Christian faith. This child died; and Chlodwig did not fail to impute the accident to the resentment of his gods. The queen bore his reproaches with unshaken piety and patience, and fearlessly carried her next son Chlodomer to the font of the Christians. The child became sickly; the king predicted its death; but this time the prayers of Chlothildis were heard; the infant recovered, and she had now one prejudice less to combat in the mind of her husband.³¹ The royal pair frequently discussed in private the merits of their respective religions. The queen implored him to abandon his false deities,³² and be converted to the true God; but Chlodwig, whose religious profession appears to have been grounded upon a strict calculation of profit and loss, replied to her entreaties by demanding palpable proofs of temporal advantage from the proposed exchange; and though he professed himself favourably disposed towards the Christians and their faith, yet he pertinaciously declined baptism until he could open the minds of his subjects for the reception of the new religion, and produce to them such proofs of expediency as were congenial with his own and their religious prepossessions.³³

but the king declines baptism till he should be able to produce to his subjects good proof of the advantages to be derived from the exchange. The queen and Remigius accept his terms.

The Alemanni attack and defeat the Ripuarian Franks of Cologne. Chlodwig marches against them.

Battle of Tolbiac.

Chlodwig is hard pressed by the enemy, and in his dis-

The queen and her advisers Remigius and Aurelian were disposed to accept the king's terms of conversion, and to wait with patience for that opportunity which they doubted not would soon be granted them for producing a decisive impression upon his mind. In the third or fourth year of the union of Chlodwig and Chlothildis, the Rhenish Alemanni attacked Sigibert, king of the Ripuarian Franks of Cologne. The Frankish tribe suffered a defeat, and their king retired from the field with a severe wound in the knee.³⁴ Alarmed by the progress of the Alemanni, Chlodwig marched against them with the whole force of his kingdom. According to Gregory of Tours, the encounter took place near the town of Tolbiacum or Zülpich, about twenty miles south of Cologne. Up to a late period of the engagement, the advantage was on the side of the Alemanni. With poignant grief Chlodwig beheld his warriors yielding to the impetuosity of the enemy. At this moment of deep distress Aurelian approached the king, and brought the God of his

fish. I have added only a few natural and almost self-evident incidents from Aimoin, Fredegarius, and the Vita S. Chrotildis, to the simpler narrative of Gregory of Tours.

³¹ *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. p. 176. Gesta Franc.*

tom. ii. p. 551. Aimoin, tom. iii. p. 39.

³² "Ut Idola negligere" is the expression of Gregory.

³³ *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cc. 29 and 30. p. 176.*

³⁴ *Ibid. c. 37. p. 182.*

wife Chlothildis to his remembrance. At the name of his queen Chlodwig melted into tears, and raising his hands and eyes to heaven, exclaimed,—“Jesu Christ! thou whom my Chlothildis declares to be the Son of the living God, a present help to them that are in need, and the giver of victory to them which believe in thee, I implore thy gracious aid; and if thou grant me the victory over these mine enemies, so that I may prove that protection which the people who call themselves by thy name do boast to have of thee, then will I likewise believe in thee, and will be baptized in thy name; for, alas! I have called upon mine own gods for help, but they are far away from me; therefore I believe that such gods have no power to help. Now, therefore, I call upon thee, desiring to believe in thee: suffer me not, I beseech thee, to be trodden down by mine adversaries!” Strengthened and cheered by his new-born faith, and possibly also more effectually seconded by those who desired his conversion, the king once more plunged into the battle. The Alemanni wavered, gave ground, and at length fled. Their king was slain; a great portion of the people submitted to the conqueror, and by this single victory Chlodwig extended his dominions to the banks of the Rhine.³⁵

tress prays to the God of the Christians.

He promises to become a Christian if the victory be granted him.

He defeats the Alemanni,

At the conclusion of the war Chlothildis claimed the fulfilment of the vow made in the hour of peril, and sent for the archbishop of Rheims to prepare her husband for his reception into the bosom of the Christian church. Chlodwig declared his readiness to be baptized, but objected that his subjects might not permit him to abandon their gods, and that it was necessary to consult them before he took so decisive a step. An assembly of the nation was convoked, and the king was about to address them upon the motives of his conversion, when he was interrupted by the unanimous declaration that they were ready to forsake their mortal deities, and to worship the eternal God, whom Remigius preached unto them. When the decision of the people was announced to the archbishop, he prepared to celebrate the triumph of the faith with all the pomp of the church. A new baptistery was erected for the reception of the multitude of converts; a capacious font was prepared; the outer court of the church was overspread with painted awnings, and adorned with snow-white hangings; the baptistery was sprinkled with odoriferous balsams, and perfumed tapers scented the air around. The king advanced first to the font and demanded baptism;³⁶ the prelate

and is reminded of his vow.

He convokes an assembly of his warriors, who unanimously approve of his conversion, and resolve to renounce their gods,

³⁵ Comp. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 30. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 176.—*Aimoin.* ibid. tom. iii. pp. 38, 39.—*Gesta Franc.* ibid. tom. ii. p. 551. See also *Luden*, vol. iii. pp. 67, 68.—*Sismondi*,

Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 185.—*Eckhart*, *Francia Orient.* tom. i. p. 44.

³⁶ The rhetorical conceit which Gregory puts into the mouth of Remigius upon this occasion

and Remigius baptizes the king with three thousand of his subjects in one day.

baptized and anointed him in the name of the co-equal and co-eternal Trinity, and sanctified him with the sign of the cross. More than three thousand of his warriors partook of the sacred rite with him. The ancient polytheism of the Franks received a mortal blow, but at first the change was more nominal than real: the paganism of the Franks had indeed put on the garb of Christianity; but more than one century elapsed before the spirit of the gospel had supplanted even the grossest practices of the ancient superstition.³⁷

A portion of the Alemanni submit to Chlodwig; another part throws itself upon the protection of Theoderich king of Italy.

The consequences of the victory of Tolbiac were, in a merely political view, more important than the simple narrative of Gregory of Tours leads us to expect. One portion of the Alemannic people became the tributary vassals of Chlodwig; the remainder quitted their settlements upon the Upper Rhine, and threw themselves upon the protection of Theoderich king of Italy. That prince received them with politic kindness; for a portion of the people he provided a secure retreat upon the Rætian and Norican frontiers of his kingdom, and the remainder he settled in the modern Tyrol and in Lombardy.³⁸ The rapid progress of the Frankish power had not escaped the vigilance of Theoderich and his able advisers. The expulsion of the Alemanni from the Upper Rhine had brought the victorious Franks into a dangerous proximity to his own frontiers; and with a view to ascertain their intentions he sent an embassy to the court of Chlodwig, with a letter complimenting him upon his late successes, but at the same time avowing his friendly disposition towards the expelled Alemanni, and his determination to protect them in their new possessions.³⁹

Gundobald and Godegisel, joint-kings of the Burgundians, watch and suspect each other.

This transaction, however obscure in the detail, is evidence at least of the formidable posture the Franks had by this time assumed. It is not indeed probable that Theoderich had as yet conceived any serious apprehensions of their designs against the peace of his dominions. But even if he had, other events were in progress which gave a different turn to their projects of aggrandizement. Gundobald and Godegisel, the brother-kings of the Burgundians, had for some time past watched and suspected each other. Whatever degree of credit we may give to the foul accusations brought against Gundobald,⁴⁰ his character as a ruler

—“*Mitis depone colla, Sicamber: adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti,*” adds nothing either to the spirit or the truth of the narrative.

³⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 31. p. 177.—*Aimoin. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 39.—*Gesta Francor.* *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 552.

³⁸ *Cassiodorus* (*Variar.* lib. iii. Ep. 50.) has preserved to us a letter of Theoderich, in which he directs the provincials of the Norican frontier to exchange their small and hardy cattle for the

exhausted and emaciated beasts of the Alemanni, a barter by which both parties would be gainers; since the Noricans would thereby obtain a larger and more stately breed, and the Alemanni would get fresher and more serviceable cattle for their further migration. Compare *Eckhart*, *Francia Orient.* tom. i. p. 44.

³⁹ *Cassiodor.* *Variar.* lib. ii. Ep. 41.

⁴⁰ See sec. I. p. 495 of this chapter.

begins, from this period, to rise in our estimation. The tenour of Germanic history leads us to conclude that the condition of vassalage was not regarded as implying the loss of national independence. It does not therefore surprise us to find the high-spirited Burgundians ready to acknowledge a foreign superior when it suited the views of prince or people. Godegisel secretly proposed to become the vassal of Chlodwig, and to pay him a tribute, if by his assistance he might rid himself of a rival, and add the dominions of his brother to his own. The Frankish king embraced the proposal, and lost no time in carrying his part of the compact into execution; he took the field with the whole strength of his kingdom; and Gundobald, alarmed by the sudden advance of the Franks, and not suspecting treachery, summoned his brother to resist the common enemy. Godegisel accordingly joined him with all his force; and the combined armies encountered Chlodwig upon the river Ouche not far from Dijon.⁴¹ But at the very commencement of the battle, Godegisel suddenly went over to the Franks with all his followers; Gundobald was totally defeated and driven for refuge to the southern extremity of his kingdom, where he shut himself up within the walls of Avignon. Hither he was pursued by his active enemy; Chlodwig, though little accustomed to the siege of fortified places, conducted his operations against Avignon with ability and perseverance, and speedily reduced the Burgundian king to the severest distress. In this extremity Aridius, a confidential officer, went privately to the camp of Chlodwig, and succeeded in convincing that prince that he would far more effectually consult his own interests by reducing both the Burgundian brothers to the condition of tributary vassalage, than by strengthening either at the expense of the other; since it would be an easier matter to keep them in subjection by availing himself adroitly of their mutual jealousies and animosities, than to reduce a high-spirited and warlike nation by force of arms; and that thus, without incurring the risks of war, he might derive all that revenue and those services that he could expect from an absolute conquest of their dominions. Accordingly a treaty was entered into with Gundobald, by which that prince engaged to become tributary to the Frankish kingdom; he paid one year's tribute in advance as an acknowledgment of vassalage, and solemnly promised to discharge it punctually for the future.⁴²

Godegisel proposes to become the vassal of Chlodwig for Burgundy, if he would assist him to dethrone his brother. Chlodwig agrees to these terms.

Gundobald is totally defeated by Chlodwig and Godegisel. Chlodwig besieges him in Avignon.

Gundobald submits to become tributary to the Franks, and Chlodwig retires.

The Burgundians rally round Gundobald.

But the powerful and unscrupulous character of Gundobald soon dissipated all hope of rendering the animosity of the two brothers subservient

⁴¹ Lat. *Oscara* or *Iscara*, a small stream in Burgundy which falls into the Saone at St. Jean de Losne, a town about twenty miles east-south-east of Dijon.

⁴² *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 32. pp. 178, 179.—*Fredegar.* Epit. c. 22. p. 400.—*Gesta Franc.* c. 16. p. 553.—*Aimoin.* tom. iii. lib. i. c. 19. p. 40.

to the project of keeping both in subjection. As soon as he had shaken off his great assailant, Gundobald bent all his energies to accomplish the downfall of his perfidious brother. After the victory on the Ouche, Godegisel had retired to Vienne, and abandoned himself to the enjoyment of his newly-acquired power, as if he were already master of the whole kingdom. But the dream of dominion soon passed away. The nation flocked to the standard of Gundobald; Godegisel could not venture to meet him in the field; and he and his party were closely besieged in the populous city of Vienne, where they were soon made to feel those privations of confinement and famine so distressing to the habits and constitutions of the Germanic barbarians. With a view to their own relief they drove great numbers of the Roman populace out of the city. One of these, a labourer, ordinarily employed in repairing the public works, undertook to introduce a party of Gundobald's followers into the place through the vent of the great aqueduct which supplied the city with water. The scheme was executed with resolution and skill, and was attended with perfect success. The city fell into the hands of Gundobald; Godegisel and the Arian bishop of Vienne were put to death in the great church in which they had taken refuge; the Roman magistracy, and all the Burgundian adherents of Godegisel were put to the sword, together with a considerable body of Franks whom Chlodwig had left behind for the service of his ally.⁴³

He besieges his brother in the city of Vienne.

The city is taken, and Godegisel perishes.

Gundobald frees himself from the Frankish vassalage.

He becomes the legislator of his people.

He treats the

Gundobald was now the sole king of the Burgundians; the nation adhered to him with hearty loyalty, and enabled him to set the power of the Franks at defiance. Not only was the tribute to Chlodwig discontinued, but the latter does not appear to have thought of again treating the powerful Gundobald as his vassal. The latter devoted the remainder of his reign, in a great degree, to the labours of peace and legislation. He caused the customs of the Burgundians to be reduced into writing, and extended the protection of his laws to his Roman subjects.⁴⁴ His anxiety for the pure and equal administration of justice is expressed with much earnestness and simplicity in the introduction to the code which bears his name.⁴⁵ Though himself an Arian, his Catholic

⁴³ *Gregory of Tours* (lib. ii. c. 33. p. 179) says, that these Franks were taken prisoners, and sent into exile to Alaric, king of the Visigoths. But at this time there was no quarrel between the Franks and the Visigoths; and the transaction is altogether unaccountable, unless we assume, with *Luden* (vol. iii. p. 81), that Gundobald designed to involve Alaric in a war with Chlodwig by way of a diversion. But *Fredagarius* (Epit. c. 24. p. 401) puts an end to the question. He affirms, in direct contra-

diction to Gregory, of whom he is represented by all modern writers to have been the mere epitomiser, that the whole body, to the number of five thousand, was put to the sword; and *this* is, no doubt, the more credible version of the story.

⁴⁴ *Cancian*. tom. iv. p. 30, note (1).

⁴⁵ The copy which has come down to us, though it goes by his name, is supposed not to be the original law of Gundobald, which was promulgated at the assembly of estates at Lyons in the year 502. His son and successor, St.

subjects enjoyed perfect toleration under his government. Epiphanius bishop of Pavia,⁴⁶ and Avitus of Vienne, exercised at different times great influence over him; and he is even said to have so far yielded to the persuasions of the latter, as to have renounced in private the errors of Arianism. At a public disputation between the orthodox and the Arian clergy of his dominions held at Lyons in the year 499,⁴⁷ he presided with so much equity and discretion as to earn the praises of the Catholic disputants. He even evinced some desire to be admitted privately into the bosom of the orthodox church. But Avitus refused to accept anything short of an open retractation, and Gundobald continued to the end of his reign in public a member of the Arian communion, in private, and probably also in the opinion of his Catholic subjects, the favourer, if not the convert of orthodoxy. By this able management the Catholic clergy were permitted to entertain hopes of his ultimate conversion, and these hopes suspended during his lifetime the operation of that adverse influence which the orthodoxy of Chlodwig enabled him to exercise in the affairs of his Arian neighbours.⁴⁸

two great Christian sects with impartiality.

He allows the Catholics to believe him a secret convert to their opinions, but declines a public recantation of Arianism.

But though toleration may assuage, it does not, in the ordinary course of human conduct, operate to extinguish religious animosity. Though the Burgundian and Ostrogothic kings abstained from persecuting their catholic subjects, yet those subjects were hardly less anxious for the triumph of orthodoxy than the oppressed prelates and clergy of the Visigothic kingdom. The entire Roman population of Gaul and Italy and Spain regarded Chlodwig as the chosen instrument of Providence for the triumph of the true faith, and the eradication of that baneful heresy which the barbaric conquerors had brought with them from the East.⁴⁹ All his enterprises, whatever their character or motives, were

Chlodwig is regarded as the champion of orthodoxy by the Gallic clergy and laity.

Sigismund, is known to have amplified and improved it, and the edition we possess contains several enactments of the following reigns. The law received two several additions during the lifetime of Gundobald, and the Tit. lii. was added after his death. See *Cancian*, Barb. Leg. Ant. tom. iv. pp. 3, 23, and 28.

⁴⁶ See the preceding section of this chapter, and the extract from *Ennodius* ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 370.

⁴⁷ *Art de vér. les Dates*, tom. ii. p. 423. The curious "Collatio episcoporum adversus Arianos, &c., coram rege Gundobado" is found in *D'Achery*, Spicilegium, tom. iii. p. 304, et seqq.

⁴⁸ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 34. pp. 179, 180. Comp. *Sismondi*, Hist. de Fr. tom. i. p. 215.

⁴⁹ "Your faith," says the *Burgundian* bishop St. Avitus to Chlodwig, "is our victory." See *Epist. S. Aviti*, ad Chlodovæum ap. *Bouq.* tom. iv.

p. 49; and Pope Anastasius (*Varior. Epist.* ibid. p. 50) thus addresses the royal convert:—"And do thou, O most glorious and illustrious king, make glad the heart of your holy mother (the Church), and be a pillar of steel unto her; for the charity of many hath waxed cold, and by the perverseness of evil-doers our vessel is tossed and buffeted as by wild and foaming billows. But we thank the Lord that he hath snatched thee from the powers of darkness; and that he hath strengthened the church with so mighty a prince, one who hath the power to protect her, and the strength to wear the helmet of righteousness against the strivings of the malignant (Arians). Go on then, most beloved and most glorious son, and may God give thee the victory over his enemies." Comp. also *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 46; and *Mascou*, vol. ii. p. 19.

regarded with an indulgent eye ; and thus one of the most selfish, faithless, and ambitious princes the world ever saw was converted by the obliquity of religious vision into a hero of the faith.

The Catholics of Aquitaine look up to him for deliverance from the persecutions of the Arian Visigoths.

A.D. 484.

A.D. 498.

The condition of the Visigothic kingdom of Aquitaine was precisely such as to furnish most abundant aliment to these feelings. Though the persecution of the Catholic clergy⁵⁰ had greatly abated since the death of the headstrong and sanguinary Euric, yet now the proximity of such a protector as Chlodwig revived the remembrance of ancient wrongs, and stimulated the desire of liberty and vengeance. In the year 484, Alaric II., then almost a child, had succeeded his father Euric on the throne of Thoulouse. His reign was soon disturbed by the intrigues of the orthodox clergy. Volusianus bishop of Tours was detected in a plot to betray that important city into the hands of Chlodwig, and he atoned for the offence with his life ; and Cæsarius, afterwards bishop of Arles, was expelled from his see upon a similar charge. The people honoured these prelates as martyrs and confessors ; and the feelings thus publicly announced were not likely to be misunderstood or disregarded by the ambitious Frank or the eager and interested partizans around him.⁵¹

The Burgundian wars,

and the intervention of Theoderich, king of Italy, retard the rupture between the Franks and Visigoths.

The Burgundian wars suspended for a time the projects of Chlodwig and the Frankish clergy against the independence of the Visigothic kingdom. The late successes of the Franks intimidated the weak Alaric II., and inclined him to adopt measures of conciliation, without inquiring whether the state of opinions and passions left any room for compromise. His father-in-law, Theoderich of Italy, thought that his interference had now become necessary, if not for the preservation of peace and a proper balance of power among his powerful neighbours, at least to prevent that balance from being disturbed without some compensation to himself. With these views he wrote to Alaric II., requesting him to abstain from all measures which might lead to a rupture with the Franks until he should learn the issue of his endeavours to heal the existing differences, which differences he represented as having hitherto proceeded to no great lengths.⁵² He confirmed his son-in-law's disinclination for war by reminding him that his Goths, enervated by long peace, were no longer the hardy warriors who had quelled the powers of the mighty Attila ; and that a war which may be avoided without dishonour must always be regarded as impolitic and inexpedient.

⁵⁰ See the passages upon Gothic toleration, ap. *Moné*, ii. c. 176.

⁵¹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 37. p. 181.—*Gest. Franc.* c. 17. p. 553. *Comp. Art de vér.*, &c. tom. i. p. 729.

⁵² "Adhuc de verbis parva contentio est." *Cassiod.* *Variar.* lib. iii. Ep. 1. p. 38. But these "words" were words of substance and not merely of form.

To Chlodwig he wrote in a firm but friendly tone, expressing his wonder that he should meditate war for causes which admitted of easy adjustment. "It is a great reproach to princes," he added, "that for trivial causes, and to gratify a hasty temper, they should bring weighty ruin upon their people;" and he declared that if either or both princes persisted in such conduct they would deservedly incur the resentment of their neighbours, whose safety was endangered by their wayward animosities.⁵³ At the same time he sent a message to Gundobald of Burgundy, requesting his good offices to the same effect.⁵⁴ But he expressed his private views more explicitly in the letters which he wrote to the kings of the Thuringians, Varini,⁵⁵ and Heruli, with a view to engage their influence towards the maintenance of that equipoise of power which had been hitherto the principal object of his policy. He requested those princes to unite their remonstrances with those of Gundobald, in order to deter Chlodwig from a rupture with the Visigoths, and induce him to seek the redress of his grievances from the law of nations; and he declared in conclusion, that if, contemning the mediation of so many princes, the king of the Franks should refuse this reasonable proposal, he would then justly incur the indignation of all,—since the ruler who will not acknowledge any law save his own pleasure, ought to be regarded as a common disturber, and that it would then be better to put him down by one combined effort, than that each nation should be left to fight its own battle single-handed.⁵⁶

Theoderich writes to Chlodwig to dissuade him from war;

and applies to all the barbaric kings of France and Germany to aid him in checking the progress of Frankish ambition.

There is reason to believe that this attempt at an armed mediation was not without its effect in retarding the rupture. Chlodwig, indeed, complained of some insults which had been put upon his ambassador Paternus by the courtiers of the Visigothic king;⁵⁷ but in order to the amicable adjustment of this and other grievances, the two princes agreed to a personal interview on an island in the river Loire near Amboise. The conference passed off with every appearance of harmony and good fellowship on both sides; they ate and drank and conversed together, and parted with professions of mutual esteem and friendship.⁵⁸ But if this pacific disposition was ever sincerely entertained by either

Alaric II. and Chlodwig hold a conference, and separate apparently with friendly feelings.

But renewed

⁵³ *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. iii. Ep. 4. p. 39.*

⁵⁴ *Id. ibid. Ep. 2. p. 38.*

⁵⁵ The Varini, Quarini, Warnæ (Ptolem. *φαιοδηνοί*, or *φαιοδενοί*), were a northern race akin to Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, dwelling upon the coast of the Baltic, between the efflux of the Trave and that of the Warne, and bordering to the south upon the Thuringians. *Manert*, vol. iii. p. 335.

⁵⁶ *Cassiodor. Variar. lib. iii. Ep. 2 and 3.*

p. 39. As to the precise periods at which these letters were written, and the transactions to which they refer, comp. *Mascou*, vol. ii. p. 13, note 1; *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 48; *Luden*, vol. iii. pp. 84, 85; *Baronius*, Ann. Eccl. ad Ann. 507.

⁵⁷ *Fredegar. Epit. c. 25. Bouq. tom. ii. p. 401.—Aimoin. c. 20. Ibid. tom. iii. p. 41.*

⁵⁸ *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 35. p. 181.*

religious disturbances in the Gothic dominions soon dissipate these amicable dispositions,

and Chlodwig resolves to march against Alaric II., and to drive the Goths out of Gaul. He is heartily seconded by the Gallic clergy under the conduct of Remigius of Rheims.

Chlodwig enjoins strict respect for the possessions of the church during the campaign.

party, it was soon obliterated by the turbulent conduct of the clergy and the increasing uneasiness of the Roman subjects of Alaric under the sway of an heretical prince. The Visigoths suspected the malcontent bishops of secret intelligence with the Franks; and under this impression they expelled Quintianus of Rhodéz⁵⁹ from his see. As the professed advocate and protector of the church, Chlodwig might believe himself bound to resent this outrage, even though he had not been actuated by any views of a more selfish character. He forthwith called an assembly of the estates of his kingdom, and warmly expressed his indignation at this new insult inflicted upon the servants of the true faith.

"It grieves me greatly," he exclaimed, "that these Arians should be allowed to possess any portion of Gaul. Let us go forth with the divine assistance, and when we have overcome them, let us reduce their land to subjection." The king's proposal was adopted by acclamation, and the army put itself in motion to cross the Loire.⁶⁰

It is too little to say that this war was undertaken with the approval of the clergy: it was properly their war,⁶¹ and Chlodwig undertook it in the capacity of a religious champion in all things but the disinterestedness which ought to distinguish that character. After engaging his selfish ambition in their cause, the clergy had carefully inculcated that his success must depend upon the favour of the God of the Christians and the support of His ministers. Remigius of Rheims⁶² assisted him by his countenance and advice, and the Catholic priesthood set every engine of their craft in motion to second and encourage him. In order to prevent any injury to the possessions of the church during the march of the army, they obtained a strict order from Chlodwig that the soldiers should subsist wholly upon vegetables, and drink nothing but water.⁶³ In the passage through the patrimony of St. Martin of Tours, a few stragglers had robbed a poor peasant of a little hay. When the offence was reported to the king he furiously drew his sword

⁵⁹ "Ruthenorum episcopum."

⁶⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. cc. 35, 36, 37. p. 181.

⁶¹ See *Monê Rel. des Nord.* ii. 170, note 165.

⁶² The letter of Remigius to Chlodwig in tom. iv. of *D. Bouquet's* Collection, p. 51, is a remarkable instance of that singular combination of Christian morality with coarse temporal motives so frequently met with in the writings of the churchmen of this age. The bishop earnestly exhorts the king to have recourse to those counselors who would raise his character and extend his reputation, namely, the clergy. "Your favours," he continues, "should be bestowed disinterestedly and uprightly; you ought to confer honour upon your priests, and always to act by their advice, so that by resolving upon affairs together

with them, your undertaking may proceed upon solid grounds. Support your own people, relieve the distressed, cherish the widow, feed the orphan . . . so that all may love and fear you. Let justice proceed from your mouth; accept no gifts from the stranger and the needy; let your judgment-seat be open to all, that none may go away from it in sorrow; expend your inheritance in the liberation of captives; when any one enters your presence, let him feel that he is no longer a stranger. Take your pastime with the young; have your council with the aged; if you desire to reign, let it be your study to be nobly thought of."

⁶³ Probably likewise with a view to impart to the war a religious character.

to punish the delinquents upon the spot, exclaiming aloud,—“What hope have we of victory if St. Martin be offended!” Emissaries were dispatched to the shrine of the saint with many rich presents, and among them the king’s best charger, to obtain from him some certain token of his favour. The messengers had scarcely stepped across the threshold of the church, when the precentor seemingly by accident chaunted forth a verse from the eighteenth psalm:—“Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; thou hast subdued under me those that rose up against me.”⁶⁴ The men returned to the king with this encouraging response; Chlodwig pressed forward, in full reliance upon the protection of the saint, to the banks of the river Vienne, which happened at that time to be swollen by heavy rains. At night the king fell upon his knees and besought God to point out a ford to him.⁶⁵ Early on the following morning a stag was observed to enter the river at a particular spot, and to wade to the opposite bank. The army followed the track thus miraculously revealed, crossed the river without loss, and the same night encamped within sight of the city of Poitiers, where Alaric awaited him with the entire force of the Visigothic kingdom. Suddenly a blazing meteor arose from the Basilica of St. Hilary in that city, which moved towards the camp of the Franks, and hovered for a while over the tent of Chlodwig.⁶⁶ The king devoutly accepted the token vouchsafed to him by the patron saint of that important city, and in grateful acknowledgment issued a strict injunction, prohibiting all pilferings within the patrimony of the church of Poitiers.⁶⁷

He obtains a favourable response from the oracle of St. Martin of Tours.

Signs and miracles accompany and guide his march.

⁶⁴ *Psalm* xvii. v. 39. The *Gesta Francorum* (c. 18. p. 554) says that Chlodwig directed his messengers to take the omen “ex sancto sermone,” a mode agreeable to the predilection of the ancient Germans for divination. See c. ii. sec. 3. p. 91 of this volume. The “sortes sanctorum” of the early Christians was a practice borrowed from the Romans, who were in the habit of drawing presages from the first passage which met the eye in the work of some poet or rhapsodist opened at random. The Christians used the Scriptures for this purpose, and called the responses thus obtained “sortes sanctorum.” As late as the age of Gregory of Tours this method of divination was still in the highest repute. Numerous instances occur in his history. See particularly lib. iv. c. 16. p. 221; lib. v. c. 14. p. 240; and lib. viii. c. 4. p. 315. See also *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad Voc. “Sortes Sanctorum.”

⁶⁵ The Frankish historians manifest great solicitude for the precise orthodoxy of Chlodwig. Thus *Aimoin* (c. 21. *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 42)

on this occasion makes him address the Deity in this form:—“Trinitas in personis Deus, et in majestate unus,” &c. So also in the address of Chlodwig to his estates preparatory to the expedition against Alaric, according to the same writer:—“Hoc solum vos nosse cupio, vobis adversum immanissimos hostes, non pro conjugibus et liberis, non etiam pro acquirendis certamen esse divitiis; sed potius pro inseparabili Sanctæ Trinitatis unitate, quam illi nefandissimo dividunt errore.” (!)

⁶⁶ But the locomotion of the meteor is, it must be confessed, an addition of *Aimoin* (loc. cit.) Gregory says nothing about it; but he draws most pregnant conclusions from the luminous appearance itself:—“It indicated,” he pronounces, “that, guided by the divine light of the holy confessor Hilarius, he (Chlodwig) might confidently reckon upon the victory over that host of heretics whom the saint himself had so often combated while in the flesh.”

⁶⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 37. p. 182.

A.D. 507.
He encounters
Alaric II. near
Poitiers; to-
tally defeats
and kills him.

He extends his
dominions to
the Garonne
and the Gulph
of Lyons.

A. D. 508.
He returns
thanks to St.
Martin for his
victory.

The emperor
Anastasius in-
vests Chlodwig
with the dig-
nity of the
consulate.

The great battle which decided the contest between the rival powers of the Franks and Visigoths, and—it may be added with equal propriety—between the orthodox and the Arian churches of Gaul, was fought upon the plains of Vouglé,⁶⁸ about ten miles from Poitiers. The Gothic army was defeated, and Alaric himself was slain. His son Amalaric took refuge in Spain. After the capture of Thoulouse, Chlodwig overran all the provinces of the Visigothic kingdom north of the Garonne, while his first-born Theuderich subdued the districts of Auvergne, Rhodéz and Albi. By these conquests the territories of the Franks received an extension southwards as far as the Garonne⁶⁹ and the Tyrrhenian sea. The Rhone formed the boundary towards the Burgundian kingdom, and, in its more southern course, separated the dominion of Chlodwig from the Massiliensian appendage of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy. After removing the treasures of Alaric from Thoulouse to Bordeaux, the Frankish king, in the year following, laid siege to Angoulême, the only place of importance which still ventured to assert its independence, and speedily reduced it to submission. After this fresh triumph, he returned to Tours, and devoutly acknowledged his obligations to Saint Martin by sumptuous offerings at his shrine.⁷⁰

The progress of the Frankish power drew upon it the eyes of all Europe. The eastern emperor Anastasius invested Chlodwig with the dignity of the consulate. Gundobald, Odovaker, Theoderich of Italy, and even the haughty Attila himself, had not disdained the honours of the empire. The reason and motive of this ostentatious practice seems sufficiently obvious. Notwithstanding the overthrow of the Western empire, and the *de facto* alienation of its whole territory, the Cæsars of Constantinople still regarded themselves as the sovereigns of every province which had at any time been annexed to the empire, as much as if they were in the actual occupation of them. Though therefore they were compelled to renounce the immediate *right of possession*, they still

⁶⁸ Agro Vogladensi.

⁶⁹ *Fredégarius* (Epit. c. 25. p. 401) says that it was extended to the Pyrenees. But this is an error, since the Goths continued for some time longer in possession of the Pyrenean districts of Novempopulana and Narbonensis Prima.

⁷⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 27. p. 183. The story told upon this occasion relative to the war-horse which Chlodwig had presented to Saint Martin upon his advance into Aquitaine, might pass for a jest of the churchmen at the expense of the laity, if it had been told in a less credulous age. The king, they tell us, wished much

to re-purchase his charger, and sent to the treasurer of the church the sum of 100 solidi for that purpose. The crafty clerk received the money, but no urging could prevail upon the horse to stir beyond the bounds of the church patrimony till the king had disbursed another hundred; then the animal suffered himself to be quietly led away. When he was brought to Chlodwig, he good-humouredly exclaimed, "Truly Saint Martin is a good helpmate, but a hard one to strike a bargain with!" *Gest. Franc.* c. 17; *Bouq.* ii. p. 555; *Aimoin*, lib. i. c. 22.—*Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 42.

regarded the *supreme dominion* as vested in themselves. This distinction was not unknown to the Roman law, and the peculiarity of their situation, their vanity and their interests, all alike concurred to suggest the importance of keeping it alive in the minds of men. As soon as the emperors found themselves compelled to tolerate the exercise of independent authority within the ancient limits of the empire, they frequently took the intruders into their service, and ostentatiously invested their leaders with the highest dignities of the state. Even when the victorious barbarians had practically renounced all subjection to the emperors, still their princes did not repudiate the titular offices of the empire; and thus a semblance at least of supreme dominion was preserved. The conquerors, it was presumed, would still continue to regard themselves, to a certain extent, as the representatives of the majesty of Rome, and to concede a titular supremacy which might, by time and management, be improved into a great degree of real influence; and in this design they were not wholly disappointed. The barbaric kings upon whom these titles and dignities were bestowed received them with pride and gratitude;⁷¹ and the subject, when he beheld his prince glittering in the gorgeous robes of the consulship, could not but look up with some degree of reverence to the power which could confer a distinction so highly valued by his own ruler.⁷²

Chlodwig received the honour conferred upon him by Anastasius with every demonstration of respect. He caused himself to be solemnly invested with the purple robe of the consulate in the church of Saint Martin at Tours. He placed a golden diadem upon his head, and, mounting his horse, rode through the principal streets of the city, scattering money among the populace.⁷³

Chlodwig had fixed the seat of his vast dominion at Paris. The unbridled pursuit of ambition had engendered that hardness of heart

Chlodwig receives the insignia of his new dignity with great respect, and is invested with the purple robe and diadem in the church of St. Martin of Tours.

⁷¹ It must not, however, be concealed that these offices were of great use to them with reference to the management of their Roman subjects.

⁷² Theoderich of Italy no doubt entertained a higher reverence for the empire than the contemporary barbaric sovereigns. His letter to the emperor Anastasius, preserved to us—perhaps we should rather say written for him—by his secretary *Cassiodorus*, (*Variar. lib. i. ep. 1.*) may be regarded as expressing the kind of feeling which the dignity of the empire very generally inspired. “*Vos enim*,” says the Gothic king, “*estis regnorum omnium pulcherrimum decus; vos, totius orbis salutare præ-*

sidium, quod cæteri dominantes jure suscipiunt; quia in vobis singulare aliquid inesse cognoscunt. Regnum nostrum imitatio vestra est, forma boni propositi, unici exemplar imperii. . . .” The remainder only amplifies the same sentiment. *Comp. Luden*, vol. iii. pp. 95, 96; *Masc.* vol. ii. Annot. 3. p. 365.

⁷³ *Gregory of Tours* (lib. ii. c. 38.) tells us that from that day forward he was addressed indifferently by the titles of *Consul* or *Augustus*. (!) *D. Bouquet* (tom. ii. note (k), p. 183) thinks that the dignity alluded to was not the Consulship, but the *Patriciate*, as conferred upon Odovaker.

Chlodwig resolves to rid himself of all the minor kings of the Franks, and to unite the whole monarchy under his own sceptre. He procures the murder of Sigibert and his son Chloderich, kings of the Ripuarian Franks of Cologne.

The people choose him for their king.

He seizes king Chararich and his son, and puts them to death.

which stops at no crime conducive to aggrandizement. He had determined to unite the whole nation under his sceptre, and for that purpose to set aside all the petty kings who shared with him the obedience of the people. Chloderich, the son of Sigibert, of Cologne, was induced by the emissaries of Chlodwig to believe that if he could get rid of his father, the Salian king would raise him to the vacant throne. The miscreant murdered his own parent, and offered a large share of his treasures to Chlodwig for his assistance. The latter feigned compliance, and sent messengers, ostensibly to count and receive the promised sums of money. Chloderich conducted the envoys into his father's treasury, and showed them a huge chest filled with coin. One of these persons requested him to plunge his arm into the chest, in order to afford them some measure of its depth and contents. Chloderich complied, and while he stooped to reach the bottom, the other raised his battle-axe and scattered the brains of the parricide over his own gold. Chlodwig, who awaited the result of this double treachery at no great distance from the scene, hastened to assemble the states of the Ripuarian people. He denied all participation in the late murders, and threw all the guilt upon Chloderich. "But since," he added, "there is now no remedy for that which has taken place, my counsel is that you turn yourselves unto me, and accept my protection." The people thereupon signified their approbation by striking their spears against their bucklers, and unanimously installed him as their king by raising him upon the shield. "Thus," says bishop Gregory of Tours, "did he possess himself of the kingdom of Sigibert and all its treasures; and thus did God by his arm strike down his enemies, and cause his kingdom to increase, because he walked with an upright heart before Him, and did that which was well pleasing in His sight."⁷⁴

King Chararich and his son were the next victims of this bloodthirsty policy. He entrapped these princes into his power; their long hair was cut off, and they were ordained priests. The father bewailed his degradation with sighs and tears, the son uttered imprudent menaces against the oppressors, and both father and son were immediately put to death. Their treasures fell into the hands of Chlodwig, and the people acknowledged him as their king.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 40. p. 185. The bishop thought of nothing but the *orthodoxy* of Chlodwig. The success of his schemes, however nefarious, he regarded as the fruit and reward of his catholicism, wholly overlooking the means by which it was obtained. He therefore tells the tale of the murderous participation

of Chlodwig in the crime of Chloderich, without a syllable of reprobation, and ends by pronouncing the Divine approval upon a deed as dark as any to be found in the catalogue of human guilt.

⁷⁵ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 42. p. 185. Comp. *Fredegar.* Epit. c. 27. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii.

Ragnachar of Cambray was hated by his people for the licentiousness of his life and his attachment to a worthless favourite named Farro. Chlodwig tampered with his discontented subjects; he bribed them with ornaments and trinkets of gilded brass, which they mistook for gold; and when he entered their territory at the head of his army, they surrendered to him their king Ragnachar and his brother Richard, with their arms ignominiously tied behind their backs, like base-born churls. When the captives were brought to Chlodwig, he fiercely reproached Ragnachar that he had not rather perished than thus permitted himself to be bound like a slave, and slew him with a single stroke of his battle-axe. Then turning to Richard, he scornfully upbraided him with having deserted his brother in his need, and slew him in like manner. The traitors who had betrayed their princes discovered that they had been made the dupes of a deeper cunning than their own; they complained that they had gotten worthless brass instead of gold. The king derided their grievance; he told them that they who betrayed their princes to death deserved no better treatment; and he added, that they might deem themselves fortunate that he had not doomed them to expiate their treason with their lives. Alarmed by this unexpected reproach from their powerful accomplice, they were glad to compound for pardon and impunity for the past.⁷⁶

He seduces the subjects of Ragnachar of Cambray by presents of counterfeit gold.

They deliver up their king and his brother Richard to Chlodwig, who puts them to death with his own hand.

Some time previous to these murders, Rignomer, another brother of Ragnachar, who reigned over the Franks settled in the modern province of Maine,⁷⁷ had been put to death by the direction of Chlodwig. Many other minor kings, together with their nearest relatives, and all whom he suspected of any design upon the kingdom, were got rid of by the like means. Still he was apprehensive that his blows, however ruthless and well directed, might not have reached every pretender to the throne; some members of the royal race might still survive to avenge the slaughter of his kindred. In order to induce these persons, if any such existed, to quit their concealment and to expose themselves to his vengeance, he pretended to bewail the loss of the relatives he had himself destroyed, and declared in public, that since these deplorable events he had felt like a stranger in a foreign land, deserted by all those whom he might look up to for succour in the hour of adversity.⁷⁸

He kills Rignomer, another brother of Ragnachar, and slays every member of the royal race he can find.

Whether any other victim presented himself we are not informed. Chlodwig himself did not long survive his slaughtered kinsfolk. He died

p. 401.—*Aimoin*, Ibid. tom. iii. p. 43.

⁷⁶ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 42, p. 185. Comp. *Fredegar.* c. 28, p. 401.—*Aimoin*, p. 43.—*Gest.*

Franc. c. 18. p. 555.

⁷⁷ “Apud Cenomannis civitatem.”

⁷⁸ *Greg. Turon.* loc. cit.

He dies at
Paris.
A. D. 511.

Character of
Chlodwig
brave, active,
crafty, and
sanguinary.

at Paris in the forty-sixth year of his age, after a reign of thirty years, and was buried in the Basilica of the holy apostles, which he and his wife Chlothildis had founded and endowed.⁷⁹

The capacity of Chlodwig as a ruler, when considered with reference to the nature of his power and the character of the people over whom he reigned, cannot be denied. That power, which at the commencement of his reign was intrinsically narrow and precarious, he left to his descendants extended and consolidated. His superior valour, activity, and craft, conducted to those surprising successes which dazzled the mind of the nation, undermined the influence of the other kings, and attracted to his standard followers from every clan. After the conquest of Gaul nothing remained to complete the edifice of his power but to set aside the swarm of petty princes, any one of whom might disturb his own government, and thwart the succession of his descendants. The only impediment to the accomplishment of this object arose from the scruples of kindred: but these he discarded with the ruthless resolution of an Asiatic despot; and when the task of destruction was completed, the nation submitted with frank cordiality to his sway; its divisions were healed, and the power of his family and descendants was placed upon a foundation which upheld it upon the throne for a period of nearly two centuries.

The vices of
Chlodwig are
colossal, and
directed by
large views.

His conversion
a measure of
policy.
His character
is unaffected
by the profes-
sion of Chris-
tianity.

He believes
himself the fa-
vourite of God,
and the clergy
take pains to
strengthen
him in that
belief.

The character of the *man* by whom this great work was accomplished is replete with moral interest; but it is an interest which arises from the contemplation of colossal vices. It must be confessed that in all his transgressions there is nothing little or mean; they all bear the impress of a powerful mind, freed from every moral restraint. His conversion, partly the result of fear, and partly of policy, produced no change in his mental dispositions. While with one hand he accepted the cross, he eagerly stretched out the other to grasp the power which it conferred; and he used that power as he used his sword, and for the same selfish ends. Praised, caressed, and indulged by the clergy, whose interests and projects were in strict accordance with his own, his mind scarcely ever adverted to those restraints which his new profession of faith might impose upon him. Adopting, like all new converts, the full contempt of the Christians for the discarded divinities, he regarded himself as the privileged favourite of the God whose worship he had embraced; and while he cast aside the sanctions of the old religion, he held himself discharged from all the burthensome obligations of the new faith. And, indeed, neither Chlothildis, nor Remigius, nor Avitus, ever pointed

⁷⁹ *Greg. Turon. loc. cit., with D. Bouquet's note (n) upon the date of Chlodwig's death.*

their exhortations so as to impose the least restraint upon his daring and sanguinary career. All that the clergy expected from him was a government strong enough to protect and enrich the church and to extend its influence, reverence for the priesthood, and orthodox profession: his martial subjects and followers called for active occupation—for the distinctions, emoluments, and license of conquest; and in gratifying both these formidable powers he administered to the strongest passions of his own evil nature. No party existed to exercise any scrutiny into the means by which he proposed to accomplish objects equally acceptable to all; and Chlodwig went down to the grave with a character so little sullied by the heartless ambition, hypocrisy, and blood-guiltiness of his earthly career, that little was wanting to obtain for him a place in the sacred calendar of the Roman church.⁸⁰

No party is inclined to scrutinize the means by which he obtained a power beneficial to all; and he narrowly escapes canonization, from the fervent gratitude of the churchmen.

SECTION III.—A. D. 511 to A. D. 542.

Division of the Kingdom of Chlodwig—Burgundy—Death of Gundobald—Sigismund and Godomar—Sigismund puts his son Siegerich to death—Revenge of Chlothildis—Downfall of the Burgundian Kingdom—Crime of Childebert and Chlothar—War with the Thuringians—Theuderich and Hermenefrid—Battle of the Umstrutt—Downfall of the Thuringian Kingdom—Theuderich conquers Alemannia and Bavaria—Death of Theuderich—His son Theudebert succeeds him—Childebert and Chlothar combine against Theudebert—Childebert and Theudebert attack Chlothar—They fail—Childebert and Chlothar invade Spain—Martial spirit of the Franks.

CHLODWIG left four sons: the eldest, Theuderich, was born of an unknown concubine prior to his father's conversion to Christianity; the other three, Chlodomer, Childebert and Chlothar, were the children of his queen Chlothildis. The Franks had not yet adopted the distinction between the offspring of marriages contracted with the sanction of the church, and of those irregular connexions in which the customs of the nation indulged their princes and chiefs. There seems indeed reason to believe that the children of persons of free condition, though the church might not look upon the connexion between their parents as strictly matrimonial, were still regarded as legitimate; since even the child

Theuderich, the eldest son of Chlodwig, is not regarded as incapable of succeeding his father, though born out of wedlock.

⁸⁰ From the tone of eulogy in which he is spoken of by Gregory of Tours and his continuators, as well as by Hincmar of Rheims, the biographer of St. Remigius, and the writer of the "*Vita Sanctæ Chlotildis*," (see *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. pp. 373 and 397,) it seems that those persons regarded him as a confessor of the highest order, if not as a saint. Miracles were wrought,

not only in his favour, but at his intercession; and Hincmar has adorned the legend of Remigius with the story of the divine ampulla filled with precious ointment, which was brought from heaven by a dove for the ceremony of the baptism of Chlodwig. See the life of St. Remigius, ap. *D. Bouq.* loc. cit. Compare *Sismondi*, *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 232.

of the bondswoman was not uniformly treated as incapable of inheriting together with the child of the free woman.¹ Public opinion had not yet yielded to the despotic mandates of the church in relation to matrimony; and thus the notion of bastardy, in the sense attached to it in the subsequent age, could not operate to the exclusion of the first-born son of Chlodwig from his share of his father's dominions.

Theuderich obtains the government of the North-eastern regions of Gaul, the territories of the Riparian Franks, and the Alemannic possessions on the Rhine and Mayne.

The chiefs who founded the Frankish monarchy in Gaul knew no other rule in dealing with the royal estate and dignity than that which was observed in the transmission of private property. Now that land had become the subject of legal distribution, all the brothers inherited the estate of their father in certain portions; and so universal was this rule among the Germanic nations, that not a trace of a law of primogeniture is to be found in any of their codes.² Accordingly we learn from Gregory of Tours, that the sons of Chlodwig divided the kingdom of their father between them "by an equal scale."³ The method of distribution is not pointed out, nor are the limits of the several shares indicated with any degree of precision. The territory assigned to Theuderich—perhaps as the older and the most influential person⁴—was the most extensive. It embraced all the north-eastern districts of Gaul, including the cities of Treves, Metz, Toul, Verdun and Rheims, together with the ancient settlements of the Riparian Franks on both banks of the Lower Rhine, and the territories conquered by Chlodwig upon the Upper Rhine and Mayne after the defeat of the Alemanni at Tolbiac. In the north it was probably bounded by the Rhine, and to the southward by the Burgundian kingdom. Towards the west it included at least a great portion of the modern province of Champagne, and to the eastward it touched upon the kingdom of the Thuringians.

The region allotted to Theuderich is henceforward distinguished by the name of *Austrasia*.

The wide region just described is henceforward designated in history by the name of *Austrasia* or *Austria*,⁵ by which it is distinguished from *Neustrasia* or *Neustria*,⁶ the name applied to the western and more recent

¹ The law of the Lombards (ap. *Canciani*, tom. i. c. 104. p. 73, et seq.) not only regards the children by a bondswoman as capable of inheriting, but carefully directs what share they shall take, in case there be one or more matrimonial sons. Thus also the law of the Bavarians, (Tit. xiv. c. 8. § 2; *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 383.) though of a much later date, assigns to the child of the bondswoman a kind of equitable right to a share of the father's estate.

² Comp. *Lex Baju.* tit. xiv. c. 8, § 1; *Canc.* tom. ii. p. 383;—*Lex Alemann.* tit. lxxxviii.; *Ibid.* p. 343, with the editor's remarks in

note (2);—*Leges Longob.* c. 104; *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 73;—*Leg. Visigoth.* tit. ii. c. 2.; *Ibid.* p. 104. See also *Masc.* vol. ii. p. 38;—*Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 52;—*Eichorn*, vol. i. p. 243.

³ "Regnum ejus excipiunt, et inter se æqualitè dividunt;" lib. iii. c. i. p. 187.

⁴ Theuderich was twenty-seven years old at his father's death. The eldest of the sons of Chlothildis was not more than seventeen. *Luden*, vol. iii. p. 107.

⁵ Quasi *Ost-reich*, or eastern realm.

⁶ *Neues-reich*, the new realm.

acquisitions of the Frankish nation. It is a noticeable fact that the limits of Austrasia included none but nations of pure Teutonic blood, who had for several ages past lived beyond the influence of the Roman language and habits,⁷ and retained the institutions and character of their Germanic ancestors.⁸ To this extensive dominion were likewise added the districts which Theuderich had conquered from the Visigoths, after the defeat of Alaric II. at Vouglé, comprising the provinces of Ro-vergue, Auvergne, Quercy, and the Albigeois.⁹ But these provinces, as well as the kingdom of Burgundy, which was some years afterwards added to the dominions of the Austrasian princes, were regarded rather as appendages than as portions of Austrasia Proper.¹⁰

To this is added, in favour of Theuderich, the territories of Ro-vergue, Auvergne, Quercy, and the Albigeois.

Childebert, the second of the sons of Chlothildis, became the sovereign of that territory which arose out of the earlier conquests of Chlodwig. It comprehended extensive districts lying between the rivers Loire and Seine, and stretching away to the north and north-westward as far as the shores of the British channel. With reference, therefore, to the more ancient settlements of the nation upon the Rhine and in Northern Belgium,¹¹ this portion of the kingdom properly obtained the name of *Neustria* or the New Realm; and to this region that name was at first exclusively applied. Childebert chose the city of Paris for his residence. His elder brother Chlodomer obtained Orleans and the countries to the southward of the Loire, which had been conquered from the Visigoths. He made Orleans the capital of his dominions. The youngest brother Chlothar received the lands lying between the rivers Seine and Meuse, and extending northward as far as the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt, together with a part of Champagne; he fixed upon the city of Soissons for his residence.

Childebert obtains *Neustria* Proper. *i. e.* the earliest conquests of the Franks in Gaul.

Chlodomer becomes king of Orleans and of the countries south of the Loire. Chlothar becomes king of Soissons.

In the year 517, Gundobald king of Burgundy died at an advanced age. He was succeeded by his sons Sigismund and Godomar. Sigismund had married Ostrogotha,¹² a daughter of Theoderich the Great, but she died before her husband's accession to the throne, leaving a son named Sigerich, and a daughter Suavegotta, married to Theuderich of Austrasia. After the death of his first wife, Sigismund con-

Death of Gundobald of Burgundy. A. D. 517. He is succeeded by his sons Sigismund and Godomar.

⁷ Comp. ch. vii. sect. 1, p. 253, and ch. viii. sect. 4, p. 397 of this vol.

⁸ A critical examination of the limits of the Austrasian kingdom would give it nearly the same extension as the region occupied by the Teutonic Belgians in the age of Cæsar. See ch. i. sect. 3, p. 35 of this vol. And it is highly probable that the Latin language did not make the same inroads upon the vernacular tongue of the *German* subjects of Rome which

it did upon that of the *Celtic* tribes of Gaul.

⁹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 1. *Fredegar.* Epit. c. 30. p. 401.

¹⁰ *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 243, note (d). Comp. *Mascou*, vol. ii. book ii. c. 20. p. 38.—*Pagi*, crit. ad *Baron.* vol. ix. pp. 147, 148.

¹¹ Comp. ch. viii. sect. 4, pp. 401, 402 of this vol.

¹² See ch. ix. sect. 4, p. 486 of this vol.

Sigismund
puts to death
his son Sige-
rich by Ostro-
gotha, daugh-
ter of Theode-
rich the Great.

tracted a second marriage; and the new queen, irritated by the petulant anger of the youthful Sigerich at beholding her decked out in the royal attire and ornaments which had belonged to his deceased mother, nefariously accused him to her husband of a design to depose and murder him. Sigismund believed the slander, and ruthlessly dipped his hands in the blood of his own child. This ferocious deed was followed by a phrenzy of remorse; the repentant father sought consolation from the monks of St. Maurice, a monastery which he had founded at the entrance of the great valley of the Rhone.¹³ His repentance was probably sincere, but since the temporal penalty was not remitted, the bishop of Tours sees no reason to be more merciful than that Power to whom the penitent king had appealed without success. "After adding a chauntry to the monastery," says Gregory, "he returned to Lyons, and thither the Divine vengeance pursued him."¹⁴

This murder
alienates
Theoderich.

The murder of Sigerich alienated his maternal grandfather Theoderich the Great,¹⁵ to whose alliance the Burgundian kingdom seems to have been in a great degree indebted for the term of peace and security it had enjoyed since the beginning of the sixth century.¹⁶ And in the adjoining kingdoms events were in progress which soon assumed an appearance which menaced the independence of the people and the extinction of the royal house of Burgundy.

Chlothildis
summons her
sons to avenge
the murder of
her parents
upon the de-
scendants of
Gundobald.

According to the settled prejudice of Germanic society, as long as the murder of a relative remained unatoned for, either by the death of the slayer or by a composition in money payable to the nearest kinsman of the person slain,¹⁷ not only the principal offender, but his relations were regarded as the debtors, while the duty of exacting the debt attached to the heirs and nearest kindred of the deceased. In private life, each family constituted within itself an association of mutual protection and warranty for person and property;¹⁸ and when any heinous trespasses, such as robbery, mutilation or murder were committed by strangers against either, the whole and every member of the family might pursue the wrongdoer to satisfaction or to death.¹⁹ Such a debt of blood still remained

¹³ "Monasterium Agaunense," founded by Sigismund in the year 515. It lies in the diocese of *Sion* or *Sitten*, at the foot of the Dent du Midi, about four miles from Bex, at the entrance of the Canton of the Valais.

¹⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 5. p. 189. But the church was of a different opinion. Sigismund was the friend and convert of a Saint (St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne) and a seceder from Arianism. He founded a monastery—probably more than one; and was distinguished for his piety—he was therefore canonized, and

figures in the kalendar as St. Sigismund. See *Acta Ss. ad diem i. Majæ ap. Boll.*

¹⁵ A convincing inference of *Eckhart*, (*Franc. Orient.* tom. i. p. 54.)

¹⁶ *Comp. sect. 2*, p. 514 of this chap.

¹⁷ A *Wehrgeld* or *Weregeld*.

¹⁸ *Eichhorn*, vol. i. §§ 53 and 76, pp. 155 and 226.

¹⁹ "Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui, quam amicitias necesse est," &c. *Tac. Germ.* c. 21. This ancient right is expressly conceded in the barbaric codes under the name of

uncancelled between the royal families of the Franks and Burgundians. Chlothildis, we are informed, still nourished vengeance against the descendants of her uncle Gundobald for the murder of her parents, with a rancour which not the death of the offender, nor the lapse of thirty years since the commission of the offence, nor the soothing effects of devotional seclusion,²⁰ could appease. The probability of Gundobald's guilt has been examined elsewhere. That Chlothildis believed him guilty, there seems no good reason to doubt, and Gregory of Tours confidently attributes the combined attack upon the Burgundian kingdom, which took place in the year 523, to her anxiety to revenge the murder of her parents.²¹ Her summons was listened to with delight by her ambitious sons, and thus commenced a war marked with all those circumstances of individual guilt and ferocity with which the history of the Merovingian princes is branded in almost every page.

A.D. 523.

Chlodomer of Orleans was the first in the field. He invaded Burgundy and defeated Sigismund and his brother Godomar in a decisive battle. Godomar escaped, but Sigismund with his wife and children were arrested upon their flight to the mountains of the Valais, and carried prisoners to Orleans. But while Chlodomer was enjoying his triumph in his capital, Godomar rallied the broken powers of the Burgundians, and gradually resumed possession of almost the whole kingdom. The Frankish king had in the interim concluded a treaty for the partition of Burgundy with Theoderich the Great; by which it was agreed that the joint forces of both kingdoms should effect the conquest of that country, and that an equal division should be the reward of their success.²² But before his departure for the scene of war, he

Chlodomer of Orleans is the first in the field. He defeats Sigismund and Godomar, and captures the former with his wife and children. Godomar rallies the Burgundians. Chlodomer concludes a treaty for the partition of Burgundy with Theoderich of Italy.

Faida (Feud, or right of private vengeance). See *Lex Frison.* tit. ii. § 2; *Cancian.* tom. iii. p. 6.—*Lex Saxon.* tit. ii. c. 5.; *Ibid.* p. 43. And see particularly the note (1) of Canciani to the last-quoted passage. Though this right was gradually narrowed in the later codes and capitularies of the Carolingian kings, yet the *Faida* remained as a matter of right among the higher classes down to the close of the fifteenth century.

²⁰ Gregory says that after Chlodwig's death she retired to Tours, where she devoutly attended in the Basilica of St. Martin, and lived in continence and charity all the days of her life, rarely afterwards visiting Paris. Yet on one memorable occasion she *did* return to that city, to witness one of the most frightful tragedies in the annals of human depravity.

²¹ Lib. iii. c. 6. p. 188. I am fully sensible that this allegation of Gregory is liable to objections: 1st. If the debt of blood had been the

real motive for the war, why was it not exacted during the lifetime of the delinquent? 2dly. Why was this pretence not put forward till the kingdom of Burgundy had fallen into the hands of a feeble prince, and was weakened by division, by domestic crimes, and by the forfeiture of the Ostrogothic alliance? But I cannot help thinking that these difficulties ought to yield to the positive and consistent testimony of an historian who, upon the whole, evinces a very accurate and familiar acquaintance with the affairs, feelings, and prejudices of his own people.

²² *Cassiodor.* Variar. lib. viii. ep. 10, p. 121;—*Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 54;—*Luden*, vol. iii. p. 148. There can be little doubt that this is the transaction which *Procopius*, (*De Bell. Goth.* lib. i. c. 12. p. 342,) by a strange anachronism, supposes to have taken place in the lifetime of Chlodwig, and even before the battle of Vouglé, *i. e.* sixteen years too soon.

He puts to death Sigismund, his wife and children.

He marches against Godomar, but is killed in battle. A.D. 524.

After his death, his troops defeat the Burgundians.

The entire kingdom of Burgundy is conquered and divided between Childbert, Chlothar, and Theoderich.

A.D. 533.
or
A.D. 534.

Chlothildis takes upon her the guardianship.

directed the captive king of Burgundy, with his wife and children, to be put to death. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, vainly remonstrated against this inhuman purpose. "Do you believe me such an idiot," exclaimed the savage, "as to leave an enemy in my rear while I am engaged with another in my front!" The crime was perpetrated, and the bodies of the murdered family were contemptuously thrown into a well. Chlodomer then marched into Burgundy. The gallant Godomar did not decline the combat. The hostile armies met near Voirons in Dauphiné. In the heat of battle the Frankish king inadvertently mistook a party of the enemy for his own men, and was killed. The Burgundians triumphantly exhibited the head of the fallen leader in the front of the battle; but the ghastly trophy served but to excite the courage of the Franks into phrenzy, and they obtained a signal victory over their opponents.

Meanwhile the forces of Theoderich under his general Tolus had warily followed the impetuous movements of the Frankish prince, occupying such districts of the Burgundian kingdom as they could maintain without involving themselves in active hostilities, till the principal parties should have sufficiently tried their strength. After the battle of Voirons, Godomar still continued the contest against the brothers of Chlodomer for nearly ten years longer, but without success. The entire kingdom fell into the hands of the confederates: Theoderich obtained for his share the whole of Provence and Dauphiné, together with that part of the Lyonesse which lay between the Rhone and the Doubs, including the territories of Geneva and Savoy;²³ the remainder was divided between the kings of Paris and Soissons.²⁴ The fate of Godomar is not known;²⁵ his subjects at length submitted to the victors; and the kingdom of Burgundy, after an honourable existence of nearly one hundred and twenty years, was struck from the list of independent nations.

Chlothildis had been the first mover of this unjust war, and her success was destined to be her punishment. By the death of Chlodomer, the

²³ *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 54.

²⁴ According to the old geographical divisions of the Romans, the territories ceded to Theoderich would comprise nearly the whole of the Viennensis and the southern districts of the Lugdunensis Prima and the Maxima Sequanorum. *D. Bouquet* (tom. ii. p. 15) gives a critical enumeration of all the provinces which composed the Burgundian kingdom at the period of its dissolution.

²⁵ *Marius* (in *Chron. ap. Bouq.* ii. p. 15)

places the last defeat of Godomar in 534, which has caused *Mascon* (vol. ii. p. 91) to date the final overthrow of the Burgundian kingdom two years later, and therefore in the first year of the reign of Theudebert, the son and successor of Theoderich. The authors of the *Art. de vér. les Dates*, vol. ii. p. 425, contend, upon the authority of *D. Plancher*, that he reigned for ten years until 533 or 534, without being molested by any one.

guardianship of his three sons Theodovald, Gunthar, and Chlodovald devolved upon her. The uncles however had possessed themselves of their father's share of the monarchy, not intending to part with any portion of it to the joint heirs of their elder brother. The queen-mother removed from Tours to Paris to superintend the education of her grandchildren; she made no secret of their pretensions to the throne of their father, or of her design of putting them in possession as soon as they should be of an age to govern. Childebert resolved to prevent this fresh dismemberment of the kingdom, and with that intent he proposed to his brother Chlothar either to put their nephews to death, or to cut off their long hair, and having thus degraded them to the rank of common folk, to share their inheritance equally between them. Chlothar joyfully embraced his brother's scheme, and came to Paris to carry it into effect. They gave out that they had met to instal their two eldest nephews in their paternal kingdom, and by this pretence so successfully lulled the queen's suspicions, that she adorned them for the ceremony with her own hands, and gladly committed them to the messengers of her sons. When by these nefarious means they had inveigled the two princes from the protection of their grandmother, they resolved with cold atrocity to place the alternative of death or degradation in the hands of Chlothildis herself. Arcadius, an Avernian Roman, was sent to her with a naked sword and a pair of shears, and in the name of her sons bade her choose whether the children should be instantly shorn or put to death. In the frantic struggle between the feelings of nature and the prejudices of rank, the unfortunate queen exclaimed, "If you will not let them reign, I would rather see them dead than degraded." The emissary gave her no time to revoke a choice so agreeable to his employers. When this hasty reply was announced to the two kings, Chlothar plunged his sword into the body of the elder prince. The younger clasped the knees of his uncle Childebert, and begged for mercy: Childebert relented, and with tears besought his brother to spare the child's life. But Chlothar furiously commanded him to fling the boy from him, or perish with him. "It is too late," he said, "for you, the proposer of this deed, to flinch from your resolution now." A strong and settled purpose of mind, whether for good or evil, always carries the weaker will along with it. Childebert flung the child from him, and it was instantly put to death by Chlothar. The murderers abandoned the bodies to their disconsolate grandmother for interment. The prophetic menace of St. Avitus²⁶ was thus fulfilled upon the savage

ship of the
sons of Chlo-
domer.

Childerich and
Chlothar ob-
tain possession
of their per-
sons,

and put them
to death.

²⁶ See the prediction ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 6; and *Fredegar.* Epit. c. 36, p. 402.

The descendants of Chlodomer become extinct.

Chlodomer and his descendants for the wanton destruction of Sigismund and his family; and the haughty Chlothildis was humbled to the dust by a series of calamities flowing in natural consequence from the wild workings of her own vindictive temper. She sought consolation in penitential exercises and in liberality to the church, and died at Tours, in the year 545, with the reputation of sanctity. Chlodovald, the third son of Chlodomer, was concealed by the adherents of his family; but a retired education and a sense of perpetual danger subdued his spirit; and when he arrived at an age to claim his inheritance, he voluntarily submitted to the tonsure, retired from the world, and was afterwards venerated by the Frankish churches under the name of St. Cloud.²⁷

Theuderich of Austrasia takes no share in the conquest of Burgundy.

He makes war upon the Thuringians, between whom and the Franks an ancient grudge subsists.

Theuderich of Austrasia had stood aloof during the wars of his brothers against Burgundy. Several causes may be assigned for this conduct. He had married a daughter of Sigismund; he was already embroiled with Hermenefrid, king of the Thuringians; and repeated insurrections of his subjects in Auvergne and Aquitaine, secretly fomented by his half-brothers, furnished employment for his arms.²⁸ Of these motives for non-interference, the war with the Thuringians was probably the strongest. We learn that, during the infancy of the Frankish power, that people had perfidiously invaded the three most important cantons of the Franks on the right bank of the Rhine,²⁹ plundering the country and murdering the inhabitants with a degree of ferocity which sank deep into the minds of their countrymen, and was remembered against the perpetrators as a heavy debt of blood for the succeeding generation to claim.³⁰ It is not impossible that the seduction of Bassina, the wife of Basinus, king of Thuringia,³¹ may have formed one

²⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 18. p. 196, with *D. Bouquet's* notes, p. 197. Chlothildis died on the 11th June, 545; *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 1. p. 234. Chlodovald was ordained priest, and took up his residence at the village near Paris, which still bears his name. See also *Vita S. Chlothildis*, c. 10. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 400.

²⁸ The first of these insurrections was headed by a Roman senator or magistrate named Arcadius, afterwards a servant of Childebert, by whom he was supported in his rebellion upon a false report of the death of Theuderich (circa A. D. 530). The second rising took place at the instigation of one Munderich, about the year 532. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. cc. 7 to 13. pp. 190 to 192.

²⁹ *Eckhart* (tom. i. p. 35) calls these cantons

by the several names of the *Salagewe*, the *Wirogewe*, and the *Weringewe*. But he does not inform us upon what authority he thus names them. According to *Bessel*, (*Chron. Gotwic.* p. 755,) the *Salagewe* was situated upon the Franconian Saale, in the modern bishopric of Würzburg. The *Wirogewe* he places (p. 525) within the circle of Franconia; and the *Weringewe* (p. 866) in the circle of Swabia, to the eastward of the Black Forest.

³⁰ This incident will explain the harangue of Theuderich to his warriors at the opening of the campaign against the Thuringians (*Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 7. p. 190); unless indeed the incident be extracted from the harangue by the ingenuity of *Eckhart* (loc. mod. cit.)

³¹ See sect. 1 of this chap., p. 501.

ingredient in the cup of bitterness which the two nations were mingling for each other. However this may be, the conduct of the Thuringians from that period had been of a hostile character; they had entered into political connexion, first with the Visigoths of Aquitaine, and subsequently with Theoderich the Great of Italy, to check the progress of the Franks. Their intercourse with the latter was cemented by the marriage of Hermenefrid of Thuringia with Amalaberga, the daughter of Theoderich; and by this alliance the independence of the nation was for a time secured against the projects of Frankish revenge or ambition.³²

They offend the Franks in various ways.

At the period at which we have arrived, Thuringia was governed by two brothers, Balderich and Hermenefrid, the sons or the grandsons of Basinus,³³ to whose dominions they had succeeded in conjunction with their brother Berthar. But some time before this Hermenefrid had dispossessed and put Berthar to death; and Amalaberga, the proud daughter of Theoderich, disdaining a divided kingdom, instigated her husband by taunts and reproaches to attempt the destruction of his surviving brother Balderich. Not trusting the execution of this project to his own unaided powers, he called in the assistance of Theoderich of Austrasia, engaging to transfer one half of Balderich's share of the Thuringian territory to his ally, if by their joint efforts they should succeed in dispossessing that prince. This compact was agreed upon and sworn to by the confederates at a personal interview; they marched directly against Balderich, and defeated and slew him in battle. But it seems that Theoderich had entered upon the war unattended by a force sufficient to give effect to the pretensions which he derived from the treaty. Hermenefrid temporised at first, and at last flatly refused to fulfil his engagement, and Theoderich retired filled with the bitterest resentment against his faithless associate.³⁴

Thuringia is governed by two brothers, Balderich and Hermenefrid.

Hermenefrid calls in the aid of Theoderich to dispossess his brother.

Balderich is defeated and slain by the joint forces of Hermenefrid and Theoderich. But the former refuses him his stipulated share of Balderich's territory, and he retires in anger.

Soon after this transaction, the Thuringian king was deprived of the support of the Ostrogothic alliance by the death of Theoderich the Great, which took place in the year 526; and Theoderich of Austrasia was freed from those apprehensions which had for a time suspended his revenge.³⁵ Accordingly he proposed to his brother Chlothar of Soissons, that they should jointly conquer and divide the kingdom of Thuringia. Chlothar consented, and both princes prepared for the campaign. At the general muster of the Frankish warriors, which always preceded enterprises of importance, Theoderich addressed them

Hermenefrid is deprived of the support of Theoderich by the death of the latter (A. D. 526). Theoderich and Chlothar resolve to invade and divide his kingdom.

³² Comp. *Procop.* De Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 12, ss. Byz. p. 342.

³³ *Luden* (vol. iii. p. 115) quotes *Venantius Fortunatus* in favour of the former supposition.

³⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 4, p. 188;—*Procop.* loc. mod. cit.;—*Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 55.

³⁵ *Procop.* Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 13; *ibid.* p. 344.

The Franks
invade Thu-
ringia and de-
feat Hermene-
frid in a great
battle on the
river Unstrutt.

in a vehement and impassioned speech. He complained bitterly of the wrongs he had endured in his own person, and endeavoured to inflame their ardour by recalling to their memories the cruel injuries inflicted in former times upon their defenceless and unsuspecting countrymen by these Thuringians,—injuries which still remained unavenged and unatoned for; and he described with revolting minuteness the murders, the cruelties, the tortures inflicted upon old men, women, children, the slaughter of hostages, and the total ruin of the country.³⁶ The assembly testified their sympathy by striking their spears against their shields, and the combined armies marched into Thuringia. They found Hermenefrid strongly posted near the banks of the river Unstrutt, and ready to give battle. The Franks, in their eagerness to come to close quarter with the enemy, neglected to examine the ground in front, and their cavalry found themselves suddenly involved among pitfalls, which the Thuringians had dug over the ground in advance of their position, and covered over with thick sods to resemble the plain. By this stratagem the Franks suffered much; but as soon as the danger was perceived, they became more circumspect without relaxing the ardour of the attack; and the battle ended in the flight of Hermenefrid and the total rout of his army. The fugitives, in their attempt to cross the Unstrutt, were overtaken by the Franks, and such, says Gregory of Tours, was the slaughter which took place there, that the bed of the river was filled up with the bodies of the slain, and a bridge was formed for the Franks to pass over in pursuit of the rest.³⁷

Hermenefrid
takes refuge in
a castle named
Scheiding
upon that river,

The success of the Frankish kings was soon followed by jealousy and discord. Theuderich was loth to part with the stipulated share of the booty, and laid a plot to assassinate his brother. But the nefarious design was detected, and Chlothar suffered himself to be appeased by the additional present of a huge silver vessel, which seems to have strongly excited the cupidity of both. After this, Chlothar retired, and left Theuderich to complete the subjugation of the Thuringians.³⁸

³⁶ The speech of Theuderich ends with these words,—“*Ecce verbum directum habemus: eamus cum Dei adjutorio contra eos.*” *D. Bouq.* thinks that the meaning of the words “*Ecce verbum directum habemus*” is expressed by the French phrase “*Avoir droit d’entreprendre quelque chose.*” It seems to me that they refer in fact to the *sortes sanctorum*, (see note 49 of sect. 2 of this chap.) to which Theuderich, in conformity to the national usage, had resorted on this occasion for a presage of success. I suppose him to have opened the sacred writings

upon the spot—precisely in the same way as he would have shaken the saplings in the sheet, (see *Tac. Germ.* c. 10, and chap. ii. sect. 3, p. 94 of this vol.) had he continued a pagan, and to have hit upon the verse “*Eamus cum Dei adjutorio contra eos,*” or words to that effect.

³⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 7, p. 190.

³⁸ *Gregory of Tours* (loc. mod. cit.) tells us that he carried away with him a son and a daughter of Berthar, the deceased brother of Hermenefrid, and that he afterwards married the daughter, whose name was Radegundis;

After the battle of the Unstrutt, Hermenefrid retired to a castle called Scheiding upon that river;³⁹ where he appears to have successfully maintained himself. From subsequent occurrences it is clear that a treaty of peace must have put an end to the war.⁴⁰ Theuderich retired into Austrasia, to wait for a more favourable opportunity to outwit or to surprise his enemy. Such an opportunity soon presented itself: Hermenefrid incautiously accepted an invitation to an interview at Tolbiac, where he was treacherously put to death by his host.⁴¹ The whole region of Thuringia then fell into the possession of the Austrasian Franks, and became permanently united with that powerful kingdom.⁴²

Theuderich some time afterwards invites Hermenefrid to a conference, and treacherously puts him to death. Thuringia becomes incorporated with the Austrasian kingdom. So also Alemannia (Swabia) and Bavaria.

The conquest of Thuringia enabled Theuderich to extend his influence over that portion of the Alemannic nation which had placed itself under the protection of Theoderich the Great. From causes to which we shall have occasion to advert in the following chapter, that protection had been withdrawn, and the Alemanni of Upper Rhætia⁴³ submitted to become the dependents of the Franks. The same causes likewise deprived the Bavarians of the powerful support they had hitherto

but having, upon some frivolous suspicion, put her brother to death, Radegundis fled from her husband, and took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Medardus, bishop of Noyon, surrendering the insignia of her earthly dignity into his hands, and devoting herself to heaven for the rest of her days. *Venantius Fortunatus* has written the fragment of a life of St. Radegundis, which was afterwards continued by a nun named Bandonivia. See *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 456. Venantius had been received into the household of the queen, and went with her to Poitou, where Chlothar permitted her to found a convent of nuns; and there she died with the reputation of sanctity. Venantius afterwards became bishop of Poitiers, where he died about the year 609. See *Moreri*, *Gd. Diction.* &c.

³⁹ *Witichind*. *Annales*, lib. i. p. 631. See the following note.

⁴⁰ *Witichind*, of Corvey, (ap. *Meibom*. *Ss. Rr. Germ.* tom. i. p. 630 to 634) who wrote in the tenth century, has given us a traditionary narrative of this war, which can only be identified with that of which Gregory of Tours has preserved a memorial, by the occurrence of the same names. In every other respect it bears little or no resemblance to the story of the Frankish historian. *Witichind* was utterly ignorant of the history of the Franks; he had either never seen or totally neglected the narrative of Gregory, from which he must at least have learnt that Theuderich was *not* the *only* son, and that Amalaberga was *not* the daughter of

Chlodwig. But his tale exhibits a vivid picture of the moralities of barbaric warfare, in which cunning, perfidy, and cruelty are the prevailing features. As *history*, it is almost worthless; as a *picture of manners*, it would suffer by curtailment; and it is too long for insertion here. I have selected a single incident from it, which seemed necessary to supply a link in that of Gregory of Tours.

⁴¹ *Gregory* says that he was precipitated from the parapet of the castle walls at Tolbiac while engaged in friendly conversation with Theuderich; but he professes ignorance of the perpetrator. He admits indeed that many persons were firmly persuaded that it was done by the procurement of Theuderich; and the historian can have no difficulty in assenting to that opinion.

⁴² *Greg. Turon.* loc. cit.; *Procop.* *Bell. Goth.*; *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 34.

⁴³ The modern Switzerland to the eastward of the Aar, the valleys of the Grisons, the Vorarlberg, and a part of the Tyrol. *Baron Hormayer*, in his *Hist. of the Tyrol*, (*Works*, vol. i. p. 54), deduces from various passages in the writings of *Cassiodor*. (*Ep. lib. ii. ep. 41.*), *Alcuin* (in *Vit. S. Vedasti*), *Greg. of Tours* (*lib. ii. c. 30.*), and *Fredég.* (*Epit. c. 21.*), the inference that these Alemanni extended themselves over the whole of Upper Rhætia, Tyrol, Salzburg, and Upper Styria, and that the more eastern portion became incorporated with the Bavarian people.

Theuderich reduces the customary laws of these nations to writing.

enjoyed,⁴⁴ and they yielded to the arms of Theuderich. By these important acquisitions the Austrasian monarch acquired the supreme dominion of all the southern regions of Germany extending from the Rhine to the Inn, and from the Danube to the rocky banks of the Eisach and the Adige, comprising the whole of Swabia, Bavaria, the Thurgau, the Grisons, and the Tyrol. As soon as the submission of these provinces was completed, Theuderich held a great national assembly of Franks, Alemanni, Bavarians, and other nations who acknowledged his sceptre at Chalons on the Marne, for consolidating their union, and to take council for the reduction of their customary laws into writing, a measure to which the attention of the barbaric princes had been for some time past laudably directed. For this task he selected the most experienced persons from among the assembled elders, and directed them to digest and register in a written code the several customs and traditionary laws of their respective nations.⁴⁵ In this shape the laws of the Franks, Bavarians, and Alemanni, were first promulgated in a statutory form, and thus a first and most important step towards social improvement was accomplished.⁴⁶

Childebert and Chlothar plot against him,

While Theuderich was enlarging the boundaries of Austrasia in an eastern direction, his brothers Childebert and Chlothar in the west were watching their opportunity for possessing themselves of the Aquitanian dependencies of his kingdom. The turbulent disposition of the Roman inhabitants of Auvergne, fomented by the intrigues of his rivals, had given him some uneasiness; and he had sent his son Theudebert into that province to suppress these disturbances, and observe the motions of the Neustrians. But the power of Theuderich rendered an open breach not advisable; and Theudebert, who had lately married Wisigarda, a daughter of Wacco king of the Pannonian Longobardi, was active and vigilant. The decease however of Theuderich in 534 inspired the brothers with the hope of adding the whole of Austrasia to their dominions. The news of his father's death, and of the preparations of his uncles to deprive him of his succession reached Theudebert at the same moment. Not an instant was lost in presenting himself to the vassals of the royal domain⁴⁷,—a body of men rising fast into importance,—and securing their attachment.

but they are foiled.

Theuderich dies.

A.D. 534.

His son Theudebert is recognized king of Austrasia in spite of his uncles.

⁴⁴ See chap. ix. sec. 4, p. 486 of this vol.

⁴⁵ See introduction to the *Pact. Leg. Sal. Antiquior*. ap. *Cancian*. tom. ii. p. 13.

⁴⁶ The various revisions these codes afterwards underwent are noticed in the Introductions. The date of this transaction falls between the years 526 and 534; in all probability it took place not long before the death of Theuderich in

the latter year.

⁴⁷ *Leudes*—Saxonicè, *Leod*—Germanicè, *Leute*; the immediate followers of the king, and in most cases grantees of crown-lands, which were given by way of salary or gratuity to secure their attachment, a relation which lay at the foundation of feudality. See below, ch. xii. sect. 1.

With their assistance he showed so bold a front to his uncles, that they thought fit to abandon their enterprise and retire⁴⁸.

The failure of this scheme reduced the surviving sons of Chlodwig to inactivity, from which these partners in iniquity sought relief in plotting each other's ruin. The kingdom of Chlodomer, his palaces and treasures, still remained undivided in their hands; Theuderich had been unable to obtain his portion, and his son, but newly seated upon the throne, could expect no better justice. But Childebert had no children, and he adroitly availed himself of this circumstance for promoting the objects of his present ambition. He accordingly proposed to his nephew Theudebert that they should unite their forces to overwhelm Chlothar; and that when that point should be accomplished, Theudebert should be adopted by him as his son, and declared heir and successor to the united kingdom of all the Franks. The greedy ambition of the young king afforded his uncle no time to cool upon this nefarious scheme; he accepted the proposal; both princes took the field, and pursued Chlothar into the forest of the Ardennes. "When," says Gregory of Tours, "the tidings of this fratricidal war reached the aged Chlothildis, she poured out her prayers at the shrine of St. Martin, beseeching the saint to avert this dreadful calamity." The armies were already in each other's presence. Chlothar was the weaker, "but," adds the bishop, "he had placed his whole trust and confidence in the mercy of God, and his faith was rewarded. A storm of thunder and hail and rain fell so suddenly and violently upon the troops of Childebert and Theudebert as to twist their arms out of their hands, and disperse the cavalry in all directions, while not a drop moistened the ground where Chlothar and his soldiers stood. Who shall doubt after this of the all-availing power of the Holy Martin?"⁴⁹

Childebert and Theudebert plot against Chlothar,

A.D. 537.

but without success.

The cause of the failure is of little importance; the confederates separated, and Chlothar and Childebert became once more reconciled; and with their joint powers invaded the north of Spain. The Visigoths were unprepared for the attack; the Franks met with no resistance in the field, and they cruelly ravaged the whole country north of the Ebro. An attempt to take Saragossa failed; the defenders displayed the tunic of St. Vincentius upon the walls, the sight of which struck such terror into the hearts of the assailants, that they returned home, carrying away with them many prisoners and much booty.⁵⁰ The Franks had not yet out-

A.D. 542. Childebert and Chlothar are reconciled and invade Spain. They fail before Saragossa.

The Franks still continue

⁴⁸ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 20, p. 198. *Paul. Diac.* lib. i. c. 21; ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. i. p. 419.

⁴⁹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. p. 199. Chlothar was the protégé of the bishop's own patron saint. The necessary *faith* was of course presumed; the

obliquity of moral vision that could convert so thoroughly polluted and impenitent a being as Chlothar into a favorite of heaven is almost inconceivable.

⁵⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 29, p. 300.

attached to
predatory war-
fare.

They are prone
to domestic
broils, in which
they are in-
dulged by their
princes as
much from the
necessity of
finding occupa-
tion for the
martial spirit
of the people,
as from motives
of private am-
bition.

grown that old attachment to predatory warfare which had once rendered them such dreaded neighbours to the Romans. Though in their new condition the occasions for those annual wars in which they had been accustomed to indulge recurred very irregularly, it is obvious that every pretext for a marauding expedition, or for a still more imposing display of the national strength, was exceedingly welcome. If no foreign enemy presented himself, the rash and irascible temper of the people displayed itself in sanguinary domestic quarrels. The martial Leudes were ever ready to adopt the animosities of their princes, for the prospect of plundering alike both friend and foe. In each succeeding age we shall find the princes drawing around them augmented numbers of adherents of this class; alienating the patrimony of their crowns to maintain and reward them, and often plunging into foreign and domestic wars, to avert the greater perils of curbing the martial spirit of the nation.

The subject of the ensuing chapter will afford some illustration of the foreign policy of the Frankish governments. The attention of the kings had not been so wholly absorbed by their private quarrels as to be regardless of the events which were passing in Italy. To the Franks that country was as yet untrodden ground, and possessed all the attraction of novelty, while it presented an arena of political intrigue for which,—rude as they were,—they had already evinced a surprising aptitude. Our attention must therefore now be directed to the important incidents of which that country was about to become the scene. From the epoch of the fall of the western empire, the fates of the Germanic and Italian nations were destined to be interwoven with each other; and if this connexion be lost sight of, the clue of historical truth is broken, and can only be recovered by bringing up a long arrear of events, or by prolix explanations, which fatigue the attention, and interrupt the flow of the narrative.

CHAP. XI.

DOWNFALL OF THE OSTROGOTHIC DOMINION IN ITALY.—FRANKS AND LONGOBARDI.—CLOSE OF THE BARBARIC MIGRATIONS.

As we approach the close of the great migration of the Northern nations events seem to thicken around us; the sources of information become more abundant; the histories of Procopius, Agathias, Paul Warnefrid, and Gregory of Tours, supply us with a mass of materials enabling us to describe more circumstantially the expiring struggle of ancient civilization, against that overwhelming torrent of barbarism which slowly but irresistibly overtopped the last bulwarks which could be opposed to its ravages. The generosity and politic forbearance of Theoderich the Great would indeed have spared many a precious relic of ancient culture; but the kingdom he had founded terminated almost with his life. The brilliant exploits of Belisarius and Narses once more kindled the hopes of the civilized world, and gave it strength to sustain a protracted agony of thirty-two years' duration. But in this, as in all aftertimes, Italy owed her calamities in a far greater degree to herself than to the foreign instruments of her ruin. The ephemeral successes of Justinian conduced to no solid principle of acquisition or preservation. Despotism, fiscal extortion, and religious discord, smoothed the path for the new enemy which was about to pour down from the Julian and Carnian Alps; and when Alboin and his Longobardi threw themselves into the exhausted country, the last spark of health and vigour was already extinguished amid the repinings of discontent and the languor of unalleviated suffering. Thus did the seat and strong hold of ancient civilization melt into the mass of barbarism, and Italy became irrevocably annexed to the great barbaric commonwealth of Europe.

The subjects of the ensuing chapter fall in with the main stream of Germanic history. Italy indeed is the scene, but the principal actors are Germans. Though we are fully disposed to admit the claim to separate historical consideration which difference of climate and altered geographical position impart, yet the nation must always carry with it its own history whithersoever it wanders, and thither we must follow it, or consent to forfeit the great use of history—its continuity and integrity. In the present instance we should most surely incur that heavy penalty, since the annals of the Italian Germans ultimately flow back into the current of Frankish history; and will be found in the end indispen-

Sketch of the subjects of the ensuing chapter.

They fall in with the main stream of Germanic history,

and are indis-

pensable to explain the subsequent fortunes both of Germans and Italians.

sable to explain the nature of the elements out of which arose that memorable contest between the temporal and spiritual powers, by which the fortunes of both nations were eventually determined.

SECTION 1.—A.D. 511 to A.D. 552.

The Pretender Giselic—Theoderich the Great and the Visigoths—Death of Theoderich—Religious differences between the Italians and Ostrogoths—Amalasuintha and Athalarich—Death of Athalarich—Theodohat and Amalasuintha—Death of Amalasuintha—Projects of Justinian—Theodohat and Justinian court the Alliance of the Franks—Misconduct of Theodohat—His Deposition and Death—Elevation of Vitiges—He abandons Provence—Invests Rome—Siege of Rome—Truce between Vitiges and Belisarius—Policy of Belisarius—Vitiges raises the Siege of Rome—Belisarius takes Urbino, Osimo, and Rimini—Vitiges besieges Rimini—Arrival of Narses—Belisarius and Narses raise the Siege of Rimini—Recall of Narses—Vitiges negotiates in vain with the Longobardi—Sends an Embassy to Khosru, King of Persia—The Franks invade Italy—Their Treachery—Their Misfortunes and Retreat—Belisarius invests Ravenna—Ravenna surrenders—Recall of Belisarius—Revival of the Gothic Power—Totila—He takes Cumæ and Naples—His Character—Siege and Capture of Rome by Totila—He demolishes the Walls—Belisarius recovers Rome—Totila retakes it, and reconquers Sicily—Preparations of Justinian for the reconquest of Italy—He recovers Sicily—Narses.

Giselic, the illegitimate son of Alaric II., is placed upon the throne of the Visigoths in preference to Amalarich, the infant son of Alaric II. and Theudegotha ;

THE share which Theoderich the Great had obtained of the Burgundian territory had involved him in the politics of the Frankish kingdoms. But his great name, his caution and moderation, prevented any attempt to disturb him in the possession of the ceded districts.¹ The death of his son-in-law and ally, the Visigothic king Alaric II., who fell in the battle of Vouglé,² had indeed disturbed the course of his pacific policy ; the balance of power which he desired to establish was overthrown ; yet the effect of these events tended rather to extend than to contract his own dominion. He deemed it inexpedient to attempt the restoration of the Visigothic power in Gaul ; but he skilfully availed himself of the opportunity to add the whole of Provence and a part of Languedoc to his own kingdom. The deceased king Alaric had left behind him a son by a concubine, whom the Goths had placed upon the throne in preference to Amalarich, the infant son of Alaric and Theudegotha, the daughter of Theoderich. But that son, Giselic, possessed none of the virtues or talents necessary to retrieve the affairs of the nation, or even to maintain what was yet left to them to the northward of the Pyrenees. He was expelled from the city of Arles by the arms of Theoderich, and retired into Spain ; but finding insufficient support there, he proceeded to the court of Thrasimund king of the African Vandals, in the hope of prevailing upon him to assist him in recovering the throne of Spain.

but he is de-throned by Theoderich the Great,

¹ *Jorn.* c. 58. Ed. Grot. p. 698. Conf. c. x. sec. 3, p. 528 of this volume.

² Conf. chap. x. sec. 2, p. 518 of this volume.

Thrasimund was unwilling to incur the enmity of his brother-in-law, by appearing as a principal in an enterprise for dispossessing his grandson. But he covertly supplied the pretender with a sum of money to purchase adherents, hoping that he might thereby prevent Spain from falling into the hands of the too powerful Theoderich. Thus provided, Giselic passed through Spain, and dwelt for a twelvemonth under the protection of Chlodwig in Aquitaine. But in the following year he made an attempt upon Barcelona, in which he was totally defeated by Ebba, the general of Theoderich, and was a short time afterwards overtaken and slain while endeavouring to cross the river Durance in the Narbonnensian province.³

A. D. 510.

A. D. 511.

Defeated at
Barcelona,
and afterwards
killed.

Amalarich, the legitimate heir of the Visigothic kingdom, was as yet in his childhood; his grandfather, Theoderich, therefore administered the government of the Gallic and Spanish provinces in his name.⁴ He made Arles the capital of his new acquisitions in Gaul, which were increased in the year 524 by the share of the Burgundian kingdom which fell to him after the battle of Voirons.⁵ The government of Spain, together with the education and guardianship of the young king, were intrusted to the Ostrogothic duke Theudes. The treasures of the kingdom, which had been deposited in the strong city of Carcassonne, were removed to Ravenna for greater security. He appointed governors in all the Spanish provinces, and stationed troops, commanded by trusty officers, wherever he deemed them necessary. The tributes of the kingdom were paid into his treasury; but lest he should be charged with avarice, they were liberally expended for the support of the army, or distributed in gratuities to the officers and troops. The union of the two kingdoms under one head strengthened the ties of kindred already existing between the Visigothic and Ostrogothic nations.⁶ Theoderich encouraged intermarriage, and took every means in his power to facilitate intercourse, and propagate kindly feelings towards each other; and an administration of nearly fifteen years enabled him in this way to abolish nearly all those national distinctions which their long separation had introduced.⁷

Theoderich governs the Visigothic kingdom in the name of his infant grandson Amalarich.

By judicious measures he promotes union between the Ostrogothic and Visigothic nations.

³ *Isid. Hispal. ap. Grot. p. 721.—Procop. De Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. xii. Ss. Byz. p. 343.* These writers speak of a defeat which the Franks sustained from the forces of Theoderich under Ebba or Ibba; but Gregory of Tours does not notice any quarrel between Chlodwig and Theoderich.

⁴ The name of Theoderich is usually inserted in the catalogue of the Visigothic kings of Spain. The acts of two councils, one held at Tarragona, and the other at Gerona, are dated respectively

in the first and second years of his reign. *Grot. Prolegom. ad Hist. Goth., Vandal. et Longob., p. 48.* See also the *Art de vér. &c. tom. i. p. 729.*

⁵ See c. x. sec. 3, p. 530 of this volume.

⁶ Both nations still regarded each other as the issue of the same stock, even when engaged in hostilities. See chap. ix. sec. 1. p. 425 of this volume.

⁷ *Procop. loc. cit.—Isidor. Hispal. ad Æras, 549 and 566, loc. cit. p. 721.*

Theudes retains the government of Spain in defiance of Theoderich.

The latter acquiesces.

Religious differences prevent the national union between the Goths and Italians desired by Theoderich.

He suspects his ministers, and puts Symmachus and Boëtius to death. He curbs the Catholics;

his mind becomes unsettled;

he dies on the 30th August, A.D. 526.

Though the king of Italy continued to govern the Visigothic dominions for some years after Amalarich was of full age, it was probably never his intention permanently to unite the two monarchies.⁸ Theudes continued to preside over the government of Spain; but he became, after a time, suspected of a design upon the crown of that kingdom. He skilfully eluded all attempts to remove him; and though he continued to yield obedience to Theoderich while he lived, he could never be persuaded to place himself in his power; while the cautious king thought it too dangerous to venture upon any violent attempt to deprive him of his command. This disagreement therefore produced no consequences prejudicial to the subsisting harmony between the two nations. But in Italy Theoderich's latter years were embittered, and his plans for bringing about a similar union between his Gothic and Roman subjects were thwarted, on the one hand, by that unmitigated contempt which the Gothic warrior still entertained for the degenerate Italians, and, on the other, by the aversion of the Roman population from the Arian form of Christianity, to which the Goths still pertinaciously adhered.

These obstacles Theoderich had found it utterly impossible to overcome. The Arians complained loudly of neglect, and even of persecution; the king could not turn a deaf ear to the grievances of his own communion. The Catholic party intrigued with the court of Constantinople, with a view either to force the liberal monarch into their plans, or, if that should fail, to effect the expulsion of the Goths from Italy. The emperor Justin listened to these overtures with caution, yet not without hope. He encouraged the malcontents of Italy by an ostentatious display of zeal against the Arians of his own dominions; nor is it improbable that he tampered with the Roman ministers of Theoderich. Suspicion took possession of a mind enfeebled by age and irritated by disappointment; Symmachus and Boëtius, the latter a man of great talent and unimpeached integrity, were imprisoned, and subsequently put to death, upon a charge of treasonable correspondence with the emperor. Strong measures were put in train to curb the insolent spirit of disobedience which unbounded toleration had rather nourished than subdued in the disposition of the Catholic subjects. Severe restrictions were about to be resorted to, when Theoderich was seized by a lingering disorder which affected his mind almost as much as his body. His death, which took place on the 30th of August of the year 526, relieved the Italians from present apprehensions, and opened prospects highly

⁸ Amalarich was 19 or 20 years old at the death of Theoderich in 526. The minority of the barbaric princes usually terminated at a much earlier age.

flattering to that love of change from which not all the calamities they had endured could ever wean them.⁹

The want of a principle of union between the victors and the vanquished was a main cause of the instability of the earlier barbaric states. To this circumstance we have traced the overthrow of the Visigothic power in Gaul; we entertain little doubt that it contributed to the ruin of the Burgundian kingdom; and we now perceive it mainly instrumental in unsettling the foundations of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy. In Spain the same incongruity subsisted; and in Africa the Vandalic rulers widened the breach by an active and cruel persecution of their Catholic subjects. In France,¹⁰ on the other hand, the bond of union was supplied by a common creed. The power of the Franks therefore rested upon a more solid basis. While the other barbaric kingdoms were falling into decay, that of the Franks grew and prospered in spite of all the impediments of a vicious and barbarous form of government, in spite of national divisions, civil wars, and unbounded licentiousness in every department of the state. The baptism of Chlodwig proclaimed a religious peace between the conquerors and the conquered; the pride of the victor was assuaged; the hatred of the subject was mitigated by communion of faith and worship; the intermixture of the two races was facilitated; a family connexion grew up between them, and the distinction between Frank and Roman became gradually obliterated. In the Ostrogothic and Vandalic kingdoms the amalgamation was obstructed by religious discord, in addition to the sources of alienation which usually divide the dominant from the subject nation. The Visigoths of Spain were saved by their well-defended position from the fate which overtook the barbaric kingdoms of Italy and Africa; yet even *there* the government attained to no degree of stability till the Gothic conquerors conformed to the creed of the conquered. The same remark will be found to apply with considerable force to that power which arose upon the ruins of the Ostrogothic dominion in Italy: the Arian Longobardi were drawn by the same state necessity into communion with their Catholic subjects, and secured themselves by conformity alone against the corroding influence of religious hatred.¹¹

Religious differences the ultimate cause of the ruin of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy.

⁹ *Procop.* loc. cit. c. i. p. 310, and *Conf. Masc.* vol. ii. p. 56.

¹⁰ We shall substitute in future this designation for that of 'Gaul,' which we have hitherto used; but we wish to apply it as nearly as possible to those regions which afterwards constituted the kingdom of France, viz.: the Neustrian and Aquitanian provinces, excluding therefore the whole of Austrasia, (with the exception

of a few districts on the western frontier,) as also Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, and Septimania, which were not united to France till many centuries afterwards.

¹¹ It may be objected that the Lombard power itself fell a victim to the religious hostility of the church of Rome. But it will appear hereafter that *that* hostility was in reality merely political. There was no difference either of substance or of

Athalarich, the grandson of Theoderich, succeeds him, under the guardianship of his mother Amalasuintha.
A.D. 526.

Theoderich the Great left no male issue. Amalasuintha, his daughter by Audofleda, a sister of Chlodwig, had married Eutharic, a descendant of the Amalan Thorismund.¹² Athalarich, the son of this marriage, had been appointed by Theoderich as his successor; but the prince was only nine years old at the death of his grandfather; the regency of the kingdom during his minority was therefore entrusted to his mother, and she conducted the government with great spirit and ability for a period of eight years. Yet the Goths submitted with impatience to female rule; and Athalarich obtained a degree of liberty and influence in public affairs inconsistent with his tender years, and highly prejudicial to his moral character.¹³

The union between the Ostrogothic and Visigothic nations is dissolved; the treasures removed by Theoderich are restored, and the Gallic territory is divided.

The death of Theoderich dissolved the political connexion between the Ostrogothic and Visigothic kingdoms; and a treaty was now concluded, whereby Athalarich renounced the revenues which the Spanish Goths had paid to his grandfather; divided the Gallic provinces with his cousin Amalarich,¹⁴ and restored the treasures which had been removed from Carcassonne to Ravenna. The social connexion of the two nations remained upon the same footing as that upon which it had been placed by Theoderich; and it was agreed that the subjects of both kings should enjoy a community of civil rights within the dominions of each other, particularly with reference to the important articles of intermarriage, and the disposal or removal of property thereby acquired.¹⁵

Athalarich dies, A.D. 534, and his mother marries the Amalan Theodatus,

The firm and prudent conduct of Amalasuintha had hitherto preserved her influence against the caprices of her son, and the machinations of the discontented courtiers. But in the year 534 Athalarich fell a victim to a pestilential disease which prevailed in Italy; the regency expired with him, and Amalasuintha, whose ambition could not brook the loss of power, married a cousin named Theodatus,¹⁶ and presented him to the Goths as their sovereign. The claim of Theodatus, as the male representative of the Amalan line, though derived through a female, was acknowledged, and he was permitted to ascend the throne without contradiction. But the daughter of Theoderich had been lamentably

who is proclaimed king.

form between the religion of Rome and that of Pavia.

¹² See the genealogy of the Amali, c. ix. sec. 1, p. 424 of this volume.

¹³ *Procop. De Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 2, p. 312.* Amalasuintha wished to educate him after the Roman fashion; the Goths resented highly such a departure from their national customs; they alienated him from his mother, and when he attained the age of puberty, indulged him in vicious gratifications.

¹⁴ All the territory to the westward of the Rhone,

including Narbonne, Carcassonne, and the whole of Septimania, was given up to the Visigoths.

¹⁵ *Procop. loc. cit. lib. i. c. 13. pp. 344, 345.*

¹⁶ Theodatus, according to Gregory of Tours, or Theodatus, as he is called by Procopius, was the son of Amalafrida, a sister of Theoderich the Great. That lady had married a private nobleman, by whom she had Theodatus and Amalaberga, afterwards the wife of Hermenefrid, king of the Thuringians. After the death of her first husband, Amalafrida married Thrasimund, king of the African Vandals.

deceived in the character of the man in whose name she had hoped to govern. Theodatus; though a savage in disposition, old, rapacious, crafty, and feeble, had set up pretensions to philosophy; he had affected retired habits, which seemed to promise a submissive and humble demeanour. But the queen soon discovered her error: Theodatus deprived her of all participation in the powers of government; and at length caused her to be imprisoned in a strong castle upon an island of the lake of Bolsena. Here she spent her days in lamenting the loss of power and liberty, and doubtless also in intrigues for the recovery of both. But her enemies had become her brutal husband's friends, and at their suggestion, if not prompted by his own evil nature, she was secretly strangled in a bath.¹⁷

Theodatus deprives his wife of all influence;

he causes her to be imprisoned and murdered.

When Theoderich the Great accepted and executed the commission from Zeno to chastise the contemptuous disobedience of Odovaker, the Greek had hoped to make the success of his vassal in some way or other subservient to the recovery of Italy. Theoderich rendered indeed all the honours of supremacy to the emperor, but none of the fruits. He was powerful enough to defy the hostility, dexterous enough to frustrate the intrigues, and resolute to punish the agents of the imperial court. Respectful, and even reverential in word and address, he rigorously excluded all interference with his government; and throughout a reign of thirty-six years, the claims of the court of Constantinople were permitted to sleep. But when he was removed from the scene, and the government became enfeebled by faction and discontent, the Byzantine agents were at their post. The precarious position of Amalasuintha caused her to lean for support upon the empire, and if we believe the report of Procopius, she amused the emperor Justinian with hopes of a nature which implied a reprehensible disregard of the liberty of her country and of her subjects.¹⁸ But when, after the death of her son, she recklessly

Schemes of the Byzantine government after the death of Theoderich the Great.

¹⁷-*Jorn.* c. 59. p. 701. *Procop.* De Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 4, p. 317. *Gregory of Tours* (lib. iii. c. 31, p. 200) evinces frequently the profoundest ignorance of what took place in foreign countries. He mixes up this tragical incident with the strangest fables. According to him, Amalasuintha was the most depraved of human beings. She had in her youth run away with a common servant. Her mother caused her to be pursued, brought back, and severely chastised; in revenge for which treatment she contrived to poison Audofleda in the sacramental cup; being however detected and convicted of this monstrous crime, she was condemned to death, and

smothered in a vapour-bath, by order of 'Theodatus.' "How," exclaims Gregory, "will the miserable heretics get out of this, when it is thus manifest that hell hath part even in their sacraments? We, who profess the Trinity in Unity, had we drunk even a mortal poison in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, should have taken no harm!"

¹⁸ At one period she contemplated quitting the kingdom, and placing herself and her son Athalarich under the protection of Justinian. After his death, Procopius says, she privately promised him to betray Italy into his hands. *Procop.* De Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 3, p. 316..

The misconduct of Theodatus furnishes Justinian with a pretext and an opportunity for the invasion of Italy.

Belisarius conquers Sicily.

Theodatus negotiates with Justinian,

and offers to abdicate the throne for a pension.

Theodatus

threw herself into the arms of the worthless Theodatus, the aspect of affairs became still more favourable to the designs of the Byzantine court. Justinian was possessed of an army and a general whose deeds rivalled in lustre those of ancient Rome. Belisarius had, with a force scarcely adequate in numbers to the greatness of the enterprise, annihilated the power of the Vandals in Africa, re-annexed that extensive province to the empire, and borne away the barbaric king in chains to the foot of the imperial throne. Meanwhile the rapacity and the ineptitude of Theodatus had disgusted his subjects. Sicily was but scantily garrisoned, and Southern Italy was little better protected. Belisarius and his army were at hand; and awaited only the imperial command to take advantage of a juncture more favourable for the restoration of the Roman power than any that had occurred since the severance of the eastern and western empires.

Justinian affected to regard the murder of Amalasuintha as a legitimate cause of war. While his general Mundus threatened the northern frontier of Italy with the forces assembled in Illyria, Belisarius with seven thousand chosen troops landed in Sicily, and quickly subdued the whole island.¹⁹ Mundus, about the same time, captured Salona, the capital of Dalmatia. The incapacity of Theodatus became apparent, not only to his indignant subjects, but, as it seems, even to himself. He entered into correspondence with the Byzantine agent Peter, through whom the confidential intercourse between Justinian and Amalasuintha had been hitherto carried on; and the scheme of a treaty was drawn up, by which he engaged to cede the island of Sicily, to acknowledge Justinian as his supreme lord, to deliver to him annually a crown of gold weighing three hundred pounds, and to assist him in his wars with an army of three thousand Goths, whenever he should be called upon so to do.²⁰ But the ratification of the emperor was still wanting to complete the transaction, and the agent so skilfully practised upon the apprehensions of the dastardly prince, that he extorted from him a formal letter of abdication, stipulating only for an assignment of lands of the annual value of 1200 pounds of gold; but with the inept injunction that the letter should not be delivered till all hope of obtaining the imperial approbation to the proposed treaty should have vanished.²¹

As soon as Theodatus heard of the landing of Belisarius in Sicily,

¹⁹ The weak garrison of Panormus alone made any show of resistance. *Procop.* lib. i. c. 5, p. 320.

²⁰ *Procop.* loc. cit. lib. i. c. 6, p. 321. The other stipulations of these preliminaries of peace

touch ceremonial observances, upon which, however, the Byzantine court—not without a deeper policy than the conditions themselves seemed to denote—very strenuously insisted.

²¹ *Procop.* loc. cit. pp. 322, 323.

he proposed to the Frankish kings to cede to them all the territories lying between the Alps and the Rhone, and to pay them a sum of two thousand pounds of gold as the price of their assistance in the approaching contest.²² Justinian however had forestalled him at the Frankish courts ; and his appeal had been eagerly listened to by those princes, to whom the possession or the plunder of Italy were equally alluring objects. But though they accepted with delight the costly presents of the emperor, and promised to assist him in arms, it was without any intention that their aid should avail him the value of the inch of ground, or the pennyworth of plunder which might be gained by betraying or deserting him. For the moment they were engaged in prosecuting their schemes against each other, and had no leisure for a foreign war. Both the Goths and the Byzantines backed their solicitations by large presents ; and Theodatus is said to have paid them the enormous sum of fifty thousand pieces of gold. This money, we are told, was intercepted on its passage by Childebart and Theudebert ; and shared between them, to the prejudice of Chlothar, who indemnified himself by seizing the treasures of the deceased Chlodomer, which, by compact between the brothers, had hitherto been regarded as common property.²³ This transaction, if it be correctly reported, could not fail to embitter national strife. The Austrasians had by no means abandoned their claim to an equitable share both of the territory and treasure of the deceased Chlodomer, although their king Theuderich had taken no part in the horrible crime by which that territory and treasure had become the subject of partition.²⁴ The retaliation of Chlothar for the loss of his share of the Gothic subsidy exasperated both his brother and nephew, and involved the nation in the civil war of which we have already given an account.²⁵

It was probably perceived by Justinian that a treaty of peace with so abject a being as Theodatus, however advantageous the terms might be, could be of little benefit to him unless it were ratified by the nation : but of this there could be no good prospect ; while the sudden abdication of their king might throw their affairs into confusion, and thereby facilitate the operations of Belisarius. He therefore rejected the treaty of which Peter was the bearer, but strongly encouraged the king to carry his project of abdication into effect, and promised him, in addition to the

next negotiates with the kings of the Franks ; but Justinian forestalls him.

A.D. 535.

The Franks accept presents from both parties, but without siding with either.

Justinian endeavours to persuade Theodatus to abdicate the throne.

²² *Procop.* loc. cit. c. xiii. p. 345.

²³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 31, p. 201. But it is difficult to ascertain whether Gregory has not confounded this payment with that which was made by Vitiges, the successor of Theodatus, in the following year. He adds some other cir-

cumstances which are not easily reconcileable with the clearer and more circumstantial narrative of Procopius.

²⁴ Conf. chap. x. sec. 3, p. 531 of this volume.

²⁵ Chap. x. sec. 3, p. 537 of this volume.

splendid maintenance stipulated for, every honour which it was in his power to bestow, or a subject might enjoy.²⁶ But in the interim the nation had been more active than their king: the Gothic forces in Dalmatia under Asinar and Grippa had defeated the Roman army of Maurice and Mundus, slain both generals, retaken Salona, and cleared the province of the enemy. When Theodatus heard of this unexpected success, he passed from a state of extreme depression to the most extravagant elation. The Byzantine envoys, who had already signified to him the emperor's decision, and awaited his reply, were now publicly treated with scorn and derision, and even committed to prison.²⁷ But the deep contempt into which this unfortunate prince had fallen deprived him of all weight in the great question at issue between his people and their powerful enemy.

The latter, encouraged by the successes of his generals in Dalmatia, breaks off the negotiations.

Belisarius conquers Calabria and Campania.

He takes Naples.

The Goths depose Theodatus and proclaim Vitiges.

Theodatus is put to death.

Position of Vitiges.

Belisarius had by this time completed the reduction of Sicily, and prepared to cross the Messinian Straits into Italy. Ebremer, the son-in-law of Theodatus, who commanded upon this important station, deserted his troops, and threw himself at the feet of Belisarius, and was rewarded by Justinian with the honours of the patriciate.²⁸ Calabria submitted, and Campania was speedily overrun. The city of Naples was defended for some time with heroic fortitude; but no effort was made to relieve the devoted garrison, and the place was taken by storm. The loss of so many provinces, the rapid progress of Belisarius, the desertion of Ebremer, and the insolence, inertness, and incapacity of their king, determined the Gothic people to place the sceptre in other hands. The race of the Amali presented no person capable of conducting the affairs of the nation at this perilous juncture; they, therefore, chose Vitiges, a soldier of distinction, for their king. The new monarch, with a view to fortify his title by a connexion with the royal stock, immediately married Mathesuintha, a daughter of the unfortunate Amalasuintha. Theodatus was seized and put to death; and an army was quickly assembled to arrest the progress of the imperialists in the south.²⁹

The position of Vitiges was full of difficulty. One part of the Gothic forces was detained in the Gallic provinces to protect that territory, and to watch the motions of the Franks; while another important detachment was occupied in Dalmatia against the imperial army under Con-

²⁶ *Procop.* loc. cit. p. 323.

²⁷ *Procop.* loc. c. 7, p. 324.

²⁸ *Procopius* (loc. cit. c. 8, p. 326) says that Ebremer, or as he calls him, Ebremeruth, went over to the Romans, "with all his followers"—

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπομένοις — *Jornandes* (c. 60, p. 702), anxious probably for the honour of his countrymen, says that he deserted "cum paucis et fidelissimis famulis."

²⁹ *Jorn.* c. 60, pp. 702, 703.

stantine, the successor of Maurice and Mundus. Vitiges was destitute of ships, while the armies of Justinian possessed the advantage of numerous fleets to keep up their communications and supply them with provisions. Without a good understanding with the Franks it would have been unsafe to withdraw the army from the Trans-alpine territory; yet the assistance of that army and its gallant commander Marcias, was essential to enable him to encounter Belisarius, and to prevent the city of Rome from falling into the enemy's hands. A council of the most distinguished and noblest of the Goths was convoked, and Vitiges proposed to them a treaty of alliance with the Franks, the principal conditions of which were to be the cession of the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul, and the payment of the sum of fifty thousand pieces of gold to the kings of the Franks as the price of their alliance or neutrality. The advice of the king was adopted as the less of two serious evils; and ambassadors were dispatched to the courts of Childebert, Chlothar and Theudebert, with the money in their hands. Those princes were now indeed constrained to avow that they had already bound themselves by treaty with Justinian against the Goths;—they could not yet, they said, render open assistance to his enemies; still they were ready to accept the terms offered, and to aid the Goths by every means in their power short of a direct participation in the war. The envoys agreed to these proposals; they paid over the money to the three kings in equal shares; and surrendered the ceded districts. Marcias and his troops immediately marched into Italy and joined the main body of the army at Ravenna.³⁰

Vitiges convokes an assembly of nobles.

They adopt the alternative of withdrawing the army of Marcias from Provence, and ceding that territory to the Franks as the price of their neutrality in the approaching war with Justinian. Marcias and his troops join the Gothic army at Ravenna.

While Vitiges was assembling his forces in central Italy, Belisarius threw garrisons into Naples and Cumæ, and advanced towards Rome along the Via Latina. Religious discord, and the misgovernment and rapacity of Theodatus, had wholly alienated the minds of the Roman people, and they resolved to open their gates to Belisarius. The Gothic garrison was too weak to keep down the mutinous citizens, and to defend the walls at the same time; they therefore abandoned the city, and Belisarius had the gratification of putting his sovereign in possession of the ancient capital of his empire, after it had been in the power of the barbarian enemy for a period of sixty years.³¹

Belisarius takes Naples and Cumæ.

Rome surrenders to him. A.D. 536.

The surrender of Rome was a severe blow to the affairs of the Goths. Pitza, the commander of the troops stationed in Samnium, went over to the Romans. Constantine, who had been sent into Tuscany by Belisa-

The whole of southern Italy submits to Belisarius;

³⁰ *Procop.* loc. cit. c. 13. p. 346.

³¹ Since the dissolution of the western empire by Odovaker. Rome was retaken in the ele-

venth year of the reign of Justinian in the year 536.

his lieutenants take Perugia, Spoleto, and Narni.

Constantianus occupies Dalmatia.

Belisarius withdraws his detachments from Tuscany, and assembles all his forces in Rome.

He strengthens the fortifications, and supplies the city with provisions for a siege.

Vitiges invests Rome.

His assaults are beaten back; the Roman soldiers and citi-

rius, defeated a body of Goths under the walls of Perugia, and took possession of that city, as well as of the strong towns of Spoleto and Narni. Calabria and Apulia, where no Roman army had yet appeared, spontaneously submitted to the emperor; and the whole of southern Italy, from the straits of Messina to the frontiers of Tuscany, was re-united to the empire. Meanwhile Constantianus, the imperial general in Illyria, had subdued Dalmatia as far as the confines of Liburnia, and Vitiges was compelled to detach a large body of troops from the army destined for the recovery of Rome, to protect the eastern frontier of his kingdom.³²

The report of Procopius swells the numbers of the Gothic force now concentrated at Ravenna to one hundred and fifty thousand infantry and cavalry.³³ With an army so numerous, Vitiges had good ground to be confident of success. He did not doubt, that by a rapid advance to Rome, he should be able to cut off the troops who were still engaged in reducing the frontier towns of Tuscany, and to invest the city before Belisarius could collect his detachments for the defence of its enormous circuit. But the circumspection of the Roman general disappointed this hope. The troops in Tuscany received timely orders to fall back upon Rome. His lieutenants Constantine and Beza threw garrisons into the captured fortresses, and retreated fighting to the capital. Meanwhile Belisarius had strengthened the fortifications of the city; he had amply supplied the public granaries with corn from Sicily, and compelled the citizens to remove everything that might be of use to the enemy from the adjoining country.³⁴

Vitiges, still confident in his numbers, pressed forward towards Rome, hoping to find his enemy unprepared to defend so vast an extent of walls with so small a force. If we may rely implicitly upon Procopius, that force, when collected, did not exceed five thousand men; yet insignificant as it was, Belisarius, it seems, did not dread to encounter his enemy in the field.³⁵ After a brilliant combat at the Milvian bridge, in which the Romans claimed the victory, the general withdrew his troops within the walls, and permitted Vitiges to complete the investment of the city. A general assault was beaten back with great loss to the besiegers, and a series of brilliant sallies injured or destroyed the battering engines of the enemy, and kept up the spirits

³² *Procop.* loc. cit. cc. xv. and xvi. pp. 349—352.

³³ It must be recollected that every Goth was a soldier. Still if the force sent into Illyria was not included by Procopius, the numbers are obviously overstated. Conf. *Procop.* loc. cit. p. 352.

³⁴ *Procop.* loc. cit. c. xvii. p. 354.

³⁵ The number of the Goths was no doubt much overrated; they were not inferior to the troops of Belisarius in personal courage, so that they must have overborne the Romans by mere weight had they been as numerous as the Greek panegyrist would have us believe.

of the army and citizens. With such examples as these before them, the Romans seemed to recover a portion of their ancient military spirit; they embodied themselves into several distinct corps, and soon acquired sufficient discipline to be entrusted with the custody of the walls, and to render the regular troops disposable for more active operations.

Disheartened by the unsuccessful issue of his attacks, Vitiges determined to convert the siege into a blockade: he extended his line towards the mouth of the Tiber; he took and garrisoned the port of Augustus in order to cut off supplies from the sea; and stationed two strong detachments on the Appian and Ostian roads to intercept the communications with Naples and the towns upon the coast from whence provisions might be introduced into the city. In Rome the result of these judicious measures was soon perceived. The scarcity became general, and both citizens and soldiers, elated by their past successes, and impatient under present privations, clamoured for a general battle. Belisarius thought it prudent to yield to an effervescence of spirits which it would be more difficult to resist than to direct. After the most skilful precautions for the safety of the army in case of a reverse, he led them to the conflict. But the enemy's numbers gave them advantages for which neither skill nor valour could compensate; and the army made good its retreat within the walls, after sustaining losses which, in its actual state of weakness, it could ill afford.

The Goths now devoted all their attention to maintain the blockade; the famine in Rome became every day more and more alarming, and pestilential diseases broke out among the citizens and soldiery. At this critical period every prospect of deliverance depended upon the strong and devoted endurance of all: Belisarius set the example, and it was laudably followed by the army and the people. Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the Goths, small convoys of provisions from time to time found their way into the city. Belisarius knew that a reinforcement of five thousand men from Greece and Africa, well supplied with warlike stores and provisions for the famished city, was on its way to Italy. Time wore away; the expected succours arrived upon the coast and were safely disembarked at Naples. While the land forces advanced with circumspection along the coast road towards Ostia, the fleet which accompanied it took possession of that port; and a light detachment of three hundred horsemen eluded the vigilance of the Goths, and brought the joyful intelligence of approaching relief to Belisarius and the Romans.

By this time the besieging army had begun to feel many of those privations against which the besieged had been so long contending. Many

zens derive spirit from their successes.

The Goths are disheartened. Vitiges converts the siege into a blockade.

Scarcity in Rome. The army and people clamour for battle. Belisarius complies,

and fights; but is compelled to retire with loss.

Provisions and re-inforcements for the garrison of Rome are disembarked on the coast of Campania.

The Goths begin to suffer from famine

and fevers;
their foraging
districts are
narrowed.

Roman re-
inforcements
arrive at Ostia,
and break up
the blockade;

they enter the
city with relief.

Vitiges nego-
ciates for a
peace; but can
only obtain a
truce till the
emperor's plea-
sure should be
ascertained.

had fallen by the sword of the Romans; many more by those pestilential vapours which in the summer and autumn infest the vicinity of Rome; large bodies were of necessity detached from the blockading force, to seek subsistence at great distances, and the garrisons of Perugia and Spoleto—but more particularly that of Narni—narrowed their foraging district, and harassed their parties. As the spirits of the Romans rose, the courage of their besiegers declined. The arrival of the reinforcements at Ostia greatly increased the difficulty of maintaining the blockade. To establish a bridge below the city would have been beyond the strength of the exhausted and dispirited troops, yet, without it, it was plainly impossible for any length of time to prevent the reinforcements of men and provisions from Ostia from entering the city. The spirit of the Gothic people bent beneath such a succession of adverse circumstances, and they became anxious for peace to recruit their shattered forces. It was therefore resolved to send envoys to Belisarius for the purpose of opening a negotiation. Vitiges withdrew his detachment from the Ostian way, and the Roman reinforcements poured into the city, bringing gladness and plenty in their train. The exultation of the citizens and the army was unbounded. After such endurance and such achievements, Belisarius might assume and support the tone of a conqueror; and when the ambassadors of Vitiges proposed the simple cession of Sicily as the basis of the treaty, the offer was rejected with contempt. It was next proposed to yield up Naples and Campania; but this project met with no better success. The envoys then offered a sum certain by way of annual tribute, in addition to the territorial sacrifices already conceded. But Belisarius had by this time taken the full measure of the necessities of his enemies, and he coldly intimated to them in reply, that his commission was merely military, and that he had no power to treat for peace with the rebellious vassals of his master.³⁶ The Gothic envoys craved a truce until they could ascertain the pleasure of Justinian. Belisarius assented readily to a proposal, the

³⁶ The reproach of rebellion on this occasion was not direct. Belisarius declared that his duty went no further than to preserve the conquests already made. But he had, in a previous speech, affirmed that when Theoderich conquered Italy, he did so merely as the lieutenant of Zeno, and by virtue of the imperial commission; and that he was bound, as soon as he had recovered it, to surrender the country to its rightful lord; but that he had, on the contrary, wrongfully and treasonably refused, or neglected to do so, and thereby incurred the guilt of rebellion and

tyranny. No doubt Belisarius spoke the sense which the Byzantine court attached to the compact in question. (See c. ix. sec. 4, p. 479 of this volume.) But it is clear that Zeno must have well understood that Theoderich never could have dreamt of placing the conquests to be won by the blood of his people at the disposal of a foreign state. The claim therefore arose out of one of those sly reservations so familiar to the Byzantine court, whose whole policy was based upon cunning and deceit. See the speech referred to ap. *Procop* lib. ii. c. 6, p. 402.

advantage of which was altogether on his side ; the truce was concluded, and confirmed by hostages on both parts.

Whether any, and what conditions were attached to this compact, we are not informed. The Goths no doubt understood the truce to extend to all *offensive* movements on either side. Belisarius, however, was not long in putting a practical construction of his own upon it. Portus had been evacuated by the Goths ; in contempt of the truce the place was immediately garrisoned by the Romans. In the same way Centumcellæ and Alba, together with many other places on the flanks and rear of the Gothic army, were occupied by the imperial troops. These hostile measures denoted an intention on the part of the Roman general to be bound by the truce no farther than as it should suit his own plans. The Goths complained of these as acts of open hostility, but their remonstrances were repudiated with derision ; and they now found themselves hemmed in on all sides, and blockaded in their own camp. Meanwhile Belisarius reinforced the garrisons of Perugia, Spoleto, Narni, and the other Tuscan towns in the rear of the Goths ; he negotiated with the discontented citizens of Milan and other towns of Liguria, to withdraw that province from its connexion with the Ostrogothic kingdom, and detached his lieutenant John with a strong body of cavalry, with instructions to menace the frontiers of Picenum, where the Goths had deposited their families and treasures, and as soon as he should hear of the infraction of the truce by the Goths, to make their wives and children prisoners, and reserve their property and treasures for general distribution among the troops.

Belisarius had now reaped all the benefit to be expected from the truce. But for the completion of his plans, and to avoid that loss of character which a prudent statesman never incurs but for some decisive and overwhelming advantage, it was needful that the breach should proceed from the Goths themselves. Fired with indignation at having been made the dupes of Byzantine artifice, the latter imprudently ran into the snare, and once more resolved to try the fortune of arms against their insidious foe ; but the attack, though ably conducted, and bravely sustained, was unsuccessful. After this failure, a plot to betray the city into the hands of the Goths was detected and punished ; and the nation became at length convinced that the “ judgment of God ” was given against them. As soon as the infraction of the truce was known, John, the general of Belisarius, invaded Picenum, fell upon the defenceless families of the Goths, and led away many thousands of helpless women and children into captivity. After this exploit, he passed by the strong towns of Urbino and Osimo, and received the submission

Belisarius avails himself of the truce to occupy the places on the flanks and rear of the Goths, and to blockade them in their own camp.

He reinforces the garrisons of the Tuscan cities ;

and detaches troops into Picenum to alarm the Goths of that province.

The Goths break the truce ;

John, the lieutenant of Belisarius, seizes the wives, families, and properties of

the Goths in Picenum, and takes Urbino, Osimo, and Rimini. Vitiges abandons the siege of Rome.

and suffers loss during the retreat.

The Goths besiege Rimini.

Genoa and Milan revolt;

Belisarius takes Ancona, and is reinforced by Narses with an army of seven thousand men.

of Rimini, a city distant only thirty-six miles from Ravenna,³⁷ the capital of the kingdom.

This able and daring movement produced all the effect expected by Belisarius. The loss of their wives, families and property, and the capture of Rimini, decided the wavering mind of the Goths before Rome. Vitiges broke up his camp, and the whole army, still very numerous, filed off towards the Milvian bridge, by which alone they could recross the Tiber. The movement itself was conducted without sufficient attention to the military character of the adversary they had to contend with. Belisarius with all his forces fell upon their rear before it could pass the bridge; multitudes perished by the sword, and many more in the stream of the Tiber; the remainder made good their retreat to Ravenna; and Vitiges, still unsubdued by his evil fortune, bent all his energies to the recovery of the important city of Rimini.³⁸

That city had been hastily fortified and insufficiently stored for a siege; and was of course soon reduced to extreme distress for food. Many strong places in Tuscany were still held by the Goths; the well-known caution of Belisarius rendered it very improbable that he would venture to leave them in his rear; and the time required for their capture would leave ample leisure to Vitiges for the reduction of Rimini. But these hopes were disturbed by intelligence that the remote province of Liguria had thrown off the yoke of the Goths, and that the important cities of Genoa and Milan had joyfully received Mundilas, the lieutenant of Belisarius, within their walls. The Gothic king however was still strong enough in numbers to detach a considerable body of troops to oppose Mundilas in Liguria; and as that general had brought very few regular troops with him, and was therefore almost wholly dependent for the support of his operations upon the undisciplined zeal of the city militia, it required no great exertion to arrest his farther progress. But, in the interim, Belisarius had made himself master of Ancona, and a force of seven thousand men, consisting in a great part of mercenary Heruli, under their chiefs Visigand, Aloëthes and Phanatheus,³⁹ had landed upon the coast of Picenum. This new army was commanded in

³⁷ The Roman names of these places are severally Urbinum, Auximum, and Ariminum. It will be more convenient for those readers who have not a map of ancient Italy at hand, to substitute for the future the modern names wherever they can be clearly identified with the ancient.

³⁸ The retreat of the Goths took place about the period of the vernal equinox. The siege of Rome had lasted a year and nine days. *Procop.*

lib. ii. c. 10, p. 411.

³⁹ Obviously Hellenized names, from which it would be difficult to extract the genuine Teutonic sounds. Many scattered Herulan tribes occupied lands within the empire, and rendered military services when required. Justinian frequently employed them in his armies, and found them very brave soldiers in the field, but often turbulent, insolent and mutinous. Conf. c. ix. sec. 3, p. 476 of this volume.

chief by the afterwards celebrated Narses ; the combined Roman force may be estimated at not much fewer than fourteen thousand men, under leaders whose skill and experience might have enabled it to cope with a two-fold numerical superiority in the field. But his commission gave to Narses an independent command, and the views of the two generals for the prosecution of the war were soon found to be at variance. They agreed however upon the necessity of an effort for the relief of Rimini. The advance of the army from Ancona was conducted with judgment and secrecy ; the Roman troops crowned the heights above the city before day-break, while, at the same moment, the fleet which accompanied their movements anchored off the port. The dawn revealed their danger to the besiegers ; the appearance of a well-equipped and numerous fleet gave countenance to the exaggerated reports which were set afloat of the numbers of the land forces which threatened their flank and rear ; Vitiges therefore broke up the blockade, and retired with so much precipitation, that if the garrison, we are told, had been less enfeebled by famine and exhaustion, the Goths must have sustained an irretrievable defeat.

Belisarius
and Narses
disagree ;

but they unite
their forces
to compel Vi-
tiges to raise
the siege of
Rimini.

But Vitiges accomplished his retreat to Ravenna without loss or molestation, and a gleam of sunshine seemed for a moment to cross his dark and gloomy path. With the relief of Rimini, the triumphs of the Romans terminated for the present. Belisarius was not inclined to abandon that cautious conduct to which he rightly attributed his past successes ; the Romans were still numerically weaker than their enemies ; and many fortresses in his rear obstructed his communications with Rome, which he still regarded as the basis of his operations. He therefore proposed to Narses to lay siege to the important city of Osimo, while a detachment of the army should hasten to the relief of Mundilas, who was now besieged in Milan by the Goths under Vraja, the nephew of Vitiges, aided by a body of Burgundians, whom Theudebert of Austrasia, in contempt of his engagements with the emperor, had clandestinely sent to the assistance of his enemies. But this cautious scheme of operations did not suit the jealous and fiery disposition of the warlike eunuch. The armies separated, and expended their efforts in unconnected operations ; and Mundilas, now abandoned to his own resources, was soon afterwards compelled to purchase his own safety, and that of his followers, by sacrificing the city of Milan and its devoted inhabitants to the fury of their enraged and merciless enemies.

Vitiges retreats
to Ravenna :
Belisarius and
Narses sepa-
rate ; the
Goths, under
Vraja, recover
Milan and Li-
guria.

The recall of Narses, which took place shortly afterwards, restored unity and vigour to the Roman arms. The military talents of Belisarius, and the surprising exploits he had achieved with so limited a force, had made

Narses is re-
called.

Belisarius resumes active operations.

Vitiges applies in vain to the Longobardi for assistance. He sends an embassy to Khosru king of Persia, A.D. 538.

but is too late.

Belisarius blockades Osimo and Fiesole ;

a deep impression upon the minds of the Goths, whose imaginations were always alive to the attractive power of heroism, whether exhibited in the character of a friend or a foe. Vitiges could not avoid perceiving the disadvantageous comparison which might be set up between his own unfortunate career and the bright radiance of victory which illumined that of his opponent. The impression produced upon his subjects was less that of discouragement, than of surprise and awe; a feeling in which Vitiges himself largely participated. Still he continued to perform the duties of his station with honourable constancy. The renewed activity of Belisarius induced Vitiges to redouble his efforts to secure some powerful foreign ally, through whom he might obtain active military support, or at least operate an effectual diversion to the forces of the enemy. The Franks had, it is true, dispatched a body of Burgundian troops to co-operate with his nephew Vraja in the capture of Milan, where they had rendered important service; but this aid had been purchased at a price which, in the declining state of Gothic affairs, could not be again afforded. Moreover, Vitiges suspected that, by calling in the Franks, he would be introducing into Italy a more dangerous enemy than Belisarius himself. Under these impressions he made application to Wacco, king of the Pannonian Longobardi; but he found that prince engaged in close alliance with the emperor. The remote but formidable and ambitious Khosru, king of Persia, offered a more distant, but also a more sure prospect of assistance. That sovereign was already jealous of the late acquisitions of Justinian; the envoys of Vitiges boldly and successfully traversed their long and dreary route, and easily persuaded the ambitious monarch that no time could be more favourable to an attack upon the eastern provinces of the empire than one in which its bravest army, and the most renowned of its generals, were inextricably engaged in the far-distant Italy.⁴⁰

If this application had been made a twelvemonth earlier, the Gothic kingdom might not have perished; but affairs had declined too far for so distant and tardy a remedy. Belisarius had in the interim, according to his original plan, laid close siege to Osimo, and blockaded Fiesole,⁴¹ in Tuscany; he stationed his lieutenant John, with a considerable detachment, upon the Po, to watch the motions of Vraja from Milan and

⁴⁰ This embassy was sent probably towards the end of the year 538. It could not have reached the court of Khosru much before the middle of 539. The *Art de vér.*, &c. (tom. i. p. 408) places the irruption of the Persians into Syria in the following year, 540. The subsequent misfortunes of Vitiges rendered the

diversion of no avail to himself personally; but the recall of Belisarius from Italy to oppose the Persians in 542, once more cost Justinian nearly all his Italian conquests.

⁴¹ A city a few miles north of Florence. Lat. Fæsulæ.

Liguria; while the Byzantine fleet hovered off the port of Ravenna, and reduced the principal force of the Goths stationed there to inactivity. The dearth which at this moment afflicted Italy had for some time past reduced Vitiges to such provisions as could be obtained by sea for the support of his army. From this last resource he was now cut off; it was no longer possible to procure sufficient sustenance for any long or distant enterprise, and all hope of relieving Osimo was given up. The Romans, on the other hand, were amply supplied by sea; and their powerful fleet enabled them to observe every point along the coast, and to keep the enemy in a state of perpetual watchfulness and alarm, too trying to the temper of a barbaric soldiery to be long endured with patience.

the Byzantine fleets close the harbour of Ravenna; the Goths in that city begin to suffer from dearth, while the Romans are well supplied by sea.

At this period of the war an indistinct rumour announced an invasion of Italy by the Franks. A hundred thousand warriors, it was said, were assembled under the generals of Theudebert, and might be shortly expected upon the plains of Liguria; both the Goths and the Romans had some reasons to desire, but many more to dread, the advance of this formidable host. With unparalleled duplicity the Frankish king had accepted presents, subsidies, cessions of territory from both the belligerents, and both were conscious that they had been overreached and deceived.⁴² But in the desperate state of the Ostrogothic affairs, a mere prospect of relief, at whatever hazard, was welcome; while Belisarius, confident in his military talent,—and, as a pupil of the Byzantine school, not less so in his knowledge of the game of guile and perfidy to which the science of politics had been reduced, as it were, by the common consent of nations,—might not be unwilling to meet the risk for the sake of the advantage, which, with proper management, might be made of the Frankish interference. And if, as we deem it exceedingly probable, such were his views, the result cannot but impart a high opinion of his political sagacity.

The Franks threaten Italy.

Both the Goths and the Romans expect to derive advantages from the approaching invasion,

The clandestine assistance which had been afforded by Theudebert to Vraja the nephew of Vitiges towards the re-conquest of Milan, has already been mentioned. Without any of the military talent, that prince seems to have inherited all the guile and ambition of his father Theuderich. While he amused the Goths with partial and deceptive aid, he carefully avoided such an open breach with Justinian as might prematurely reveal his designs upon Italy. Both parties had therefore apparent grounds to regard him as an ally; the hopes of both induced them for the moment to overlook those proofs of double dealing which

which induce them to overlook the proofs

⁴² The severe stricture of Procopius upon the political character of the Franks is surely justifiable. "Ἔστι γὰρ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὰ ἐς πίστιν

σφαλερώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. De Bell. Goth. lib. ii. c. 25, p. 447.

of double dealing which their conduct had already disclosed. Theudebert is possessed of certain districts lying between the Adige and the Lagunes of Venice.

his conduct had hitherto disclosed, and both were, though but for the moment, deceived.

After the pacification between the Frankish princes in the year 537,⁴³ the attention of Childebert and Chlothar seems to have been diverted by schemes against the Visigothic possessions in Spain, while that of Theudebert was directed to the extension of his dominions in southern Germany and Italy. At intervals between the years 534 and 547, he carried his arms along the shores of the Danube into Pannonia, and thence as far southward as the coasts of the Adriatic.⁴⁴ It is probable that as early as the year 536 Theudebert had possessed himself of the Tridentine, Julian, and Carnian Alps, and that the Franks had obtained a footing in the district of Trent, and in the country lying between the Adige and the Lagunes of Venice. Their determination to maintain themselves in these territories must sooner or later have involved them in a war with Goths or Imperialists, or with both.⁴⁵ In the actual state of Italy, a conquest of that country could not appear to present any serious difficulty, particularly as neither of the contending parties was in a condition to dispute with them the passage of the Alpine barrier. Accordingly, early in 539, Theudebert assembled an army of one hundred thousand infantry with a small body of cavalry, and in the summer of that year passed the Alps into Liguria.

A.D. 539. He assembles an army of 100,000 men, and passes the Alps into Liguria. Arms, equipments, and military tactics of the Franks.

The military tactics and equipments of the Frankish armies have not been deemed worthy of other than incidental notice by any German annalist prior to the reign of Charles the Great. We are therefore the more grateful to the Byzantine historians Procopius and Agathias for the lively sketch they have preserved to us of the military equipment and mode of warfare common, as we believe it to have been, to all the northern Teutonic races.⁴⁶ The soldiers of Theudebert's army marched to battle

⁴³ See chap. x. sec. 3, p. 537.

⁴⁴ See the vaunting epistle of Theudebert to Justinian, "*De Gentibus sibi subditis*;" ap. *D. Bouq. Varior. Epist.* tom. iv. p. 59.

⁴⁵ See *Hormayer*, Works, vol. i. p. 63.

⁴⁶ No doubt there was some variety of usage; the Saxons, for instance, used the short sword called a sax or sachs, as their principal weapon, while the Franks adopted the *Francisca*, or short battle-axe; which *Mannert* (*Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 396) thinks they had borrowed from the Romans; but he cites no authority.

It may not be improper to remark, in this place, that I have as much as possible avoided the common practice of separating the necessary notices respecting manners, habits, war, religion, and many other matters of detail, from

the narrative, and classing them together in distinct treatises. The reason for this departure from the ordinary practice is a conviction that it disturbs the progress of the narrative, and that it supplies the explanations necessary to the right understanding of the events themselves *either too early or too late*, and *not* at the precise moment when the wish for it most naturally arises in the mind of the reader, nor when it is most necessary for the exposition of the transactions passing immediately under his eye. I do not see any reason for departing in this respect from the usage of the ancient historians, who afford us models of adroitness in interweaving such incidental notices with the narrative, so as not materially to disturb its progress.

armed with a double-headed battle-axe of great weight fixed upon a short handle, capable of being wielded with effect in close fight; and when they desired to break the enemy's masses, they hurled it with such force as to shiver or to adhere to, and by its weight to depress the shields of their adversaries, and enable them to strike home with their swords and short spears. This spear consisted of a barbed blade of moderate length attached to a long iron ferule, into which a short wooden shaft was fitted: when struck into the enemy's shield it adhered firmly, so that when he attempted to advance, the shaft buried itself in the ground; when he retreated, it trailed after him and impeded every motion. The wound inflicted by the barbed blade, even when not mortal, occasioned intolerable pain; and while it stuck in the shield, the Frankish warrior was enabled to throw his whole weight upon the shaft, and by depressing the shield expose the person of his adversary to his blows. The Franks rarely went into battle with any other defensive armour than a light helmet; the greater number without any covering for the head, or any other protection for the body than a rude buckler made of the bark of trees or of hides stretched upon a wooden frame. For the most part they fought naked to the waist; the loins, thighs, and legs were clothed in linen or leathern trowsers. The cavalry service was not as yet familiar to the Franks, though its use was not unknown to them;⁴⁷ the line of battle consisted wholly of infantry; they used neither bows nor slings, nor any other kind of missile for distant combat, excepting the double-headed axe and the barbed spear. Success therefore depended wholly upon the individual agility and resolution of the warrior in the management of those weapons. Little or no variation had taken place in their order of battle since the age of Cæsar and Tacitus; the deep wedge-shaped column was still used both for offensive and defensive warfare; and as long as the unwieldy mass preserved its order, the onset was irresistible, and rarely failed in penetrating the densest masses of the enemy. But as that compactness upon which the whole effect of the attack depended, was, except upon very favourable ground, broken by the rapidity of its own movement, a resolute enemy, well provided with archery or slingers, could hardly fail, by hanging upon the flanks and rear of the advancing column, to find an opportunity to throw it into irremediable confusion and disorder.⁴⁸

They use a battle-axe with a double head;

and a spear with a barbed blade or spike,

but very little defensive armour.

Cavalry is not yet familiar to the Franks.

Their order of battle is the same as that used by their ancestors.

⁴⁷ Thus Chlodwig appears to have possessed a body of cavalry, and to have fought himself on horseback. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 37. The taking of the hay on this occasion may, however, have been for the use of the sumpter and baggage-cattle of the army. There is a more unequivocal testimony to the existence of cavalry in

the Frankish armies at this period, in the 28th chapter of the following book of Gregory's work: the storm, it is there said, dispersed "the cavalry" of the armies of Childebert and Theudebert. *Conf.* chap. x. sec. 3, p. 537 of this volume.

⁴⁸ *Procop.* De Bell. Goth. lib. ii. c. 25. Ss.

The Goths receive the Franks as friends ;

the latter seize the bridge at Pavia, cut off the Gothic guards, and slaughter their women and children.

They march to the camp of Vraja ; they are again received as friends, and again they attack their hosts. The Goths fly to Ravenna. The Roman generals retire into Tuscany.

Whatever may have been the apprehensions of the chiefs, the Gothic commonalty was elated by the approach of their irresistible protectors, and prepared to give the Franks the reception due to friends and liberators. The latter wore the mask of allies until the Goths had delivered to them possession of the bridge over the Po at Pavia ; but when they had thus secured the passage of the river, they deemed further disguise useless ; they fell upon the Gothic detachment stationed at the bridge, and cut it off to the last man ; next they slaughtered the defenceless women and children, reserving, it is said, some of the bodies for the purposes of divination, and flinging the remainder into the river. "These barbarians," Procopius observes, "are Christians after a fashion ; yet so as to retain many bloody rites of their pristine superstition. Neither in their eagerness for presages do they scruple to slaughter human victims, and to practise many other abominations." The charge even in this naked shape is by no means void of probability ;⁴⁹ but though in this instance the historian be in error, it matters little whether the blood be shed upon the altar of the genuine Moloch, or poured out to appease the more insatiate demons which have their abode in the heart of savage man.

After this deed of blood, the Frankish army pressed forward to the camp of Vraja. The first detachments were kindly and hospitably received ; and they carefully abstained from suffering any indications of their nefarious intent to escape them ; but as their numbers increased by fresh arrivals, they became bolder—they drew their falchions, flung their axes, and commenced a general attack upon their unsuspecting hosts. The Goths, utterly confounded by this unexampled treachery, abandoned their camp, and retreated with precipitation towards the station of the Roman general John, whom Belisarius had posted upon the Tuscan frontier to interrupt their communications with Ravenna. When the Romans perceived the flying Goths, they believed that Belisarius himself was in close pursuit behind them, and they quitted their camp to intercept the fugitives ; nor were they undeceived until they found themselves cut off from their own camp by the advancing Franks. In this dilemma they retreated with the utmost speed into Tuscany ; the Goths continued their flight to Ravenna ; and it became for a time doubtful which of the belligerents was to be the first victim of this new and ambiguous enemy. But the Franks were wholly destitute

Byz. p. 447.—*Agath.* lib. ii. Ss. Byz. p. 35. The reader may compare *Luden*, vol. iii. pp. 310—319, for a more detailed treatise upon the equipment and mode of warfare of the Franks. Also *Mannert*, vol. i. pp. 396—399.

⁴⁹ Conf. chap. x. sec. 2, p. 505, and *Procop.*

lib. ii. c. 25. p. 448. Gregory of Tours furnishes ample confirmation of the universal passion of the Frankish nations for divination. We shall have occasion hereafter to revert to this subject.

of those moral restraints which tend to bridle the greedy appetites of the warrior, and constitute the foundation of all discipline; precaution and forecast were foreign to their military habits. The scarcity prevailing in Italy enhanced the necessity of husbanding the corn and provisions found in abundance in the deserted camps of the Goths and Romans. The captors consumed these stores with the prodigality of freebooters, and no food was then to be found but raw fruits and the flesh of the cattle which the unfortunate inhabitants had left behind them in their flight, nor any beverage but the turbid and unwholesome waters of the Po. A dreadful dysentery, the consequence of immoderate indulgence in this unaccustomed aliment, and of a climate never very congenial to the habits of the men of the north, soon carried off one-third of the army, and reduced the remainder to a state of weakness and dejection which rendered them incapable of pursuing their successes. As soon as Belisarius was informed of the state of things in Liguria he wrote to Theudebert in a lordly tone, reproaching him with his double perfidy both towards the Romans and the Goths, and intimating that such offences could not be passed over by the emperor without the most signal chastisement. Theudebert, already staggered by the calamities which had befallen him, and now intimidated by the complaints of his own subjects, struck his tents, and retired across the Alps with the dispirited remnant of his once brilliant and numerous host.⁵⁰

The Franks squander the provisions found in the deserted camps of the Goths and Romans.

They eat flesh and raw fruits, and drink the unwholesome waters of the Po. They are consumed by dysentery.

Belisarius reproaches Theudebert with his perfidy;

and the king, subdued by his misfortunes retires across the Alps.

Scarcely any other issue could have been more beneficial to the cause of the Romans, or more fatal to that of the Goths than this. The army of Vraja in Æmilia had been broken up, and the road into that province laid open to Belisarius. The prevailing dearth confined the main force of the Gothic nation to the vicinity of Ravenna, while the Roman fleet cut off their supplies by sea. Dejection, the concomitant of unvaried ill-success, was preying upon the spirits of Vitiges and his people; and all prospect of foreign assistance was taken away by the utter faithlessness of the only power which could effectually afford it. After the retreat of the Franks a Roman force penetrated once more into Æmilia to intercept the provisions which that province might still furnish, and to watch the motions of the Goths of Liguria. Osimo and Fiesole, it is true, still held out against the extremes of hunger and distress with heroic constancy: but the term of endurance at length arrived; Fiesole surrendered to the Roman generals Justinus and Cyprianus; and soon afterwards the gallant defenders of Osimo were admitted to an honour-

This invasion proves fatal to the cause of the Goths.

They become downcast by their ill success;

Osimo and Fiesole surrender.

⁵⁰ *Procop.* lib. ii. c. 25, p. 449.

able capitulation. After having done all that brave men could do towards the national defence, it was not inconsistent with the barbaric notions of military honour to take service under the banners of the conqueror. Thus the garrison of Osimo was permitted to retain their arms, with one-half of their moveable property, and were enrolled as free warriors in the armies of the empire.⁵¹

Belisarius invests Ravenna.

Soon after the capture of these important places, intelligence was received that the Franks were again in motion to invade Italy. As long as Osimo continued in the hands of the Goths, the siege of Ravenna was not to be thought of; and now that that obstacle was removed, every moment's delay threatened destruction to the highly-wrought hopes of Belisarius, and a still more perilous revulsion of court favour, by which his fame and fortune—perhaps his life—might be endangered. He therefore lost no time in investing Ravenna on the land side, as well as the natural strength of the ground and his own limited numbers would permit. Fresh detachments were sent out to secure the command of the Po, and prevent the introduction of provisions by the river; while the fleet strictly blockaded the port, and watched every point upon the coast from which supplies might be obtained.⁵²

The Franks send envoys to Vitiges:

The foreign embassies of Theudebert were intrusted to a Gallic Roman named Secundinus; and there is reason to believe that to this person the task of paving the way for the extension of the Frankish dominion in Italy was now committed.⁵³ But the presumptuous spirit in which the Austrasian prince had undertaken his first expedition, had given way to a reasonable distrust of his undisciplined multitudes upon so uncongenial a stage. A Frankish embassy found its way, not without the knowledge—perhaps with the consent—of Belisarius, to the court of Ravenna. The wary Roman immediately dispatched envoys to confront the Frankish mission, and to try the temper of the Gothic prince and

other envoys from Belisarius

⁵¹ *Procop.* lib. ii. cc. 26, 27, pp. 449—452, where the reader will find a copious detail of the sieges of Osimo and Fiesole.—It is not to be supposed that the garrisons were bound by this capitulation to serve against their own countrymen in Ravenna or elsewhere. Such a compulsion was never any part of the engagement between the empire and its barbaric mercenaries. This enrolment of the Goths under the banners of the Romans excited no indignation among their own countrymen. The practice had been common throughout this war, and operated so as to obviate the necessity of retaining the captive Goths as prisoners of war, and as a pledge that they would not abuse the privilege of retaining

their arms—the distinction of freemen among all the Teutonic races—to the prejudice of their conquerors.

⁵² *Procop.* lib. ii. c. 28, p. 455.

⁵³ Gregory of Tours, it is true, makes no mention of this embassy, which is detailed by *Procopius* (lib. ii. c. 28.) But he tells us that Secundinus was employed in the public legations of Theudebert; and the speech of the envoy in *Procopius* is so very Roman, that we are strongly inclined to believe that the orator, if not this very Secundinus, was at least a Roman of rank and talent. *Conf. Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 33, p. 201.

people. The Franks commenced the conference before Vitiges and his nobles, with proffers of unbounded assistance on the part of their prince, upon the understanding that they should share Italy between them. "Fifty thousand men," they declared, "were ready to aid in the expulsion of the imperialists; no doubt could be entertained of success; unless indeed the Goths had become so abject in spirit as to prefer submission to their bitterest enemies to an advantageous alliance with so powerful a people as the Franks: yet even if such should be their determination, they would but involve themselves in the same ruin with their new masters, since the forces of the Franks were more than equal to contend with both jointly." To this harangue the envoy of Belisarius replied, that "Vitiges himself might judge from his own experience whether the courage and discipline of the Roman armies could be so easily overborne by the mere weight of numbers; and as to the promises of the Franks, no better proof of their total worthlessness could be required than their late conduct towards the Goths themselves—a conduct in accordance with the uniform absence of fidelity to their engagements towards all their neighbours."⁵⁴ From such indications as these, the Goths might easily judge what their fate would be if they delivered themselves into the hands of a people so totally destitute of every principle which makes treaties binding, or which tends to check the cravings of insatiate ambition."

confront them at the Gothic court. The Franks offer assistance and alliance to the Goths.

The Roman ambassador exposes the hollowness of these offers.

The cold dictates of reason and argument prevailed for once over the blind instinct of self-preservation. The alternative indeed presented but a choice of evils. But a chance still remained upon the dice; the Goths had not yet played and lost their last stake; and the respite of a month, a week, or a day, seemed preferable to a revolting alliance with the treacherous murderers of their friends and kinsmen. The envoys of the Franks were therefore dismissed, and the people once more bent their whole minds to a last effort to break through the toils by which they were beset."⁵⁵

The Goths decline the alliance of the Franks.

Their last hope now rested upon the success of Vraja, who had collected a body of troops in Liguria, and was upon the eve of marching to the relief of Ravenna. Meanwhile Belisarius, though he did not for a moment relax the severity of the blockade both by sea and land, skillfully kept alive the hopes of favourable terms, and never wholly permitted the negotiations, to which the late overture of the Franks had

They expect relief from the army of Vraja then in Liguria. Belisarius keeps up their hopes of a favourable capitulation.

⁵⁴ Procopius instances the Burgundians and Thuringians; perhaps the envoy alluded to the treacherous murder of Hermanfred by Theu-

derich, the father of Theudebert. Conf. chap. x. sec. 3, p. 535 of this volume.

⁵⁵ *Procop.* lib. ii. c. 28, p. 456.

The army of Vraja is dissolved by the capture of their wives and families by the Romans; and the last hope of the defenders of Ravenna is cut off.

given occasion, to drop. Each succeeding event tended to strengthen the impression he had already produced upon the minds of the distressed people and their king. The Ligurian Goths under Vraja had placed their wives and families for security in the natural fastnesses of the Cottian Alps, under the guard of a body of their own countrymen. A Roman emissary had succeeded in fomenting a dangerous mutiny among these troops. By this fatality Vraja was compelled to retrace his steps, in order to chastise the rebels and save the wives and families of his followers from falling into the hands of the Romans. But he came too late; the imperial lieutenants, Martin and John, were already in possession of the precious spoil. Thus bereft of all that was dearest to them, the warriors of Vraja threw down their useless arms, and submitted to those who held a pledge which could be redeemed by no less a sacrifice than submission to the conqueror. This event reduced the independent Goths of Liguria to inactivity, and cut off the last remaining hope of relief to those of Ravenna.⁵⁶

In this emergency the Goths offer their crown to Belisarius;

who does not explicitly decline it; and Ravenna capitulates upon terms highly honourable to the Goths.

As a last expedient for the preservation of the national independence, the Goths made an offer of their crown to Belisarius himself. Vitiges was anxious to divest himself of an office to which he felt his own incompetency. The martial Goths revered Belisarius as an honourable and successful adversary. His military talents, his personal valour, his unparalleled good fortune, qualities which they worshipped in their own heroes and princes, gave him, in their view, a personal claim to the regal rank and honours. They could not admit the supposition that so high-minded a conqueror, so successful a general, should decline a proffered throne, and be contented to remain the servile instrument of a distant master.⁵⁷ Belisarius himself did not discountenance an impression which operated so favourably for his views. Upon the tacit understanding therefore that he was to become their king, the Goths did not delay to accept the terms of capitulation offered to them. Ravenna was to be surrendered to the Romans; the rights and property of the Gothic inhabitants and garrison were to be respected, and the people permitted to live under their own laws, upon the same terms with the Roman subjects

⁵⁶ *Procop.* lib. ii. c. 28, pp. 457, 458.

⁵⁷ From a general view of the conduct of the old Teutonic nations, it has always appeared to me that the claim of the kings to the obedience of the subject depended more upon the pre-eminence of talent, valour, and success, than upon mere family descent or any other rule of succession; and that when a man of more distinguished military character put in his pretensions, the prejudice in favour of rank or royal

lineage formed no effectual protection to the title of the reigning prince if destitute of those qualities. The Franks, it is true, afterwards adopted a rigid rule of succession, at least as to the *family* from which the sovereign was to be chosen; but they were unable to maintain it otherwise than in name against the predilection in favour of military talent and influence, as we shall find in the sequel of this narrative.

of the kingdom. The treaty made no mention of the emperor, or of the future government of Italy; Belisarius affected to reserve that important question for future discussion before Vitiges and a council of the nation, to be thereafter assembled at Ravenna. The Goths made no objection to the delay, and the gates of the city were thrown open to the Romans. The general directed the principal inhabitants to repair to their lands in the vicinity, and distributed the rest so as to obviate the danger which might arise from any sudden movement of impatience or disappointment; he rigidly fulfilled all the explicit terms of the capitulation; and the people were contented patiently to await his decision on the question by which their future existence as an independent nation was to be determined. Meanwhile the example of Ravenna led to the surrender of Treviso, Cesena, and several other towns and forts still in the possession of the Goths. The commanders and chiefs of the neighbouring districts flocked to the court of Belisarius at Ravenna; and the popularity, good faith, and severe discipline of the Roman general promised to bring about a gradual union of every detached portion of the nation under the imperial sceptre of Justinian.⁵⁸

Many other towns follow the example of Ravenna.

But such services as those of Belisarius transcended the measure of the imperial gratitude. The existence of a secret article in the capitulation of Ravenna, and the reserved demeanor of Belisarius with a kingly crown within his reach, gave a sting to the reports transmitted to the court by his enemies in the camp; and a letter of fawning compliment intimated to him his recall and disgrace. But the Goths still held several strong places in the Transpadane regions; duke Ildebald commanded in Verona, and Vraja held out in the modern Milanese and in Piedmont. Both these leaders looked up to Belisarius as their future sovereign, and waited only for his public acceptance of the crown to submit to him as their lawful king. The Goths refused to believe the first report of his recall, and of his acquiescence in the imperial mandate; but as the preparations for his departure proceeded they became anxious and alarmed: and when, in breach both of the spirit and the letter of the capitulation, the abdicated king Vitiges, with his consort Malasuintha, his family and treasures, together with the wife and children of duke Ildebald, and all the hostages whom Belisarius had detained in Ravenna, were embarked on board the fleet, the vision of future security and independence was dispelled, and the people once more resorted to their natural leaders for advice and consolation. Vraja refused the crown which they offered to him; duke Ildebald accepted it only condi-

Belisarius is suspected at the court of Justinian and recalled.

The Goths still look up to him as their future king;

but he disappoints them, and embarks Vitiges and his family for Byzantium.

⁵⁸ *Procop.* lib. ii. pp. 460, 461.

A.D. 540.
He once more
declines the
throne, and
quits Italy.

tionally upon the final refusal of Belisarius. Envoys were sent to Ravenna to implore him to retract his resolution. Belisarius briefly replied, that as long as Justinian lived he would never take upon himself the royal title. He then embarked for Constantinople, carrying with him the respect and homage of a people who could well appreciate all his virtues but his loyalty.⁵⁹

His departure
proves ruinous
to the interests
of the emperor
in that country.

The civil and
military author-
ities are set at
variance ;

the reputation
of the Roman
arms declines,
and the gene-
rals of Justi-
nian suffer re-
peated defeats.

But the Gothic
kingdom is
likewise en-
feebled by dis-
union.

Vraja is put to
death.

It was a novel circumstance that the Goths should have offered their throne to the most formidable of their enemies ; but it would have been surprising if the emperor had not hastened to snatch his servant from a temptation so likely to prove fatal to his integrity.⁶⁰ But however weighty the motive for the recall of the general, the step itself proved ruinous to the interests of the empire in Italy. After the departure of Belisarius all unity of command was lost ; the conduct of Alexander, the new governor or logothete of Ravenna, was tainted with rapacity and peculation in their most odious forms ; in the course of a few months he drew down upon himself and his government the bitterest hatred of the people, and produced a strong re-action in the popular mind in favour of their former masters the Goths. The co-operation between the civil and military authorities of the state seems to have ceased ; the generals of the different corps acted without union or concert ; most of them took up free quarters in the great towns, a burthen to the oppressed and famished citizens, and an incumbrance rather than a protection to the government. In this state of things the reputation of the Roman arms sank even more rapidly than it had risen ; the generals suffered repeated defeats, and Ildebald, after driving Vitalis from the field, recovered nearly all Venetia and Liguria. Nothing in short seemed at this moment wanting but unity of effort to place the Goths once more in possession of all Italy.⁶¹

But the pristine order and discipline of the Ostrogothic monarchy had, during this disastrous war, undergone too great a dislocation to be easily restored to vigorous and healthy action. The rule of succession in the Amalan family had been set aside, and the throne had now become the subject of military election. Ildebald put to death the modest and gallant Vraja upon a groundless suspicion of corresponding with the enemy ; and soon afterwards the king himself fell a victim to the resent-

⁵⁹ *Procop.* lib. ii. cc. 29, 30, pp. 461, 462.

⁶⁰ There is no form of civil polity in which *unlimited* confidence can, with safety to the state, be reposed in any public servant, and least of all in the case of a despotic monarchy, where the necessity for doing so most frequently exists. Justinian had been compelled by his

position to place that high degree of confidence in Belisarius ; and our indignation at the ingratitude of the emperor should fall rather upon the system itself than upon the person at the head of it.

⁶¹ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 1. pp. 468, 469.

ment of a private warrior whom he had deprived of his betrothed bride to confer her upon a favourite of his own. The Rugians, who, from the period of their migration into Italy under the banners of Theoderich the Great, had maintained a separate national existence,⁶² chose a chief of their own, named Erarich, as their king; the Goths offered the crown to Totila, the nephew of Ildebald; the latter, however, with a view to avoid a fatal schism between the two nations, declined it for the present. Erarich, sensible of his inability to maintain his usurped rank, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Romans; but before the plot could be brought to maturity, he was murdered by his own subjects, and Totila mounted the throne without further contradiction.⁶³

A.D. 541.
Ildebald is murdered, and Erarich is chosen king by a faction.

Erarich is murdered, and Totila is raised to the throne.

The elevation of Totila infused new life into the Gothic people, and alarmed the Roman generals. An attempt upon Verona, ably planned indeed, but neglectfully executed, occasioned great loss both of men and credit to the imperial arms. Totila, after strengthening himself with troops drawn from the garrison of Verona, pursued the Romans across the Po, with an army of five thousand men, and totally defeated them upon the banks of that river. A second victory placed the greater part of Tuscany in his possession, and his small force was augmented by the mercenary garrisons of a few Roman towns, and by the accession of many Goths, who, since the fall of Ravenna, had submitted to the imperial government. The situation of Totila required promptness and hardihood rather than military science. The imperialists continued to draw the entire revenue of Italy, while the Goths were suffering under all the disadvantages of extreme poverty. Totila, therefore, resolved to throw himself upon the south of Italy, where the greater productiveness of the soil promised larger pecuniary resources, and a better supply of food for his troops, and where many Goths were still domiciled, from whom he might justly expect support and assistance.⁶⁴

A.D. 541.
The Romans surprise Verona, but are driven out of the city; Totila defeats them upon the Po;

A.D. 542.
and again in Tuscany.

Totila throws himself upon the south of Italy.

With this view he seized the towns of Cesena and Petra in Picenum; thence he marched into Samnium, and surprised the city of Beneventum. In a short time nearly the whole of Bruttium, Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, was subdued; and in all these provinces the public treasures fell into his hands, the ordinary taxes were levied by his authority, and extraordinary contributions were imposed upon the richer

He seizes the towns of Cesena and Petra in Picenum; takes Beneventum, and recovers the south of Italy.

⁶² In the passage of Procopius here referred to, it must be observed, that allusion is made to those Rugians only who accompanied Theoderich into Italy under their prince Frederick (chap. ix. sec. 4, p. 478 of this volume.) Yet it is not improbable that they afterwards became united with the Rugian adherents of Odovaker,

(chap. ix. sec. 3, pp. 460, 461) into one clan. Procopius says that they avoided the connubium or intermarriage with the Goths, that they maintained their own chiefs, and lived under their own laws and customs.

⁶³ *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 1, 2, pp. 469, 470.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 6, p. 478.

He takes
Cumæ in Cam-
pania,

besieges Na-
ples, and col-
lects a fleet.

The efficiency
of the Roman
armies is
broken up by
arrear of pay,
free-quarters,
and licentious-
ness, and the
generals are
compelled to
witness the fall
of Naples
without an
effort to relieve
the city.

Naples there-
fore capitu-
lates; and the
citizens and
garrison are
treated with

inhabitants. With augmented numbers and resources he besieged and took the strong fort of Cumæ in Campania, where he found a large sum of money. He treated the inhabitants of the captured towns always with humanity, often with kindness; the people compared the equity and moderation of his government with the grinding exactions of the imperial administrators; they contrasted the economy of Totila with the idle profusion, frauds and embezzlements of the imperial commanders, and for the moment religious differences and ancient dislike of their Gothic masters yielded to a sense of present relief. The increase of his funds, and the quietude of the country enabled Totila to lay siege to the important city of Naples, and to collect or to build a considerable number of ships upon the coasts of Campania, for the purpose of preventing reinforcements or provisions from entering the port of the besieged city.⁶⁵

In the management of the war in Italy, Justinian had hitherto assumed that the revenues of the country should support the war, without any advances from the imperial treasury. The success of the military operations was thus rendered dependent upon the civil administration. But now corruption and peculation pervaded every department of the state; and while the civil governors were hoarding large sums for their private gain, the pay of the troops was allowed to fall into arrear; the soldiers lived at free-quarters upon the ruined citizens, and debauchery of every kind, stimulated by the example of the chiefs, and insubordination, justified by unsatisfied and growing claims, had long since dissolved the discipline of the armies.⁶⁶ Thus Constantine at Ravenna, John at Rome, Beza at Spoleto, Justin at Florence, and Cyprian at Perugia were compelled to witness the alarming progress of Totila in the south, without an effort to arrest his career of conquest, or to relieve the citizens and garrison of Naples. Meanwhile the light barks of the Goths intercepted the convoys of provisions which the imperial generals in Sicily, Maximus and Demetrius, endeavoured to introduce; an imperial fleet laden with supplies was wrecked upon the coast of Campania, and ships, crews and cargoes fell into the hands of the Goths. This last disaster subdued the spirits of the garrison, who had for some time held out against the extremities of famine and privation; an advantageous and honourable capitulation was offered and accepted, and Naples threw open her gates to her generous conqueror. The famished citizens were considerably supplied with the quality and quantity of food suited to their exhausted condition; their persons and property were religiously protected against outrage or violence, and the

⁶⁵ *Procop.* loc. mod. cit.

⁶⁶ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 9, p. 485.

Roman garrison was provided with money and an escort to conduct them upon their march to Rome, whither, in conformity with the terms of the capitulation, they had chosen to retire.⁶⁷

A.D. 543.
kindness and
humanity by
Totila.

As the events of this war proceed, the character of Totila expands in dignity and in strength. While the generals and the armies of Justinian were revelling in licentiousness, extortion and lust,⁶⁸ the conduct of the noble Goth was rendered illustrious by humanity to the conquered, by a rigid adherence to his engagements; and, above all, by an habitual reference of his actions to the divine will.⁶⁹ In his intercourse with others he was at once frank and friendly; he was severe in the administration of justice; placable wherever the offence affected himself only, but rigid in punishing crimes against those whom he had bound himself to protect.⁷⁰ He piously believed that the late calamities which had befallen his people were attributable to the sins of their rulers, and that it was his duty to retrieve by obedience that prosperity which had been forfeited by transgression. The Italians gratefully accepted and enjoyed the fruits of these excellent principles, and awaited in tranquillity the issue of the conflict which was to decide their own fate as well as that of their present rulers.

Character of
Totila.

No opinion had obtained a firmer hold upon the barbaric mind than that success was an indication of the approval—failure, of the disapprobation of Heaven. This ordeal, or “judgment of God,” was, in their estimate, as much applicable to the conduct of nations as to that of individuals. Totila was equally ready to submit his own cause to that judgment, as to apply it to that of his adversaries. In this spirit he summoned the senate and people of Rome to return to their allegiance. “Your present rulers,” he said, “are paying the just penalty of their transgressions against you;⁷¹ and is it not preposterous, that while God himself is so manifestly stretching forth his almighty arm to avenge you upon your oppressors, that you should patiently submit to be trodden under foot by those whom he hath already rejected?” John, the governor of Rome prohibited the senate from receiving the message of Totila; but on the following morning letters from the king to the citizens, promising a general amnesty and security for all past offences,

He summons
the Romans to
return to their
allegiance to
the Gothic
kingdom.

⁶⁷ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 7, p. 481.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 9, p. 485.

⁶⁹ See particularly the exhortations addressed to his soldiers after the capture of Rome, ap. *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 21, p. 514.

⁷⁰ See the anecdote of the trial and punishment of the Gothic soldier accused of rape, ap. *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 8, p. 483. Procopius was capable of feeling and admiring greatness of

character wherever he found it. This quality imparts to his work a tone of rectitude, and a warmth of feeling; it gives a genuine glow to his expression, and increases our confidence in the general integrity and impartiality of his statements.

⁷¹ Referring to the dreadful extortions and oppressions of the imperial governors.

were found posted up in all places of public resort throughout the city.⁷²

Totila prepares to besiege Rome; but suspends his design upon hearing of the return of Belisarius into Italy.

Before Totila could complete his preparations for the siege of Rome, the news of the arrival of Belisarius with reinforcements upon the coast of Italy caused him to suspend his design. After wandering for awhile from port to port along the coasts of Apulia and Lucania, Belisarius sailed to Ravenna, where he found that the task of reinstating the ruined interests of the empire in Italy must commence with a thorough reform in every department of the government and of the army. But the continuance of the Persian war prevented Justinian from sparing any adequate support either in men or money for that of Italy. The restoration of discipline in the army presented insurmountable difficulties. As long as the enormous arrears of pay remained unsatisfied, the troops could not be withdrawn from those mutinous and licentious habits which the system of free-quarters had engendered; the people could not be relieved from their intolerable burthens, nor the government from the weight of the public hatred. Besides these difficulties, Belisarius was at this moment deprived of the assistance of a body of Illyrian auxiliaries, who had lately been recalled for the defence of their wives and families against an irruption of the Hunnic Avârs into their country. The almost total extinction of trade and agriculture, attributable to the ravages of war, to misgovernment, and to the insecurity of property, had occasioned a universal dearth in the north of Italy. All the money in the country had disappeared,⁷³ and Belisarius found himself cooped up in Ravenna with an unpaid, mutinous and undisciplined rabble, without funds or stores sufficient to enable him to advance a day's march beyond the walls.⁷⁴

But Belisarius comes without an adequate force and without money to pay the arrears due to the troops; the Illyrian auxiliaries desert him, and he finds himself cooped up in Ravenna, without the power of advancing beyond the walls.

Abandoning for the present his design of besieging Rome, Totila marched into Picenum to observe Ravenna. Here he learnt the helpless state of his opponent, and occupied his troops in reducing the fortified towns of the province. Osimo, Fano, and Pesaro were successively blockaded, without success; but Fermo and Ascoli were taken, and the Gothic king resolved to complete the conquest of Tuscany before he turned his arms against Rome. It is true he failed before Perugia; but Spoleto and Assissi fell into his hands. Belisarius was anxious to take advantage of the difficult and tedious sieges in which the Goths had involved themselves, to strike a blow against his adversary; but the soldiers, instead of marching, clamoured for their pay,

Totila meanwhile takes Fermo and Ascoli, Spoleto and Assissi,

⁷² *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 9. p. 486.

⁷³ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 9. p. 485.

⁷⁴ *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 10—12. pp. 487—492.

and those who were found ready for service were so reduced in spirit, health and discipline, that they threw down their arms, and fled at the first sight of an enemy. Thus vanished every hope of saving the blockaded places, and Totila was at leisure to mature his preparations for the siege of the capital itself.⁷⁵

and matures his preparations for the siege of Rome.

As soon as he had procured a fleet of ships numerous enough to blockade the ports of Campania and Tuscany, and to prevent the introduction of provisions into Rome by sea, the Gothic king invested the city, and closed the navigation of the Tiber by a ponderous boom consisting of beams of wood bound together with chains, placed across the river, and defended at each end by a lofty wooden tower. Thus a very few days sufficed to reduce the more numerous and poorer sort of the citizens to the extremity of famine. Meanwhile the Roman commanders drove an infamous traffic with the stores laid up for the use of the garrison. To the richer classes they dealt out corn and provisions at such enormous prices, as soon to exhaust the most ample fortunes, and compel the distressed purchasers to part with money, plate, jewels, household furniture, and even with their wearing apparel to purchase a miserable sustenance. In the interim Belisarius put forth all the strength he could muster for the relief of the capital. He threw himself with a body of troops by sea into the Portus Romanus; John landed in Apulia, and recovered that province; but instead of advancing to support his general, he wasted his time in re-occupying Bruttium and Lucania. Undismayed by disappointments and difficulties, Belisarius made a daring, though an unsuccessful, effort to force the floating barrier upon the Tiber, and to re-open the communication with the besieged city. The famine in Rome had by this time swept away multitudes; every article of nourishment, even to the herbs and grass which grew beneath the city walls, was exhausted; many persons killed themselves, while the remainder gazed with sullen despair upon the fate which awaited them. By the embezzlement of the public stores, the soldiers themselves at length began to partake of the general distress for food; the troops proceeded from murmuring and discontent to neglect of discipline and open mutiny. In this state of things the public defence was almost abandoned, and a party of mutinous Isaurian soldiers found no difficulty in opening the Asinarian gate to the enemy. Totila took possession of the city with very little resistance. The surviving inhabitants shut themselves up in their houses; the commandant Beza fled through the opposite gate; but the wealth he had accumulated fell into the hands of the Gothic king. Totila proceeded directly to the Basilica of St. Peter, to

He blockades the ports of Campania and Tuscany, and closes the navigation of the Tiber.

The citizens are soon reduced to the extremity of famine, aggravated by the rapacity of the commanders.

Belisarius attempts in vain to break through the blockade.

The garrison begins to suffer want,

and a party of mutinous Isaurians betray the city to Totila, 17th Dec. A D. 546.

⁷⁵ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 12, p. 492.

He grants security for person and property to the citizens, but resolves to raze the city to the ground.

render thanks for this great success; and upon that sacred spot he granted to the prayers of the bishop Pelagius an amnesty for all past offences, and security for the persons and property of the citizens of Rome.⁷⁶

He therefore empties it of its inhabitants, and demolishes one-third of the walls, and throws down all the gates.

Belisarius remonstrates against this unjustifiable resolution,

But the king was not disposed further to remit the punishment due to the multiplied treasons of the Romans against his countrymen. Though he had spared them the miseries of public pillage, he had resolved to disperse the inhabitants over the surrounding country, and to raze the city itself to the ground. This measure was connected with a general plan for dismantling all the fortified places in his possession, with a view to avoid the inconvenience of weakening his field-forces by the garrisons necessary to hold possession of them. The great diminution of the numbers of the Gothic soldiery furnished an additional reason for this measure; their inexperience in the siege of fortified places tended to discourage the soldier, and to mortify the military pride of the nation; the king believed that if he demolished the walls of all the towns which fell into his hands, more especially those of Rome, he should succeed at length in reducing the war to a system more congenial with the military habits and science of his people. Under these impressions he emptied the city of its inhabitants; the senatorial families were banished to their estates in Campania; the mass of the people was dispersed over the neighbouring provinces; one-third part of the city walls was demolished, and every gate in the ample circuit was torn down.

But however expedient in a military point of view, the destruction of Rome involved a violation of feelings which it is at all times dangerous to brave; it involved the overthrow of temples, the desecration of holy places, venerated alike by every Christian sect; the obliteration of every memorial of past virtue and greatness; above all, of that great and triumphant warfare which for more than three centuries had been there carried on against the powers of darkness. Offences, such as these, must have excluded Totila and his people from all fellowship with the Christian world, and deprived them of all right to call themselves by the name of Christ.⁷⁷ “You dare not,”—such is the substance of the noble and eloquent remonstrance of Belisarius,—“inflict such a wound upon your own fame, and upon the common interests of all mankind. Rome, with her structures, her temples, her records of past greatness, and of virtues which live in the imperishable monuments of a better age, is the common property of the whole human race. Your design is a declaration of war against mankind; and if you do not fear the resentment of the emperor—from whom after such a deed there can be no room for clemency—

⁷⁶ *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 13—20, pp. 494—511.

⁷⁷ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 21, pp. 515, 516.

you will do well to reflect whether your own interests do not call upon you to spare the great prize of your victories, and the pledge of future benefits to yourself and your people.”⁷⁸

This expostulation appears to have produced its intended effect; and Totila desists. Totila frankly revoked his impolitic and unjustifiable resolution: all the public and private buildings were spared, but very few of the inhabitants remained to people the deserted city. After the demolition of one third He regards Rome as no longer tenable by an enemy, of the ramparts, the Gothic king had some ground for regarding the vast circuit as untenable by an enemy; a body of troops was stationed upon the northern bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles below the city, to watch Belisarius who was still shut up in the Portus Romanus; garisons were left in the towns of Campania, and Totila marched in person and marches against John. to expel John from Apulia and Lucania.⁷⁹ Both these provinces, with the exception of the strong cities of Otranto and Tarento, were speedily recovered. But in the absence of Totila, the indefatigable Belisarius had eluded the vigilance of the detachments left to observe his motions; he had re-occupied the deserted city, and by dint of almost incredible exertions, so far restored the walls as to secure it against any sudden attack from such unskilful besiegers as the Goths. The news of this extraordinary exploit filled the minds of men with astonishment. On the one hand its effects were extremely detrimental to the fame of Totila;⁸⁰ the Goths called him to account for his irresolution in sparing the city, or for his negligence in not retaining it when in his possession: while, on the other, the imperialists drew from it the happiest presages of future success. The king made every effort to retrieve his error; he marched hastily to Rome in the hope of retaking the city by escalade. But the attack was repelled, and he was forced to take up his quarters for the winter at Tivoli.⁸¹ Totila attempts to retrieve his error, but fails in an attack upon the new defences.

During the succeeding two years the Goths abstained from any further attempt upon Rome; but the imperialists were too weak to meet them in the field, and the war degenerated into a series of sieges, combats, and adventures of little general interest. Justinian from time to time sent small re-inforcements to his generals in Italy, with a view to keep alive the war until he should be at leisure to resume his design of reconquering the country. Upon the western coasts he retained the cities of Rome, Civita Vecchia, and Reggio; upon the eastern shores he A.D. 546 to A.D. 548. Justinian suffers the war to languish.

⁷⁸ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 22. pp. 517, 518.

⁷⁹ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 23. p. 519.

⁸⁰ See *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 37. p. 553. The king of the Franks, says our author, regarded the abandonment of Rome by Totila as such a proof of pusillanimity that he would not give

him his daughter in marriage, and even refused him the title of king. The anecdote is of value only as a proof of the disadvantageous impression which this unaccountable neglect had produced upon the minds of men.

⁸¹ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 24. p. 523.

Belisarius is recalled,

and Totila again besieges Rome.
A.D. 549.

The Isaurians again betray the city into his hands.

possessed Tarento, Otranto, Osimo, Ravenna, and a few towns in the vicinity. Totila meanwhile added Croto and Ruscianum, two important fortresses at the southern extremity of the peninsula, to his former acquisitions, while the Goths of Æmilia obtained possession of Piacenza, the last Roman town in the interior of that province. At the instance of his wife Antonia, Belisarius was once more recalled from his fruitless, though not inglorious, command; the imperial troops became again cooped up within the walled towns; and with the exception of the few spots, where Roman garrisons were stationed, the whole of Italy bowed beneath the sceptre of Totila.⁸²

In the year 549, Totila determined to wipe away the stigma which still attached to his fame in consequence of his abandonment of Rome. The city was now, in every respect, better fortified, supplied and garrisoned than when he last sat down before it. But abuses of every kind prevailed within the walls; the pay of the soldiers was greatly in arrear; the Isaurian troops clamoured for their stipends, and when they found complaint fruitless, they determined to deliver up the city into the hands of the Goths. Accordingly a party of the conspirators opened the Ostian gate⁸³ to the enemy, while the attention of the garrison was diverted by a false attack upon the opposite quarter. Totila entered Rome at the head of his army; the fugitive Romans were intercepted in their flight to Civita Vecchia, and a body of about six hundred men, who, with the governor, had shut themselves up in the mole of Hadrian,⁸⁴ was compelled to capitulate upon honourable terms after a few days' siege. The soldiers were allowed to choose between a free passage to Byzantium as prisoners of war upon parole, and enrolment in the army of the Goths. At first they chose the former alternative; "but reflecting," says the historian, "upon the disgraceful plight in which they must appear before the imperial presence, as vanquished persons without their arms, and considering likewise the dangers of the voyage, and the injustice of the government which had for so long a time withheld their stipends from them, they changed their minds, and with the exception of two officers only, took service with the Goths."⁸⁵

⁸² *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 25—35.

⁸³ Procopius says the gate of St. Paul, so called from the Basilica of that name, situated about a mile and a half from that gate. It is still called the Porta de S. Paolo.

⁸⁴ The modern castle of St. Angelo.

⁸⁵ The mutinous state of the garrison of Rome is attested in numerous passages of Procopius, particularly lib. iii. c. 30. p. 534. I think it highly probable that the garrison consisted in a very great part of Germanic mer-

cenaries — Longobardi, Gepidæ, Heruli, and others. It is not likely that the native Greeks, if indeed there were any great number of them in the service, would renounce their homes for a life so totally at variance with their habits as that of the Gothic barbarians. The unsettled hordes of mercenary Germans, on the other hand, were at home everywhere, and any service which afforded the ordinary advantages of war-pay and pillage was welcome.

Rome thus fell a second time, with little bloodshed, into the hands of Totila. The king now applied himself with great assiduity to the restoration of the city; the walls were repaired, the inhabitants encouraged to return, their houses were rebuilt, and, to crown his popularity, Totila revived, and himself presided, at the games of the circus.⁸⁶ The possession of Sicily had, in all ages, been deemed indispensable to the support of the Romans, who had derived all their supplies of corn from that country. Totila therefore marched with the bulk of his army, and the greater part of his fleet, for the reduction of the island, leaving a corps and a squadron of ships behind him to blockade Civita Vecchia. In his progress southward he was fortunate enough to obtain possession of Tarento in Bruttium, and of Reggio in Calabria; Sicily was reduced with little difficulty; and, in the interim, his friends in Picenum surprised Rimini, and totally defeated and slew Verus the Byzantine governor of Ravenna, at a short distance from that city.⁸⁷ To these advantages we may add the capture of a considerable squadron of ships of heavy burthen, laden with provisions and stores destined for the relief of the late garrison of Rome.

Totila restores the walls, rebuilds the ruined houses, and courts popularity.

He takes Tarento and Reggio, and reduces Sicily.

Thus far the affairs of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy appeared in a rapid progress of improvement. But this prosperity was obviously owing more to the errors of their enemies than to any intrinsic accession of strength on the part of the Gothic people. With regard to their Italian subjects, they still stood in the same isolated and disconnected, if not hostile, position. Though the virtues of Totila justly rendered him the hero of his people, and raised him to a temporary popularity among the Italians themselves, his talents were not of an order to call forth strength out of weakness, and to raise up upon solid foundations a power which had already fallen so low. The Gothic king was so sensible of the difficulties of his position that he evinced the strongest anxiety for an accommodation with the emperor. But Justinian repudiated all his advances with sullen contempt; and Italy was doomed to a further period of desolation and suffering, without even a prospect of improvement, which ever way the contest might terminate.⁸⁸

Totila becomes anxious for an accommodation with the emperor; but Justinian rejects his advances,

Hatred of the Gothic name had become deeply rooted in the heart of the emperor. Ambition and vanity, exasperated by defeat and disappointment, had engendered a passionate detestation in his mind, which perhaps more even than political interest, urged him to persevere in his efforts for the re-conquest of Italy. In the year 544 he had concluded a five

⁸⁶ *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 36, 37. pp. 550—553.

⁸⁸ Conf. *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 21. p. 516; c. 37.

⁸⁷ *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 37 and 39. pp. 554— p. 553, and lib. iv. c. 34. p. 634.

and makes serious preparations for the reconquest of Italy. He collects an army under his nephew Germanus, and devotes large sums to the expedition.

years' truce with the formidable Khosrû, king of Persia, but it was not till the year 549 that he evinced that activity, which, had it been put forth three or four years earlier, must have procured him a brilliant and an easy triumph under the able conduct of Belisarius. He now assembled an army consisting of stipendiary Thracians, Illyrians and Heruli upon the coast of Illyria, under the command of his nephew Germanus, the husband of Malasuinthia, granddaughter of Theoderich the Great, and widow of the unfortunate Vitiges. Large sums of money were placed at his disposal, and the barbarians of the Danube, attracted by the fame of his liberality, flocked to his standard. At the same time assurances were received from the imperial agents in Italy that the orthodox people there were already weary of the yoke of their Arian masters. The Roman garrisons and soldiers, who had joined the Goths, sent word that they desired nothing more than an opportunity to desert their present service ; and the inhabitants of the towns, it was said, looked forward to the arrival of the imperial armies as the term of their servitude and suffering.⁸⁹

But the death of Germanus, and other causes, delay the enterprise.

Totila makes reparation to the Romans for the injury done to the city and its inhabitants.

He fits out a fleet, and besieges Ancona ;

But John at-

But the sudden death of Germanus, and more than that circumstance, the successive irruptions of innumerable hordes of Sclavi and Avârs into the territories of the empire, to which we shall have occasion to advert hereafter, prevented the departure of the expedition for a period of more than two years. These delays afforded Totila the needful time to prepare for the approaching conflict. In order to obliterate as much as possible the memory of those severities into which he had been driven by the inveterate hostility of the clergy and senate of Rome, he publicly testified his regret for the injuries he had done to the buildings of the city, and recalled many senatorial families and other citizens who had hitherto remained in banishment for political offences. He fitted out a fleet of three hundred ships, and dispatched it to the Adriatic, to pillage the coasts of Epirus, to intercept the provision-ships for the supply of the imperial army assembled at Salona, and ultimately to aid his own intended operations against Ancona. Forty-seven of the heaviest ships were detached to blockade that port, while the Gothic chiefs Scipuar, Gibla and Gundulph invested the city on the land side. John, who commanded ad interim the imperial army collected at Salona, hastily fitted out a squadron of thirty-eight stout ships, which he loaded with provisions for the garrison of Ancona, and manned with picked crews. At Lissa⁹⁰ he was joined by twelve more ; and with this force he bore down upon the blockading fleet of the Goths. The latter

⁸⁹ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 39. p. 557.

⁹⁰ Anciently *Scardona*.

encountered their enemies with great gallantry; but their skill in naval tactics was unequal to their courage. In the impetuosity of their onset, the ships became entangled with each other; order, and the necessary space for manœuvring, were lost: the entire Gothic fleet, with the exception of twelve ships, was sunk or destroyed, and these were afterwards burnt to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. After the destruction of their fleet the Goths abandoned the siege of Ancona, and retired with a painful sense of their inability to balance the superiority of the imperialists at sea, or to prevent the landing of the Illyrian army at any point upon the coast which might be deemed most convenient for the invasion of Italy.⁹¹

tacks and defeats the Gothic fleet before Ancona.

The Goths abandon the siege of Ancona.

The destruction of this fleet was not the severest of that series of mishaps which, about this time, befel the cause of the Italian Goths. An increased boldness and activity pervaded the measures of the imperialists; Artabanes, the Armenian general of Justinian, reconquered Sicily; in the north, the Franks, who still held possession of some districts in Friuli and Liguria, began to stir again; and the Romans recovered, and established themselves upon, the coasts of Venetia. In the year 547 Theudebert of Austrasia had been succeeded by his son Theudebald. Justinian was desirous of availing himself of the demise of the late king, and the accession of his successor, to claim the fulfilment of the engagements which the former had contracted with the empire. The senator Leontius was sent to the court of Theudebald, to lay before the young king the many delinquencies of his father, and to exhort him, by a faithful performance of past treaties, to wipe away the stain which must rest upon his memory, and upon the honour of his people. It is clear that the emperor misunderstood the temper of the Frankish prince and his advisers. Theudebald repelled the imputations cast upon his father's memory; he denied the alleged breaches of treaty with the court of Byzantium, and declined to surrender those territories in Italy which, he said, had been ceded to him by the Goths, or to break the relations of amity which he thought fit to declare subsisted between him and that people.⁹²

Justinian conquers Sicily,

and sends an embassy to the Frankish king Theudebald to claim the performance of the treaties concluded with his father. Theudebald denies the breaches of treaty, and refuses to break with the Goths.

But whether this cession of territory, and the treaty of alliance founded upon it, was truly or falsely alleged,⁹³ it is clear that Totila regarded the Franks rather as enemies than as friends. He knew that the court of Constantinople entertained a similar opinion; and he believed that this

Totila endeavours to obtain a reconciliation with Justinian;

⁹¹ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 22. p. 627; c. 23. p. 630.

⁹² *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 24. p. 634.

⁹³ The Frankish historians take no notice of any such treaty; but they are in general grossly

ignorant of the foreign relations of their own people. Procopius is our only authority, and if we possessed others, he would probably still be our safest guide.

but the latter
refuses the
proffered
terms.

He gives the
command of
the army to
Narses.

common feeling might be made conducive to a reconciliation with the emperor, for which he was now more anxious than ever. His ambassadors had frequently pressed upon Justinian the danger to the Roman possessions in Italy, arising from the ambitious encroachments of the Franks; and in order to evince his sincere desire for peace, he now proposed to surrender Dalmatia and Sicily, the only provinces which had not been reduced to a desert by the ravages of war, to the emperor, and to hold the remainder of Italy as the vassal of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute, and by the render of such military service as might be reasonably required of him.⁹⁴ But these proposals were thrown away upon a prince, who, at this moment, felt his own power, and who, with the means in his hands, was little likely to renounce the gratification of his ambition or his resentment.⁹⁵

Justinian had in the meantime superseded John in the command of the army assembled at Salona, and entrusted it to the already celebrated Narses. The spirit of the Gothic people does not seem to have risen with the difficulties they were called upon to encounter. The naval defeat at Ancona, the loss of Sicily, and the failure of the negotiations for peace were but poorly compensated by the acquisition of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, which had been conquered by the fleets of Totila in the course of the year 550; and to an attentive observer of the state of the kingdom, and of its relations to its Italian subjects, it must have been obvious that Narses would have no resistance to fear but that which the Goths might be able to oppose to him in the field.

⁹⁴ In short, to revert to the terms of the compact between Theoderich the Great and the emperor Zeno. See c. ix. sec. 4. p. 478 of this

volume.

⁹⁵ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 24.

SECTION II.—A.D. 552 to A.D. 554.

State of the Ostrogothic Kingdom—Preparations of Justinian—Narses marches into Italy—Battle of the Busta Gallorum—Defeat and Death of Totila—The Goths retire to Pavia—They elect Teias King—Narses takes Rome—Teias marches into Campania—He loses his Fleet, and is compelled to retire to the Mons Lactarius—Battle and Death of Teias—The Southern Goths submit to Justinian—The Northern Goths call in the Franks to their aid—Butelin and Leuthar invade Italy—Aligern in Cumæ—Aligern surrenders Cumæ to Narses—Butelin and Leuthar divide their Forces—Leuthar retreats—His Death—Butelin takes post on the Vulturnus—Battle of the Vulturnus—Death of Butelin, and total destruction of his Army—The entire Gothic People submits to Narses—Dispositions of the Italians—Corrupt and impolitic conduct of the Greek Government.

WE have already had occasion to allude to the causes of the weakness observable in the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy; a weakness which seems to have existed from its origin.¹ It is necessary now to place them in order under the eye of the reader, because they furnish the key to the right exposition of the succeeding events.

During the decline of the empire, the people of Italy in general had not suffered so much from the tyranny of the government as the more distant dependencies. The barbaric invasions had neither been so frequent nor so destructive as those which had swept the provinces of the Danube, of Gaul, and of Spain. The municipal institutions—the popular portion of the old Roman frame of government—had been preserved in the numerous towns and cities of Italy. By the permission of their conquerors the townsfolk continued in the unreserved enjoyment of their own laws, civil as well as criminal, and their religious liberties had been in no degree assailed or violated. We hear of very few complaints of harshness or oppression against their Gothic masters, in the collection of the revenue, or the general exercise of the powers of government. Yet with all this, there existed an antipathy between the two races, which prevented them from melting into a solid national union. The Roman regarded the Goth as a stranger and a barbarian; the latter looked down upon the Italian as his subject, or as his inferior. The Goths formed a separate caste in the state devoted to military duties; they had few interests in common with the rest of the people, and the latter were by no means inclined to admit the protection afforded them by these foreign warriors as a fair compensation for the loss

The weakness of the Ostrogothic monarchy must be attributed

to the national antipathy between the Goths and their Italian subjects; and particularly to religious discord.

¹ See sec. 1. p. 543, of this chapter.

of political influence, and of that large share of the produce of the lands and labours of the whole community, which they had been obliged to give up.

The same causes of alienation operate in a greater or less degree in all the new barbaric states.

The enlightened measures of the great Theoderich, and the general equity of the Gothic system of government, tended to mitigate the effects of these causes of alienation. Time might have done much towards their total extinction, had not religious discord intervened to counteract its healing influence, and to prevent the old and the new materials of the state from growing together into one compact body. The same cause had operated powerfully to impede the settlement and to loosen the coherence of the Vandalic, Visigothic, and Burgundian states, in Africa, in Gaul, and in Spain.² And, indeed, any cause of complaint, however trivial, furnishes a sufficient foundation upon which to fix the all-powerful lever of religious agitation. Political party spirit may be exorcised or subdued; but when it leagues itself with religious schism, human ingenuity has rarely succeeded in finding a remedy for the complex malady.

Justinian resolves to prosecute the war with vigour.
A.D. 552.

He takes a considerable body of barbarian auxiliaries into his pay;

he supplies Narses plentifully with provisions, stores, and money.

Narses recommends himself to the Italians

Up to the period at which we have arrived, the emperor Justinian had neglected and starved the war in Italy. But now he opened out his treasures, and expanded his mind to embrace the whole scope of his great enterprise. The army in Dalmatia consisted of the best troops of the empire, and of numerous bodies of barbaric auxiliaries. Tempted by a large sum of money, Audoin,³ king of the Lombards, added a body of two thousand two hundred chosen warriors, with three thousand inferior troops, to the army of Narses. Besides these, the imperial general was joined by three thousand Herulan cavalry under Filimut, a body of infantry under Aruth, and six hundred Gepidæ under their chief Asbad. The unbounded liberality of Narses, his great military reputation and popular address, attracted soldiers from all quarters. The army was plentifully supplied with warlike stores and provisions, and the general was furnished with funds sufficiently ample, not only to discharge the arrears due to the Italian garrisons, but to tempt the cupidity of the wavering, and to try the faith of the firmest adherents of the Gothic cause.⁴ Besides these advantages, Narses recommended

² See chap. x. sec. 2. p. 515, and sec. 1. p. 543 of this chapter. *Masou* (book xi. § 43, and book xiii. § 26.) has very justly observed that the Visigothic power in Spain acquired no solidity till this cause of discord was removed by the conformity of Reccared in the year 586. "That prince," he says, "may in a manner be regarded as the second founder of the monarchy." The joy and gratitude of the Catholics may be estimated from

the animated eulogium of Isidor, bishop of Seville, upon that prince. See *Chron. Goth.* ad æram DCXXIV. ap. *Grot.* p. 727.

³ *Paul. Diac.* (lib. ii. c. 1, p. 425) attributes this act of friendship to Alboin. There is reason to believe that Alboin had not yet succeeded to his father Audoin in the year 552.

⁴ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 26, p. 641.

himself to the Italians by his reputed orthodoxy and piety, his frequent prayers, his vigils, his profuse almsgiving, his zeal for the building and restoration of churches, and his great liberality to the clergy.⁵

Not being provided with a fleet numerous enough to convey his entire army from the coasts of Dalmatia to the opposite shores of Italy, Narses chose the route by land round the head of the Adriatic. The Franks, who held the Tridentine and Norican passes, and possessed several districts in Venetia and the Friuli, threatened to oppose his march; while the Gothic general Teias, who commanded in Verona, diligently applied himself to the task of obstructing all the approaches to the Adige and the Po, by breaking up the roads, and cutting through the dikes of the marshy roads at the mouths of those rivers, and thus creating artificial inundations. The Goths confidently believed that these obstacles would prove insurmountable. But by speedy movement, and with the assistance of a flotilla of boats and skiffs which accompanied the army, Narses was enabled to effect the passage of the numerous streams which discharge themselves into the Adriatic along this line of coast, and to extricate himself from the marshes before the Goths could oppose his daring march.⁶

At Ravenna the troops were allowed to rest nine days to recover from the fatigues they had undergone. Narses then moved on to Rimini, and repelled a sally of the Gothic garrison; he did not however stop to besiege the city, but after keeping the Flaminian way for some distance, turned off into the mountains of Umbria, above the town of Nocera.

When Totila was informed of the failure of his scheme for detaining his opponent in the Venetian territory, he directed Teias, who commanded the Gothic forces in northern Italy, to join him at Rome, a movement which that able officer executed with extraordinary rapidity. He was now anxious to prevent the imperialists from gaining the Umbrian passes; and though a body of two thousand cavalry expected from a distant quarter had not yet arrived, he nevertheless hastened by forced marches through Tuscany, and occupied Taginæ, a village in the heart of the mountains, almost at the same moment that Narses pitched his camp upon an open space, about one hundred furlongs off, known to the people of the country by the name

by his orthodoxy and piety.

Narses marches round the head of the Adriatic into Italy. He avoids the Frankish territory, and turns the Gothic positions on the Adige and Po, by keeping the coast-road, and transporting his army across the rivers and marshes by means of a fleet of boats.

He marches into Umbria to encounter the Goths.

Totila occupies Taginæ in the Umbrian mountains. Narses pitches his camp about twelve miles

⁵ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 3. p. 426. According to *Evagrius* (ap. *Baron.* ad Ann. 553, tom. x. p. 92) the “*Deipara Virgo*” herself more than once descended to visit him in person, and to

point out to him the critical moment for giving battle.

⁶ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 26. p. 642.

off at the
"Busta Gal-
lorum."

of the "Cemetery of the Gauls."⁷ As soon as the imperial general was informed of the arrival of his adversary, he sent him a peremptory summons to lay down his arms, representing the folly of attempting resistance to the assembled hosts of Rome, with an army hastily brought together, and as inferior in numbers, as it was in discipline, to that of the emperor. The king replied to this insolent message by a haughty defiance. The ambassadors then desired him to name the day for the battle; and Totila, with a view to lull his adversary into a false security, appointed the eighth day from that for the final decision.

Totila endeavours to seize a hill which covered the flank of the Roman army;

But Narses was not to be thus easily overreached. The determined movements of his adversary plainly showed that the battle was to be fought, not on the eighth, but, most probably, on the very next day, and upon the spot where the hostile armies then stood. Accordingly, on the following morning, the dawn displayed the whole of the Gothic forces bearing upon the flank of the Roman army at the distance of little more than two bow shots.⁸ This flank was covered by a low precipitous hill, traversed by a hollow way so narrow as to admit but few men abreast. The only chance of turning the Roman position rested upon the possession of this important pass. Late on the preceding night Narses had occupied it with a chosen band of fifty men, a number he deemed amply sufficient to maintain so narrow and inaccessible a defile. Totila, mortified to find his plan of attack thus anticipated, determined to possess himself of the pass at all hazards, and directed a body of cavalry to charge up the hollow way and bear down the defenders by the mere weight of men and horses. But the ground in front of the hill was found to be intersected by a deep gully, and beyond it the surface was still so broken as to frustrate every attempt to preserve order, or to sustain the impetus of the charge. The defenders presented a compact front of shields and spears to the assailants, and thus succeeded in repelling three successive charges without loss or difficulty. Convinced at length of the futility of any further attempts to turn the flank of the imperialists, Totila withdrew the cavalry, and prepared to confront the Roman general in the position chosen by himself.⁹

but fails, and withdraws his troops.

The position of Narses highly advantageous;

That position was so well protected on the flanks by ancient sepulchral tumuli, and by rising grounds, as to dissipate all apprehensions

⁷ "Βουστα Γαλλωρων." *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 29. p. 647.

⁸ I am unable to determine from the text of *Procop.* (lib. iv. c. 29, p. 647) whether the right

or the left flank of the Romans is here designated.

⁹ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 29. p. 647.

from those quarters ; while the open space in front presented every advantage for manœuvring the archery and light troops with which Narses proposed to break the impetuosity of the Gothic onset. Totila delayed the battle for some hours in order to give time for the two thousand cavalry whom he had left in the rear to come up. Meanwhile, in compliance with custom, both leaders harangued their troops. Narses briefly reminded his soldiers of their superiority both in numbers and discipline over their adversaries : he described the Goths as a band of robbers and plunderers, and Totila as an adventurer chosen from among the meaner sort to be their leader in the work of devastation and rebellion.¹⁰ He exhorted them therefore to put up devout prayers for the divine blessing upon their arms, and to go to battle without a doubt of victory. In the speech which Procopius puts into the mouth of Totila, the king disclosed his feelings and views to his army with deep earnestness and with singular moderation. He told his countrymen, “ that the moment decisive of his own fate and that of the Gothic people had arrived : upon this spot they must either conquer or perish,—no middle course remained,—no room for hesitation or reserve,—no refuge from death and ruin but in victory.” He described the imperialists as a medley of all nations, among whom every principle of union was wanting : “ it was not possible,” he said, “ that a military mob, composed of Huns, and Longobardi, and Gepidæ, and Heruli, hirelings all, and indifferent to the cause they upheld, could cordially devote themselves to fight the battles of strangers.” And, in fact, Narses himself was not without uneasiness upon this important point.¹¹

Totila had hoped that his apparent hesitation would induce the Romans, who had remained from dawn till past noon without sustenance, to retire from their ranks to enjoy their usual midday meal. Narses, however, directed the soldiers to take their refreshment upon the ground ;—not a bridle was drawn, not a breast-plate unbuckled, nor a man permitted to quit the ranks. Meanwhile the two thousand cavalry expected by Totila arrived upon the ground, and were immediately brought into front.¹² Narses made a corresponding change in

well protected on the flanks, the ground in front broken, favourable to the manœuvres of light troops, and adverse to the Goths. Both generals harangue their troops.

Totila delays the battle in order to throw his enemy off his guard.

He brings his cavalry into front. Narses disposes his

¹⁰ The opinion here expressed by Narses was in consonance with the political maxims of the court of Constantinople. It was there held that when the Gothic people departed from the line of Theoderich the Great, to which the delegated sovereignty of Italy had been originally granted, all succeeding elections were invalid, and that the kings so chosen, without the actual or presumed concurrence of the court, must be regarded as rebels and usurpers. Conf. c. ix. sec. 4, p. 478 ;

with c. x. sec. 2, p. 521, and note 72 ; and c. xi. sec. 1, p. 552. The reservation of the *dominium supremum* is a strong feature in the policy of the Byzantine rulers during the century succeeding the downfall of the western empire.

¹¹ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 30, p. 650.

¹² It appears not improbable, that from the broken character of the ground, so unfavourable to the advance of the heavy Gothic phalanx, Totila distrusted his infantry, and therefore pre-

archery on his wings to flank the Gothic horsemen.

The cavalry of Totila attack the Roman centre. They are broken by the archers, and fly.

Narses pursues, breaks through the Gothic infantry, and puts the whole army to flight. Totila receives a mortal wound in attempting to escape from the field,

and dies at Capræ.

The body is disinterred and stripped of the royal robes and diadem, which are sent to Justinian.

his own line. He directed the Longobardic and Herulan auxiliaries, who occupied the centre, to dismount, in order to deprive them of the means of flight if they should be so disposed; and stationed two thousand Hunnic archers on each wing, so as to flank the advance of the enemy's cavalry, and check the onset. It is not clear, from the account of Procopius, that Totila intended this display of cavalry for anything more than a demonstration; at all events the movement turned out a fatal

error. The cavalry instantly charged the centre of the Roman position, and were overwhelmed in their advance by showers of arrows and missiles from the Hunnic archers: their ranks became broken and disordered; and in this enfeebled state they encountered the wall of lances opposed to them by the infantry in front. Here the whole body was brought up in confusion and dismay. Narses gave them no time to recover their presence of mind; he charged with his whole line; the defeated cavalry sought refuge behind their infantry; but the latter, panic stricken at the sudden flight of their comrades, made but a feeble resistance to the advancing imperialists; cavalry and infantry fled in wild confusion from the field, six thousand men perished upon the spot, and, as if by enchantment, the whole army became broken up and dispersed.¹³

The sun was about to set when the battle began; and before the twilight had sunk into darkness the fate of the Gothic army was sealed. Totila himself was carried away by the crowd of fugitives, and received a mortal wound from a Roman trooper, who pursued him in ignorance of his quality. The few attendants who still accompanied him succeeded in bearing their dying master to Capræ, a small town about ten miles from the field of battle. Here he soon afterwards expired. His friends wrapped the body in his royal robes, and hastily committing it to the earth, continued their own flight. When the advanced guard of the Romans entered Capræ, ignorant as yet of the death of the king, an aged woman pointed out to them the place of his burial. The body was immediately disinterred and stripped of the royal ornaments; the bloody robe and diadem were sent by Narses to Justinian as the proudest trophy of victory, and the welcome evidence of vengeance done upon his hated adversary.¹⁴

ferred attacking with his cavalry, relying upon the infantry to afford protection to the cavalry in case of reverse.

¹³ Procopius justly censures the rashness of Totila in venturing to encounter arrows and javelins with lances only. The battle of Busta Gallorum reminds us of the fields of Cressy and Poitiers. Before the invention of gunpowder, a charge of heavy cavalry against a steady body of spearman, flanked by expert archers, was quite

as inefficient, and far more fatal to the assailants, than a similar charge upon a solid square of infantry in modern warfare.

¹⁴ *Procopius*, lib. iv. cc. 31 and 32, pp. 652—654. But he does not mention the transmission of the robe and diadem to Justinian. That incident is derived from the *Historia Miscell.* (ap. *Murat.* tom. i. p. 108.) *Gibbon* (vol. iv. p. 303) quotes *Theophanes*.

The greater part of the defeated army retreated to Pavia, and there they raised the worthy Teias to the throne. Since the loss of Ravenna, Pavia had become the capital and treasure-city for the northern division of the kingdom; and the strong fortress of Cumæ in Campania had been made the place of deposit for the produce of the revenue and the crown property of the southern provinces. In the latter place almost all the wealth of the Gothic kingdom was deposited, and the possession of Cumæ became the pivot upon which the succeeding events of the war were to turn. The cities of Tuscany submitted to Narses, and Rome joyfully threw herself into his arms. At his departure Totila had taken hostages from the citizens for their fidelity during the approaching struggle; but the fate of these devoted persons was little regarded by the giddy populace. In the shame and irritation of defeat the Goths forgot mercy, and ruthlessly dipped their hands in the blood of the hostages. Meanwhile Teias, the worthy successor of Totila, collected all that remained of the military force of the kingdom; he eluded the vigilance of the troops stationed by Narses in Tuscany to observe his movements, and made good his march, with almost incredible speed, into Campania. Here the power of the Goths had taken a firmer root than in the north of Italy; every port and fortified station in the country was still in their hands; and a numerous fleet gave them the command of the sea, and ensured to them a plentiful supply of provisions for the army. Without a moment's delay Narses called in all his detachments, and hastened with his whole force to encounter his new adversary, and, if possible, to bring the contest to a speedy decision.¹⁵

The remains of the Gothic army retreat to Pavia and raise Teias to the throne.

Meanwhile Rome and Tuscany submit to Narses.

But Teias marches into Campania,

He found Teias strongly posted upon the river Sarno,¹⁶ not far from the town of Nocera, in a position favourable for covering the southern provinces, affording relief to the garrison of Cumæ, and keeping open his communications with the fleet. Here the hostile armies, separated by an impassable ravine, in the hollow of which flowed the rapid torrent of the Sarno, observed each other for a period of two months. But during that interval Narses had found means to corrupt the commander of the Gothic fleet, and the entire naval power of the nation was betrayed into his hands. The imperial troops were now amply supplied with provisions from Sicily, while their adversaries fell a prey to the most distressing scarcity. In this difficulty the Goths were compelled to relinquish their advantageous position upon the Sarno, and to approach the sea for the benefit of such chance supplies as might still be picked

and takes up a strong position upon the river Sarno. He covers Cumæ and is supplied by his fleet.

Narses corrupts the commander of the Gothic fleet, who betrays it into the hands of the Romans.

¹⁵ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 34. p. 662.

¹⁶ *Gibbon* has identified the *Draco* of *Procopius* with the modern Sarno, upon the authority

of *Cam. Pelegrini*, *Discorso sopra la Campania* Felice, p. 330, 331.

Teias is compelled to relinquish his position and to retire to a strong post nearer to the coast.
Mons Lactarius.

He attacks the Romans suddenly;
1st October, A.D. 554.
Hormayer, Works, vol. i. p. 66.

but fails to surprise them.

Teias puts himself at the head of the combatants, and devotes himself for the safety of his people.

He is slain.

But the Goths are not discouraged.

They continue the contest till night-fall; and renew it on the following day;

up along the coasts. Teias withdrew the army to a strong eminence in the Salernian mountains, called the Mons Lactarius.¹⁷ But the relief which this retrograde movement afforded was only temporary; food for the men and forage for the horses soon began to fail; and Teias and his gallant band resolved to stake the last hopes of the nation upon the issue of one devoted effort to retrieve their desperate fortunes.¹⁸

The preparations were made with so much secrecy, and executed with such promptitude, that Narses, with all his vigilance, was unprepared for the attack. The Goths poured down from the hill so suddenly that no time was afforded to the imperialists to make the ordinary arrangements for battle. Each corps made head against the enemy as chance or circumstances permitted. Yet, we are told, the Romans, confiding in their numbers and discipline, went into battle without confusion. The ground not being favourable for cavalry, the Goths had left their horses behind them. The imperialists likewise dismounted and disputed the ground foot to foot with their adversaries. The heroic king, having done all that the skill and experience of the general could suggest to ensure a favourable issue, exchanged the staff of command for the spear and the buckler, and generously devoted himself in the front of the battle for the salvation of his people. On foot, and supported by a few chosen friends, he hurled his spear against the foremost of the enemy. Hither the most ambitious and daring of both armies—and they were many—thronged to sustain or to assail the noble warrior. By his individual strength and prowess, and by his inspiring example, he kept the overwhelming numbers of the enemy at bay for the space of four hours. Twice he exchanged his shield laden with hostile darts; the third was already heavy with the weight of twelve javelins, when in the act of taking a fourth shield from the hand of an attendant, his breast became accidentally bared for an instant, and was at that moment transfixed by a Roman spear. The foremost of the enemy leapt upon the body of the fallen king with a yell of triumph; they struck the head from the trunk, and, fixing it upon a spear, bore it from rank to rank above the heads of the combatants. The Romans loudly cheered the gory trophy, the Goths followed it as the banner of vengeance. The duty of Teias had been nobly done; the blood of the warrior had not quenched the flame which the spirit of the hero had lighted up in the bosoms of his companions in arms, and they sustained the combat with redoubled vigour till night put an end to the unequal contest. The

¹⁷ Otherwise *Mons Lactis*, so called, says *Mannert* (Geogr., &c. vol. ix. part i. p. 749), from the excellent milk which its pastures

afforded.

¹⁸ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 35, pp. 663, 664.

dawn once more beheld the indefatigable combatants arrayed against each other; again the battle raged from morn till sunset with undiminished, yet unavailing fury; the numbers, the discipline, and the valour of the imperialists defied the despair of their enemies. At length a pause, occasioned by mutual exhaustion, afforded a moment for feeling and reflection; the arms of the weary survivors of the Gothic host dropped from their hands, and they acknowledged that the "judgment of God" was pronounced against them.¹⁹

but without success. They acknowledge themselves conquered,

Bending beneath the visible decision of heaven, the chiefs sent a deputation, consisting of persons of note, to Narses to treat for peace. "They acknowledged," they said, "that it was vain and sinful to struggle any longer against the divine decree; the people therefore were willing to desist from war, and to live under the emperor, not as his slaves, but, like the other barbarian subjects of the empire, under their own chiefs, and enjoying their own national laws and customs." They demanded liberty to depart freely to their homes, and required that each man should be permitted to take away the money and private property which he might have deposited for safety in the various strong holds still in their possession. Narses could not be ignorant of the danger of driving brave men to extremity; and indeed his own losses in the late desperate battles could not have been trifling. He therefore assented to the conditions proposed, adding only the stipulation that the remnant of the army should either quit Italy or engage not to bear arms against the emperor under any pretence whatever.²⁰ While the negotiation was pending, a body, consisting of a thousand of the boldest of the Goths, issued from the camp, and by incredible exertions eluded the pursuit of the imperialists and reached Liguria. The rest took the oath to the emperor, and peaceably returned to their homes.²¹

and demand permission to depart to their homes, and to take with them their property and their arms.

Narses grants their request,

and they disperse.

¹⁹ "Παρά τὸν Ναρσῆν πέμψοντες τῶν λογίων τινάς, μεμαθηκέναι μὲν ἔλεγον, ὡς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁ ἄγων σφίσι γένοιτο." *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 35, p. 665. The construction adopted in the text is consistent with barbaric prepossessions. The "Judicium Dei" was a tribunal to which the Germanic nations paid the highest deference, as well in military and political, as in judicial matters. Before their conversion to Christianity they inquired of the will of their Gods by various kinds of augury, but particularly by judicial and military duels, a mode of divination resorted to more than once during the progress of this war. *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 4, p. 475; and lib. iv. c. 31, p. 653. Theoderich the Great had indeed prohibited judicial combats (*Cassiod.* *Variar.* lib. iii. Ep. 24, p. 45.); but the Germanic nations did

not for many centuries lay aside a practice derived from the remotest antiquity. See *Tac.* *Germ.* c. 10.

²⁰ Procopius, indeed, says, that he required that the Goths should forthwith quit Italy. But such a stipulation would have been useless, because impossible. Whither was the nation to retire? There was now scarcely an unoccupied spot upon the surface of Europe to receive them.

²¹ *Agathias* (lib. i. ap. *Ss. Byz.* p. 12.) says, that they dispersed in different directions; those who lived in Tuscany, or in Liguria, or beyond the Po, retired thither; the others retreated to the various boroughs and towns in Venetia, where they had before resided. Those who swore allegiance to Justinian were probably that portion of the people which had become settled in Cam-

The Goths of the Transpadane regions apply to the Franks for assistance.

Though the Goths still possessed a considerable tract of country on both banks of the Po, and though Aligern, the brother of Teias, commanded a strong garrison at Cumæ, yet the remnants of the dismembered kingdom were too much dissevered to encourage a thought of reviving the royal title, or of re-establishing a central government. Still they did not wholly abandon their hopes of an independent existence. The Ligurian, Venetian, and Æmilian Goths had been for many years past compelled to tolerate the encroachments of the Franks upon their Alpine frontier, and they had always regarded them as enemies; but in their actual state of helplessness they cast aside the recollections of past injuries, and once more resolved to abide the event of an appeal to them as the only power which could now afford effectual support. And perhaps the late conduct of the Franks in refusing permission to Narses to pass through their territory, may have inspired some degree of confidence. The Austrasian king Theudebert had, as we have already stated, been succeeded in the year 547 by his not less ambitious son Theudebald.²² Justinian, as we have seen,²³ had failed in securing the assistance of that prince against Totila; yet it seems as if Leontius, the envoy employed on that occasion, had at least succeeded in raising a scruple in the mind of the Frankish prince as to the expediency of repeating those attacks upon Italy which had drawn down such signal disasters upon the arms of his father. Theudebald abstained indeed from personal interference in the affairs of that country; but in the interim the Franks in Liguria and Venetia had been strengthened by the accession of large numbers of Alemanni and Burgundians till they had swelled into a power fully capable of disputing the possession of Italy with the victorious Greeks. The wild warriors of which it consisted were governed by two brothers of Alemannic race, named Leuthar and Butelin. The Burgundian Franks were Christians by profession; but the Alemanni were still addicted to the paganism of their ancestors. They worshipped, as we are told by Agathias,²⁴ trees, rivers, mountains, and groves; and these deities they propitiated by the sacrifice of horses. In war, he says, they were rapacious and cruel; in other respects they resembled the Franks, being similarly armed, using like customs and submitting to the same form of government.

Theudebald abstains from direct interference, but he permits or encourages a large body of Alemanni and Burgundians to assemble on the frontiers of Italy under the dukes Leuthar and Butelin.

pania, Tuscany, Picenum, and the provinces to the south of the Po. From subsequent events it is evident that the capitulation only affected the army of Teias, and was not regarded as applicable to the people at large.

²² *Gregory of Tours* (lib. iv. c. 9, p. 207) describes Theudebald as a person of an "evil mind,"

probably because he was not so profuse in his donations to the church as his father had been. Of the liberality of the latter we have an instance in lib. iii. c. 34, p. 203, of that annalist.

²³ Sec. I, p. 577, of this chapter.

²⁴ Lib. i. p. 13.

The means of affording the needed assistance to the distressed Goths were therefore at hand, and an embassy was sent to the court of Theudebald to ask his protection and aid.²⁵ The envoys insisted, we are told, that the Franks were as strongly interested as the Goths themselves in putting a stop to the encroachments of the imperialists in Italy: "The possession of Gaul was," they said, "no less an object of Greek ambition than that of Italy; the emperors regarded both countries as appendages of the empire, and would, no doubt, if permitted to gather strength, put forth the same claim to the former as they had already done to the latter: unless, therefore, the Goths were enabled to maintain their ground in Italy, the Franks might soon have to sustain a struggle for the possession of Gaul."²⁶ Theudebald appeared to pay little attention to these representations: but the dukes Leuthar and Butelin, with an army of seventy thousand men, were already hovering upon the Venetian and Ligurian frontier. Butelin had been greatly trusted by Theudebert, and had been left behind after the disastrous expedition of the year 539, to guard the belt of territory upon the southern declivity of the Alps which the Franks were enabled to retain in that country. That he was acting with the connivance, if not by the instructions of Theudebald, can hardly be doubted;²⁷ and when the disappointed envoys of the Goths resorted,—as it might be taken for granted they would do,—to the powerful chiefs of the Alemanni and Burgundians, the latter were found fully prepared for war, and provided with a force more than adequate for the occasion.²⁸

The Goths send envoys to Theudebald to ask his support.

Theudebald returns no answer.

The Gothic envoys then apply to the Dukes Leuthar and Butelin.

But the very greatness of these preparations occasioned some perplexity in the minds of the Goths; and when Leuthar and Butelin, elated by the most extravagant hopes of plunder and conquest, commenced their march without waiting for the concurrence of their allies, the latter drew back for a moment in hesitation and doubt. But as soon as they saw the city of Parma in the hands of the Frankish generals,

Leuthar and Butelin invade Italy;

²⁵ *Agath.* lib. i. p. 17.

²⁶ In this, as in several other instances, we incidentally gather confirmation of our view of the state policy of the Byzantine emperors, as noticed in chap. x. sec. 2, pp. 518 and 519 of this volume. Agathias could not have put them into the mouth of the Gothic envoys, unless they had been matters of some notoriety.

²⁷ *Gregory of Tours*, though he sadly misplaces and mistakes the order of events, concurs with Agathias in representing Butelin as the vassal and servant of the Austrasian king. He calls him Buccelinus, and tells us that he conquered all Italy—Belisarius and

Narses to boot!—and sent back great treasures to Theudebert! However erroneous this statement may be in particulars, it seems to establish the general fact that Butelin was at the time regarded as the officer of the Austrasian monarch. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 32. p. 201.

²⁸ Paul Warnefrid expressly tells us that Butelin acted as the general of Theudebert, and that he sent him back many rich presents from the plunder of Italy. But he makes the same error as Gregory of Tours in ascribing this expedition to Theudebert, (who died in 547,) instead of his son Theudebald. *Conf. Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 2. p. 425.

they defeat
Fulcas at
Parma,

and heard that Fulcas, the captain-general of the Herulan auxiliaries, whom Narses had stationed upon the Po to protect Ravenna, had been defeated and slain in a rash attempt to recover the place, the Venetian and Æmilian Goths threw themselves without reserve into the arms of Butelin and Leuthar, and opened the gates of their towns to their new friends. The defeated imperialists shut themselves up in Ravenna, and nearly the whole of Italy to the northward of the Tuscan frontier fell into the hands of the confederates.²⁹

and subdue the
north of Italy.

Narses mean-
while besieges
Cumæ and
Lucera. He
takes the latter,

Meanwhile Narses had laid siege to the port of Cumæ in Campania, and to the city of Lucera in Apulia: the latter surrendered after a blockade of three months' duration. But the fortress of Cumæ was bravely defended by Aligern, the brother of Teias; and the strength of the place, and the determined spirit of the garrison defied the ordinary operations of a siege. The discomfiture of the army of the Po made it necessary that Narses should hasten to the defence of the northern provinces; a force was therefore left to continue the blockade of Cumæ, and the general himself set off for Ravenna. The alliance formed by their northern countrymen with the Franks was highly displeasing to Aligern and the Goths of Campania: the latter had become more intimately connected with the soil and people of Italy than the former; they had, in a great degree, adopted the Italian mode of life, and were far less inclined to encounter the inconveniences into which so close a union with that wild swarm must inevitably plunge them. They thought that the independence of the nation could not be safely entrusted to such protection; that the Franks, if successful, would retain all their conquests for themselves, and would impose a foreign yoke and a barbarian government alike upon Goths and Italians: no reliance they conceived could be reasonably placed upon so faithless a people; and they resolved that it was better to make their submission to the emperor upon such equitable terms as those which, as long as Narses was at the head of affairs in Italy, they knew they might command, than to encounter all the perils and miseries of a war, with the strong probability of being deserted by their allies in case of misfortune, or reduced to servitude in the event of success. They determined therefore that the act of submission should appear—what in reality it was—the voluntary act of the people itself. Without waiting till the garrison should become reduced by famine, or weakened by any of the chances of war,—while their resources were still unimpaired, and their numbers equal to a long and sanguinary defence—Aligern was

and sets off for
the north, to
oppose the
confederates.

The southern
Goths disap-
prove of the
alliance with
the Franks,

and determine
to submit to
the emperor.

Aligern carries
the keys of

²⁹ *Agath.* lib. i. p. 29.

deputed to the head-quarters of the Roman general near Ravenna, carrying with him the keys of the fortress of Cumæ. Narses fully satisfied the Gothic prince of his disposition to do justice to the confidence reposed in him by the nation, and received the surrender in the name of the emperor: the treasures and the regalia³⁰ of the Gothic kingdom were given up to the imperial commander stationed before Cumæ, and the place itself accepted a Roman garrison.

It was well known, both to the Goths and imperialists, that the riches of Cumæ were the great object of Frankish cupidity. Leuthar and Butelin were at this moment in full march to secure the reward of their enterprise: but as they passed under the walls of Cesena, Aligern, by the direction of Narses, appeared on the rampart, and informed them that the city was already in the possession of their enemy. The sight of the governor of Cumæ within the enemy's lines dissipated all doubt of the loss of the Gothic treasures; but the ardour of the invaders suffered no abatement. Overwhelming the traitor with scorn and reproach, they continued their march through Picenum without interruption from Narses, whose numbers were insufficient to encounter the undivided swarm in the field with any prospect of success: trusting, therefore, to the well-known effects of the Italian climate upon the constitutions of the northern nations, and to their love of straggling and pillage, to disunite their efforts, and dissipate the strength of their army, he hastened to Rome, and directed all his forces to assemble in Campania, where the contest might be maintained with the greatest advantage.³¹

The Franco-Gothic confederates meanwhile followed the coast of the Adriatic into Samnium. Here the expected separation took place. Butelin passed into Campania, and scoured Lucania and the Bruttii³² as far as the straits of Messina. Leuthar ravaged Apulia to the walls of Otranto, devastated the open country; destroyed cities, towns, and villages, slew the defenceless inhabitants till the very air was tainted with slaughter, and polluted even the temples with human blood. The Christian Franks abstained from the more odious crimes of sacrilege, but the Pagan Alemanni showed as little respect for the religion as for the lives and property of the doomed inhabitants. At the approach of summer Leuthar became anxious to place his booty in safety, and to withdraw his followers from the influence of the summer heats. With this view he proposed to Butelin to retire into the north of Italy as soon as the hot season should commence. But Butelin had been led by his

Cumæ to
Narses,

the fortress
surrenders, and
accepts a Ro-
man garrison.

Though disap-
pointed of ob-
taining posses-
sion of the
treasure depo-
sited in Cumæ,
the Franks
continue their
march.

Narses hastens
to Rome, and
concentrates
all his forces in
Campania.

Butelin and
Leuthar sepa-
rate in Sam-
nium.

They desolate
the southern
provinces of
Italy.

Leuthar retires
to the north at
the approach
of the hot
season;
but Butelin re-
solves not to

³⁰ "Τα παρασημα." *Agath.* lib. i. p. 32.

³¹ *Agath.* lib. i. p. 34.

³² The modern Basilicata and Calabria.

abandon his
Gothic allies.

Gothic allies to expect that the nation would, if he was successful, place the crown upon his head; and he replied to the solicitations of Leuthar that such a prize was well worth some risk. Leuthar persisted in his design, promising to return to the assistance of his brother as soon as he should have deposited his spoils in a place of safety. He was however attacked in the Picenian defiles by the governor of the imperial garrison of Pesaro, and obliged to abandon a great part of the gains of the war. He had scarcely passed the Po³³, when a pestilential fever deprived him of life, and so reduced his army, as to render it incapable of any further enterprise.³⁴

Leuthar and a
great part of
his army are
destroyed by a
malignant
fever.

Butelin be-
comes strait-
ened for pro-
visions. He
takes up a po-
sition upon the
river Vultur-
nus,

Meanwhile Butelin was greatly straitened for provisions by the prudent precautions of Narses. His troops were obliged to subsist upon raw fruits, and new wine or must; and dysentery had already carried off many of his followers. With a view to keep open his communications with the north, and to facilitate his junction with Leuthar,—for whose arrival he now began to be impatient,—he took up a strong position upon the river Vulturinus, a little to the north of Capua:³⁵ his right rested upon the river, the left and rear were defended by a bulwark of waggons, with their wheels buried up to the axles in the earth, and strengthened by a strong line of stakes: in front a moderate space was left uninclosed, to facilitate egress and ingress. A bridge over the river in advance of his right was occupied, and defended by a massy wooden tower strongly garrisoned. In this posture he hoped to keep open a greater extent of country for his foragers to range over, and to gain time for the expected arrival of Leuthar.³⁶

where he hopes
to maintain
himself till
Luthar, of
whose death he
was ignorant,
should rejoin
him.

Narses takes
post upon a
hill overlook-
ing the Frank-

But days and weeks passed away without any intelligence of his approach; provisions became very scarce, and the health and spirits of the troops began to droop again. Butelin was still superior in numbers to the imperialists,³⁷ and Narses was obliged to act with great caution. He posted his army upon a strong rising ground overlooking the camp of the enemies. Thus situated, he could observe all their movements, the

³³ *Paul. Warnefrid* (lib. iii. c. 2. p. 425) says that Butelin died upon the lake Benacus (Lago di Garda), between Verona and Trent. There is reason to believe that the entire valley of the Adige from the Tyrolese passes to the vicinity of Verona southward, together with the modern Friuli, and the Venetian territories bordering on the lake of Garda, had remained in the undisputed possession of the Franks ever since the invasion of Theudebert in 539, and was now considered as "their own country;" and so *Paul Warnefrid* describes it. It was from this territory that Leuthar and Butelin issued for the

projected conquest of Italy.

³⁴ The fever, as described by *Agathias* (lib. ii. p. 38), seems to have been a malignant typhus, accompanied with congestion of the brain and delirium. We cannot believe, with *Agathias*, that the *entire army* perished of this disorder.

³⁵ *Agathias* (lib. ii. p. 39) calls it the *Casulinus*, from a small town of that name, a mile or two north of Capua.

³⁶ *Agath.* loc. cit.

³⁷ *Agathias* makes the numbers of Butelin amount to thirty thousand men; while Narses could not muster more than eighteen thousand.

numbers, strength, and direction of their foraging parties, and take effectual measures for intercepting them. In this way he still more circumscribed the supplies of the Franks, and at length, by a dexterous and daring movement, made himself master of the bridge over the Volturnus, expelled the garrison, and burnt the tower. The consternation and rage which this unexpected disaster produced in the minds of the barbarians deprived them of reflection. It was now plainly impossible to recover the bridge without a battle; for Narses had descended into the plain in defence of his advantage. The Alemanni soothsayers however declared the omens adverse, and predicted defeat; but an incident which took place in the imperial ranks so elated the barbarians, that they became deaf alike to the suggestions of superstition and of prudence.

ish encampment.

He makes himself master of the bridge over the Volturnus; the Franks advance to recover the bridge; and Narses resolves to defend his acquisition at the risk of a general battle.

The Herulan mercenaries of the imperial army had taken offence at the summary punishment inflicted by Narses upon one of their chiefs for a wanton murder which he had lately committed. In this temper they suddenly withdrew from their position in the line; a few deserted to the enemy, and declared that if the confederates could resolve to give immediate battle, their countrymen were ready to desert to them in a body, and to assist in the overthrow of the common enemy. The Franks and Alemanni flew to arms, and formed their order of battle hastily, and without attention to mutual support. This error enabled Narses to repeat the military expedient so successfully resorted to in the battle of the Busta Gallorum. Undisturbed by the secession of the Heruli, he formed his line of infantry in the centre; he disposed his cavalry and archers upon the wings, and in this attitude awaited the onset of the enemy. The confederates advanced in their usual column, resembling, says Agathias, an elongated Greek Δ . The foremost ranks easily penetrated the infantry of the imperial centre, and pushed for the camp whither the discontented Heruli had retired. Meanwhile the Roman cavalry and archers closed upon the flanks and rear of the enemy; they assailed the barbarians with showers of arrows and missiles of every kind,—a mode of attack which the latter had no means of returning; the rear of the column soon lost all military coherence, and fell an easy prey to the cavalry of Narses. The successful van still continued to advance, in order to give their hand to the Herulian seceders. But the latter, to whom the issue of the battle seemed no longer doubtful, determined not to forfeit their share in the assured victory, and advanced to join in the work of destruction and plunder. The confederates retreated in surprise and alarm towards their main body, which was already flying in confusion and dismay. The panic

Herulan deserters encourage Butelin to attack the Romans.

The Franks form hastily in order of battle.

They advance in their usual column of attack;

they are flanked by the archers and cavalry of Narses, and thrown into disorder,

and the army of the confederates is totally destroyed.

now spread to every part of the field ; those who escaped the sword of the Romans perished in the stream of the Volturnus ; Butelin, the duke, had fallen among the foremost combatants early in the action, and the victory of the imperialists was as complete as the most sanguine anticipations could have suggested.³⁸

The remnant of the Gothic nation yields unconditionally to the emperor.

The defeat of the Frankish expedition upon the Volturnus overthrew the last feeble hopes of independence which the remnant of the Italian Goths may still have entertained. A Hunnic adventurer, named Regnar, is indeed said to have collected seven thousand Goths, and to have maintained himself awhile in a hill-fort, named Campsæ. Here he was besieged by Narses, and was killed in a treacherous attempt upon the life of the general, made at a conference held for the purpose of settling the terms of a capitulation for himself and his followers. After this the Goths of Campsæ surrendered at discretion, and were all sent by Narses to Constantinople.³⁹ In the north of Italy little occurred to disturb the tranquillity of subjection. After the defeat of Butelin, Haiming, a Frankish leader, gave his support to a Gothic chieftain, named Widdin, in an attempt to shake off the Roman yoke : but Haiming was slain in action, and Widdin was sent a prisoner to Constantinople.⁴⁰ Every trace of the Ostrogothic power became obliterated, and the survivors of that race melted into the mass of the Italian population.

The Italians, though happier under the Gothic than under the Roman government,

The political existence of the Ostrogothic monarchy was distinguished by more virtues, and sullied by fewer crimes than that of any other barbaric nation which had become settled within the ancient limits of the empire. The Roman writers themselves do ample justice to the virtues, the bravery, and the talents of the Ostrogothic kings. We hear of few complaints of oppression or denial of justice ; few instances of violence or insult to the persons, the property, or the religion of their Italian subjects. The ancient inhabitants were upon the whole treated with a degree of mildness and equity which reflects credit upon the character of the dominant people, and renders it a matter of the greater surprise that those subjects should yet have preferred the corrupt and oppressive dominion of the Greeks.

still uniformly prefer the corrupt and oppressive dominion of the Greeks.

³⁸ *Agathias* (lib. ii. p. 46) says that only eighty men escaped. Conf. *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 425. The loss of the imperialists was very trifling.

³⁹ *Agath.* lib. ii. p. 50. Probably to be enrolled as mercenaries in the imperial armies.

⁴⁰ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 426.

We have already adverted to the causes of that preference,⁴¹ and endeavoured to point out its influence in undermining the power of the Ostrogoths. But though the spirit of religious bigotry may have tended to the overthrow of that power, it contributed very little to strengthen the dominion of the Greek emperor in Italy, and it now appeared that the people had enjoyed a higher degree of prosperity and good government under their former masters than they could have wrought out for themselves, or than that which fell to their lot for many ages afterwards. Yet it cannot be doubted that a sound civil and military policy, combined with ordinary integrity and honesty of intention, could not have failed to attach the Italian subjects of Justinian's empire. Ancient connexion, conformity of religion and laws, the memory of former glory and dominion, were all favourable to his claims upon their affection and attachment; and each succeeding year must have added strength to these bonds of union.

But whatever may have been the general merits of this emperor in reducing the ancient chaos of the law and the government of his dominions into some kind of system, still peculation and extortion, ignorance, fraud, cunning, and bigotry, remained the springs and the instruments of Greek government. The court would spare little or nothing for the maintenance of its Italian armies, and yet looked to Italy,—a country drained and depopulated by war, deluged with blood, impoverished by pillage, laid prostrate by pestilence, famine, and a multiplicity of sufferings which seem to have exhausted the quivers of the divine displeasure,—for a revenue clear of all the expenses of government, to sustain the profligate luxury, the insatiable voracity, the mean vanity of the court, and its endless train of eunuchs, and satraps, and satellites. The successes of a power so based and administered could not be durable. Accident had presented to the choice of Justinian, to whom discernment in the choice of his agents cannot be altogether denied, two generals, endowed with talents and virtues beyond the age,—men strong in purpose, vigorous in action, enduring, patient, and, above all, loyal to a weak and vicious government. Neither Belisarius nor Narses found his fellow in the state they served or the armies they commanded; and when *they* were removed, the bonds of government were again dissolved, every check to the corrupt habits of the generals, and governors, and soldiers, and officials of the state was taken away; and the rulers were at once converted into the scourges of the people: the Werewolf of the old superstition did not present a more fearful image to the terrified imaginations of men, than

Justinian wishes to obtain a revenue from the exhausted Italians.

The discipline of the armies is impaired, and the Government officers contaminate themselves by every

⁴¹ Sec. 2, pp. 579 and 580 of this chapter.

kind of oppres-
sion and
abuse,

the state and aspect of a Roman army or a Roman viceroy to the wretched inhabitants of Italy, after the removal of those extraordinary persons who had hitherto restrained its vices by the mere force of individual character.

Narses himself perceived the source from which weakness and disorder, perhaps ruin, was to flow. After the victory upon the Vulturnus, excesses, licence and self-indulgence made alarming progress among the troops. Against these evils he strove with all his might;⁴³ and while he remained in the command, some degree of discipline and order was maintained, and the country enjoyed a few years of deceitful and uneasy repose.

SECTION III.—A. D. 525 to A. D. 568.

Causes of Migration in southern and in central Europe.—I. *Origin of the Sclavi*—Deduced from the ancient Scythians and Sarmatæ—the name of “Sclavi.”—Divisions—Venedi, Antes—Migration of the Venedi into Eastern Germany—The Eastern Sclavi occupy Poland and central Russia—Customs and Habits of the Sclavic races.—II. *Origin of the Avârs*—Deduced from the Oriental Finnic, Ogour or Ouâric Tribes—They bear down the Sclavic Antes, and occupy Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia—Extend themselves to the Vistula and Oder.—III. *The Longobardi and Gepidæ*—Half-Christian Pagans—Longobardi stipendiary Vassals of the Empire—Tato—Wacco—Walthari—Audoin and Thorisend—War between the Longobardi and Gepidæ—Hildechis and Ustragoth—Adventures of Alboin—Kunimund and Alboin—Alboin allies himself with the Khân of the Avârs against the Gepidæ—He encounters Kunimund—Defeats him, and puts an end to the Kingdom of the Gepidæ.

The causes of
migration
cease to ope-
rate in the
south and
west of Eu-
rope.

At the period when the Ostrogoths became the masters of Italy, Europe presented a much more settled aspect than it had done for more than a century before. Germany, Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Africa had fallen into the possession of races of pure Teutonic descent. Towards the middle of the sixth century, minor disturbances of this state of things had occurred: the Franks had dispossessed the Visigoths of a great part of Gaul; Africa had been reconquered by Belisarius; Italy had been finally wrested from the Ostrogoths by Narses; yet, with all this, the more powerful causes of migration had ceased to operate. The western barbarians had acquired wealth and landed property; they had adopted a settled polity, they were governed by hereditary sovereigns with large landed revenues, and expensive and numerous courts: they possessed laws reduced to writing, and calculated upon a state of permanent possession; commerce, rude

⁴³ See the speech of Narses to his army upon the state of discipline, ap. *Agath. lib. ii. p. 49.*

manufactures, and some literature; and, together with the religion, they had adopted many of the habits and luxuries, and a large share of the vices of the conquered. All these circumstances tended to eradicate the feelings most favourable to migration, and to substitute, for the mere love of pillage and change of place, the idea of conquest and national territorial aggrandizement.

Such was the state of the nations inhabiting the west of Europe; but the vast regions watered by the Danube, the fertile plains of Hungary, the immense tracts which stretched away from the shores of the Euxine to those of the Baltic, still presented an aspect not very different from that under which we have been hitherto accustomed to regard them. They were inhabited by nations partly in a pastoral and nomadic condition, partly in a state of society not very different from that of the ancient Germans. To the former we reckon the numerous but scattered and disjointed remains of the old Hunnic or Oriental Finnic nations, and the great Sclavic races of Russia, Poland, and Prussia; to the latter, the Longobardi of Austria and Cis-Danubian Hungary, the Gepidæ of the Thiess and Danube, and the remnants of the Heruli who still clung to the northern regions of Illyria and Dalmatia. The powerful influence which these nations exercised over the fortunes of European society, not only during the period now under review, but for many ages afterwards, renders it expedient to bestow some attention upon their progress and actual condition towards the middle of the sixth century.

I. More than four hundred years before the birth of Christ, Herodotus learnt from the Greek colonists upon the Euxine the names of two very ancient nomadic nations, the *Scythians* and *Sauromatæ*, who roved over the grassy levels extending from the northern shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Borysthenes. The Scythians extended themselves over the tract which lies between the latter river and the Tanais, and from the shores of the Euxine far into the interior of modern Russia: the Sauromatæ occupied the region beyond the Tanais, stretching from the north-eastern extremity of the Palus Mæotis, a distance of fifteen days' journey, into the heart of the Caspian desert.¹ Both these tribes dwelt originally in Asia, but had been expelled by their neighbours the Massagetæ, a general name among the Greeks for the Asiatic nations of Turkish or Tâtar origin. The Scythians retired across the Tanais, and, in their turn, drove out the ancient Cimmerii from their fabled land of darkness and of gloom.² In these new abodes they found themselves

But they still
subsist in the
midland re-
gions between
the Euxine and
Danube and
the Baltic sea.

I. Origin of
the Sclavi

Scythians and
Sauromatæ

expel the Cim-
merii from the
flat countries

¹ *Herod.* lib. iv. cc. 6 and 21. These nations, he says, called themselves "*Σκολότοι*," but the
VOL. I.

Greeks thought proper to call them "*Σκυθοι*."

² *Idem.* *ibid.* c. 11.

between the
Caspian and
the Borys-
thenes or
Dnieper.

surrounded by very various tribes, some of them, such as the Neuri and Melanchlænæ, offsets of their own family ; others, such as the Budini, Agathyrsei and Androphagi, members of the Teutonic stock ; others again, and to these we reckon the Thyssagetæ, Argippæi, Issedones and Arimaspii, belonging either to the great Finnic race of the Ural and the Volga, or the Mongolic and Turkish tribes of central Asia³.

But the information derived from Herodotus respecting the inhabitants of the modern Poland does not extend beyond the nations dwelling immediately to the westward of the Dnieper or Borysthenes. Strabo, who lived more than four centuries later, is the first writer who throws any light upon the population of this region ; yet not much was known regarding that obscure portion of Europe till the age of Pliny the Elder, at which period the Romans became more familiarly acquainted with the long chain of barbarous nations which hung upon the northern frontier of their empire.⁴ One hundred and fifty years afterwards, when Ptolemy of Alexandria wrote his celebrated geographical treatise, the name of Scythians was no longer used to designate any particular race or family of nations, but was applied indiscriminately to that congeries of different races which then occupied the vast regions extending from the Vistula to the confines of Asia ;⁵ and among these to Roxolani, Jaxamartæ, Jazyges, even to the Teutonic Goths, and the Asiatic Huns.

The name of
"Scythians"
is afterwards
applied to
tribes of va-
rious races.

In after ages
the name is
almost wholly
superseded by
that of "Sar-
matæ," iden-
tical with the
Sauromatæ of
Herodotus.

What became of the Sauromatæ of Herodotus in the intervening period we are not informed. But in the succeeding ages we find them gradually advancing from the recesses of the Palus Mæotis towards the Borysthenes and the Vistula, and gradually superseding the Scythians in the notice of historians and geographers. It is exceedingly probable that, as both nations were but branches of the same family, they became mingled together in their new abodes ; and since no rational doubt can exist of the identity of the Greek Sauromatæ and the Roman Sarmatæ,⁶ we cannot greatly err in regarding the Scythia of the older geographers as nearly co-extensive with the Sarmatia of the later. The conquest of Dacia by Trajan extended the limits of the empire into the heart of Sarmatia ; and at this period a great many new nations advance into notice ; such were the Roxolani, Jaxamartæ and Jazyges, all of them tribes of the great Sarmatian family.⁷ In habits, manners, modes of

³ Conf. *Herod.* lib. iv. cc. 13, 23, 27, 105, 108, 109, 117, 123. Conf. also *Heeren* Ideen über die Politik den Verkehr und den Handel, &c. vol. i. part ii. pp. 283 and 284 : also *Klaproth* Tableaux Hist. de l'Asie, Charts 1 and 2, and page 161 of the text.

⁴ *Mannert.* Geog. &c. tom. iv. pp. 149, 151.

⁵ So among the rest by *Zosimus*, lib. iv. c. 24.

⁶ See the learned and convincing disquisition of *Mannert.* (Geog. &c. vol. iv. book 3, pp. 145 to 177.)

⁷ *Tac.* Hist. lib. i. c. 79. *Dio. Cass.* lib. liv. c. 20 ; and lib. lv. c. 30. As to the powerful tribe of the Jazyges, see c. v. sec. 1, p. 187.

warfare, there was nothing to distinguish these nations from their Scythian predecessors. If, as some writers suppose, the latter had in reality been expelled or exterminated by the Sarmatic hordes, that event must have occurred between the ages of Strabo and Ptolemy, a period in which the Romans were frequently engaged in war with the bordering Sarmatian races, and the subjects of the empire carried on a pretty frequent intercourse with them. It is therefore hardly possible to suppose that such a revolution should not have affected the frontier provinces, or that it should have wholly escaped the observation of the Roman geographers and historians. We therefore conclude, with that degree of confidence which inherent probability uncontradicted by adverse testimony inspires, that Scythians, Sauromatæ, Sarmatians, Roxolani, Jaxamartæ, Jazyges, and several other names, special and generic, of such frequent occurrence in the works of the Greek and Roman geographers, are but various designations for that great race, its offsets and members, which had peopled the regions between the Borysthenes and the northern shores of the Caspian sea, ever since the expulsion of the Cimmerians of Herodotus.⁸

That the name of Sarmatæ was a Roman and not a native or domestic appellation is admitted on all hands; it is therefore by no means a matter of surprise, that when, about the middle of the third century of the Christian era,⁹ the Goths overran Sarmatia, and gradually reduced the various nations which inhabited that vast region to a state of vassalage, the name itself should have fallen into disuse; and therefore the fact, that it did so fall into disuse, affords no presumption that the Goths either supplanted, or absorbed, or exterminated the Sarmatian nations. The whole course of Gothic history fully confutes any such supposition;¹⁰ the subject tribes, as we have already pointed out, retained their own forms of government, institutions, and laws, upon condition of tribute and military service to their new masters. But their direct communications with the empire were cut off, and after the period of the Gothic conquest they are rarely noticed by the Roman writers. The influx of the Huns at the close of the fourth century threw all other names and distinctions into the shade. Yet there is no reason to believe that the condition of the Sarmatian nations underwent any other change than

The irruption of the Goths into Sarmatia does not materially affect the position of the Sarmatian tribes.

Neither is there reason to believe that

Their name was derived from the old Slavic word "Jasik," signifying, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, "the people," Mannert, vol. iv. p. 167.

⁸ We have the express testimony of *Strabo* (lib. xi. p. 492. Ed. Casaub.) that up to his age, at least, the Sarmatians and Scythians were the same people; and, which is remarkable, he com-

prehends both under the generic name of *Jazyges*, the derivation of which (noticed in the preceding note) goes far to identify them with the more recent Slavi.

⁹ Conf. chap. v. sec. 3, p. 205 of this volume.

¹⁰ Conf. chap. vi. sec. 2, p. 224 of this volume.

the Hunnic conquest produced any important displacement. But these revolutions obliterate the old names, which were never vernacular, and in the issue introduce to us the aggregate Sarmatian tribes under the generic name of *Scavi*—"the Illustrious." The western *Scavi* are known in the fifth and sixth centuries by the name of *Venedi*, and the eastern by that of *Antes* or *Antæ*.

that which was inseparable from the forcible transfer of the sovereignty from one dominant nation to another. The tribute and the services previously rendered to the Goths were now paid to the Huns; nor is there the least reason to doubt that they continued to be governed by the same national laws and customs under the dominion of Balamir and of Attila, as under that of Geberich and Hermanarich. But the names by which they were known to the Romans, very few of which were of native origin, now totally disappear; and, very shortly after the dissolution of Attila's empire, we find them advancing into notice under one common and vernacular name, derived from the common language of the race—"Scavi," the "Illustrious," or the "Glorious."¹¹

Jornandes notices a threefold division of this great race by the names of *Venedi* or *Veneti*, *Antes* and *Scavi*;¹² but, according to him,¹³ the first is the generic name, the two last are tribe names. The *Scavi*, or *Scavini*,¹⁴ he settles between the Dniester and the Vistula along the northern declivity of the Carpathian range; the *Antes*, he says, extended themselves to the eastward from the Dniester to the Tanais,¹⁵ and were cut off from the Euxine by a long and narrow region occupied by the Hunnic tribes of the *Acatziri*¹⁶ and *Bulgarians*. This locality is not contested, but the Gothic historian falls into manifest error when he substitutes "*Venedi*" for *Scavi*, as the generic name of the race. We shall, on the contrary, find that the numerous tribes confessedly belonging to that family, and passing under a variety of names, who in the sixth and seventh centuries invaded alike the Byzantine and Frankish dominions, were then known by the common designation of "*Scavi*," and "*Scavini*." Under this appellation they appear in the heart of Germany and of Greece; while the name of "*Venedi*," or "*Wenden*," is applied exclusively to the Slavonic tribes who occupied the tracts extending from the head of the Adriatic to the mouths of the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe.¹⁷

¹¹ Conf. *Mannert* (Geog. &c. vol. iv. p. 171-174) with *Jornandes* (cc. 23 and 48).

¹² *Jornand.* c. 23. p. 643.

¹³ Chap. 5. p. 615.

¹⁴ *Procopius* always calls them *Scavini*.

¹⁵ "*Danubius*" is the ordinary reading, but obviously erroneous. See *Mannert*, Geog. vol. iv. p. 174.

¹⁶ Afterwards called "*Chazars*."

¹⁷ The name of *Venedi*, which, according to *Jornandes*, was the common name, was wholly unknown to *Procopius* and the Eastern writers, simply because the Byzantines never came into contact with the Western *Scavi* who had adopted

it. I am inclined to think that *Jornandes* fell into this error from being unable to assign any precise locality to the *Venedi*, and therefore mistook that name for the general appellation of the race. I am strongly tempted to regard the *Antes* as identical with the more ancient *Hamaxobii* and *Roxolani*, and as the ancestors of the modern Russians. The old Slavonic was the common language of these races, as it was the root of the modern dialects of Russians, Poles, Bohemians, and *Wenden* of *Lusatia* and *Carinthia*. This is likewise the opinion of *Mannert*. See Geog. &c. loc. cit. p. 176.

This immigration of the Venedic or Wendish Sclavi into the eastern regions of ancient Germany may, with considerable certainty, be dated in the latter half of the fifth century. During the violent fermentation which followed upon the dissolution of the Hunnic empire, a prodigious swarm of Sclavi, under the names of Chrobates,¹⁸ Charutani,¹⁹ Tscheches, Serbi, took possession of the modern districts of Croatia, Carinthia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, and spread themselves to the westward as far as the Elbe and the Saale.²⁰ These migrations appear to have been frequent during the last half of the fifth and the first of the sixth century. While the Hunnic Bulgarians were advancing westward and ravaging the Mœsian and Thracian provinces to the gates of Constantinople, the Sclavi of the Danube spread their devastations over Illyricum, and Macedonia, and Thrace. The first violation of the territory of the empire took place in the eleventh year of the Gothic war, while Narses was assembling a force in Thrace to re-inforce Belisarius.²¹ Four years afterwards a body of three thousand Sclavi passed the Danube and the Hebrus, defeated two Roman detachments, and committed frightful ravages in Illyricum and Thrace.²² In the following year, while Germanus, the nephew of Justinian, was assembling an army at Salona for the invasion of Italy,²³ the Sclavi passed the Danube in greater numbers than on any former occasion, with the design of extending their ravages over the untouched region of Thessalonica; but when they arrived at Naissus, and there heard that Germanus had moved his army to Sardica to cover Thessaly, they abandoned their intention and retreated. But after the death of Germanus they again crossed the Danube with increased numbers,—as it was thought at the time,—at the instigation of Totila, and with a view to retard the sailing of the expedition from Salona. Upon this occasion they took the direction of the capital; they defeated a Roman army at Hadrianople, and exhausted the country up to the long wall of Byzantium. John was compelled to move against them from Dalmatia, and though he was successful in intercepting the prisoners, and the booty they had taken, yet much inconvenience was suffered by the imperialists, and the invasion of Italy was deferred till the following season.²⁴

The immigration of the Venedic or Wendic Sclavi into eastern Germany dates in the latter half of the fifth century.

A.D. 546. In the sixth century the eastern Sclavi repeatedly invaded the Byzantine empire;

A.D. 549.

A.D. 550.

A.D. 551.

¹⁸ *Croaten*, Croats.

¹⁹ *Kaernthen*, Carinthians.

²⁰ *Voigt*, *Geschichte von Preussen*, vol. i. pp. 124, 125; the author quotes *Ossolinski* upon *Vinc. Cadlubek*, p. 164, and Schlötzer's (Germ.) translation of *Nestor* the Russian annalist, p. 77.

²¹ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 13. p. 495. But the other great Slavic tribe, the Antæ, or Antes, whom Procopius, as well as Jornandes, distin-

guishes from the Sclavi in the narrower sense—*Ανται οἱ Σκλαβηνων ἀγχιιστα φέκνται*—made an earlier irruption into the empire about the beginning of the reign of Justinian, and were totally defeated by his nephew Germanus. *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 40. p. 560.

²² *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 38. p. 556.

²³ See sec. 1. p. 576 of this chapter.

²⁴ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 40. pp. 563, 564.

but in the latter half of that century they recede from the Danube, and establish themselves in Poland and Prussia, in the immediate rear of the Wendic tribes.

The more eastern Antes are now regarded as the ancestors of the modern Russians. Procopius describes the Slavi.

But from this period the Slavi gradually recede from the frontier of the Danube. A numerous tribe, which first went by the name of "Leches," established itself in the centre of Poland, where it assumed the name of Polani, from the word "Polë," signifying in their language a "flat," or "plain." Other hordes advanced northwards towards the confines of the modern kingdom of Prussia, where they became known by the name of "Massovii." Another tribe again planted itself between the Elbe and the Oder under the name of "Lutizes;"²⁵ while a fourth, under that of Pomeranians, occupied the coast-lands of the Baltic on both sides of the efflux of the Oder.²⁶

The Antes are now generally regarded as the second great branch of the Oriental Slavi: it is probable that they are identical with the Rossi or Roxolani, who, from the earliest ages, inhabited the centre provinces of modern Russia. Procopius assures us that the Slavini and the *Antæ*, as he calls them,²⁷ were of the same race; that they spoke the same language, used the same forms of government, and exhibited the same personal appearance. "Originally," he tells us, "both tribes used the common name of 'Spori,'²⁸ and in former times occupied an immense territory on the northern bank of the Danube, where they dwelt in squalid huts, scattered far and wide over the boundless plains, and often changed their abodes. In war they fought for the most part on foot; they carried small spears and bucklers, but used no other defensive armour than thigh-pieces. They were generally tall and robust in their persons; their skin not remarkable for its whiteness, and their hair having a reddish cast; they were rude in their food, and filthy in their persons, but in temper neither spiteful nor malicious. Their government was democratic; they worshipped one great God, who wielded the thunder, and him they regarded as the Supreme Lord of the Universe, and sacrificed to him oxen and victims of all kinds. At the approach of disease or danger they endeavoured to propitiate him by vows, and when the peril was past, they never failed to perform the sacrifice, which they considered as the price of their redemption from death."²⁹

II. Origin of the Abâres or Avârs.

II. It is much to be doubted whether the Hunnic tribes which found their way into Europe at the end of the fourth century were ever united into one aggregate power till the weight and talents of Attila accom-

²⁵ Lusitzes, or Lusatians.

²⁶ Voigt. loc. mod. cit. quoting *Lelewel*, App. to Ossolinski, pp. 533—536, and *Gervase of Tilbury*, in *Descrip. tot. Orb.* ap. *Leibnitz*, Ss. Rr. Brunsw. tom. ii. p. 764.

²⁷ "Ανταί." *Procop.* lib. iii. cc. 13, 14. pp. 495, 498.

²⁸ "Σποροι,"—which name he compliments with a Greek derivation: "ὅτι δὴ σποράδην, οἶμαι, διεσκημενὸι τὴν χώραν οἰκευσι."

²⁹ *Procop.* loc. mod. cit. p. 498. *Adelung* *Mithrid.* vol. ii. p. 610—612, treats of the origin of the Slavic languages. A remark here and there has been adopted from him.

plished that object.³⁰ With respect at least to one member of that race, the Acatziri or Chazars, we are expressly told that they were subdued by Attila, and that they accepted his son Ellac as their king.³¹ After his death, these Acatziri, who had hitherto dwelt upon the northern shores of the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, were vanquished and expelled by three kindred tribes, the Ouro-gours, the Sara-gours, and the Hunno-gours, and driven for refuge to the high plains and mountain regions of Armenia. When the Ogour tribes³² had thus obtained the ascendancy in the region north of the Palus Mæotis, they resolved themselves into two main tribes, respectively named Outour-gours and Koutour-gours: the latter depastured the entire plain lying between the Tanais and the mouths of the Danube; while the former spread themselves along the eastern shores of the Euxine from the ancient Colchis, as far to the north-east as the Volga.³³ To the southward the Outour-gours bordered upon the Sabiri and Kydarites; and their more northern pasture-grounds brought them into contact with the great tribe of the Bulgars or Bulgarians, a very numerous branch of the great Finnic family, which wandered over the entire central Russia, from the banks of the Dnieper to the Ural Mountains.³⁴ The inroads of the Bulgarians upon the empire commenced as early as the year 487. On the Illyrian frontier they were checked by Theoderich the Great, and their king Bousas was killed; but in 493 they repeated their invasions, and six years afterwards totally defeated an imperial army under a leader named Aristus. After several intermediate incursions, they were at length conciliated by stipends, and introduced into the imperial armies as auxiliaries, in which capacity they served the emperor Anastasius.³⁵

After the death of Attila the Acatziri or Chazars are expelled by the (kindred) Ogour tribes.

About the same period the Bulgarians, another great tribe of the same family, invade the Byzantine empire. A. D. 487. A. D. 493, 499.

A.D. 505.

Between the close of the fifth and the middle of the sixth centuries, two sub-divisions of the great Ogour family, which were known by the names of Ouârs and Khounni, had been acquiring strength in the steppes to the northward of the Caucasus. The combined hordes were distinguished from the other members of the race by the name of the Ouâr-

A.D. 500, to A.D. 558. Subsequently the Ogour tribes, under the names of Ouârs and Khounni, or Ouâr-Khoun-

³⁰ Chap. ix. sec. 1, pp. 409—414 of this volume.

³¹ Ibid. p. 421.

³² Called by the Byzantine writers "Cimmerian Huns." The name "O-gour," or "Ougour," was no doubt the generic name of all these tribes, and was applied to the greater number of the oriental Hunnic hordes which started into notice after the fall of Attila's kingdom. *Klaproth* (p. 263) derives it from the word "Ougor," or "Ogour," or "Ogor," which conveys the idea of height or sublimity.

³³ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 5. p. 574.

³⁴ Conf. *Kruse's* Map, Cent. v. in his *Historical Atlas of Europe*. See also *Atlas Phys. Polit. et Histor. par M. A. Denais*, No. 14, Par. 1829, and particularly *Klaproth*, *Tab. Hist. de l'Asie*, No. 11.

³⁵ *Zonaras*, tom. ii. pp. 56, 58. *Theophanes*, p. 137, and Conf. *Klaproth*, *Tab. Hist. de l'Asie*, p. 161. Subsequently the Ogour and Bulgarian auxiliaries assisted Eitalian, the governor of Thrace, in his revolt against Anastasius, and compelled that emperor to come to terms with his rebel subject.

nites, carry along with them the other Hunnic races towards the Byzantine frontier. They become known by the name of *Avârs* or *Avârs*.

Circa
A. D. 558.

Justinian buys them off; and they pursue a western course.

They bear down the Sclavic Antes, and become stationary upon the lower Danube, and spread themselves out at the expense of the Sclavic tribes of the Vistula and the Oder.

III. The *Longobardi* and *Gepidæ*.

The Germanic nations, for the most part, choose their kings from a

Khounnites. The Byzantine writers unanimously class this people, as well as the Ogour and Bulgarian tribes generally, with the great Hunnic family,³⁶ and use indifferently the family and the tribe-name to designate them. The Ouâr-Khounnites, who now become celebrated under the name of Avârs,³⁷ carried away with them Bulgarians, Outour-gours, and Koutour-gours, and probably many other offsets of the Ogour race. The united tribes approached the frontiers of the Byzantine empire, and sent a threatening message to Justinian, demanding gifts and stipends, and a fertile land to dwell in. Instead of these the aged emperor sent them chains of gold, soft couches, and silken vestments. Flattered and gratified by these presents, they turned their arms against the Eitasalian Ogours and the Sabiri of the Caucasus and subdued them.³⁸ After these successes the Avâric stream flowed more steadily to the westward. The Sclavic Antes first encountered the torrent, and were borne down before it. The Avârs now became for a time stationary upon the lower Danube in Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia; bordering thus to the westward upon the kingdom of the Gepidæ in Hungary and Transylvania, and spreading themselves gradually to the north-westward at the expense of the Sclavic tribes of the Vistula and the Oder.³⁹

III. It has been our endeavour hitherto to bring together the principal agents in every great transaction in the historical series, and to show their relative position towards each other before bringing them into action. In conformity with this rule we have now placed the Sclavic and Avâric nations upon the scene; and it now remains to give a succinct account of those branches of the Germanic stock, through whose agency the last revolution in the history of the great migration of the fifth and sixth centuries was brought about.

There is a perceptible resemblance in matters of government, religion, and general customs between all the northern Teutonic nations. The Franks, Saxons, Longobardi, and Goths, chose their kings, in the earlier

³⁶ See *Theophylact of Samocatta*, particularly the three last books of his Hist. of the reign of Heraclius, ap. *Stritter* Digest, vol. i. Tit. "Avarica," cc. 8—11.

³⁷ "Avâres"—"Abâres." *Paul. Diac.* (lib. i. c. 27. p. 424) says, that they took that name from one of their chiefs. But I cannot help suspecting that the names Ouâr and Avâr are identical. The arbitrary consonants *b*, *v*, and *w*, are often introduced to facilitate the pronunciation of vowel sounds: thus "Ouârs" quasi "Owârs" or "Awârs:" other organs again would substitute the *v* for the *w*, and then we have the com-

monly adopted name of Avârs.

³⁸ *Menander Protector*, ap. *Stritt.* Avarica, loc. mod. cit. p. 644.

³⁹ The curious reader is referred for a more particular account of these nations to the testimonies collected in *Stritter's* Digest of the Byzant. writers, vol. i. Tit. Avarica; to *Klaproth's* treatise above quoted, and to *Karamsin*, Hist. of Russia (Fr. transl.), vol. i. p. 20—34, and the authorities quoted in the notes 27 to 40 in the Appendix to that volume. He may also consult with profit the charts and maps referred to in note 34 of this section.

times at least, from certain distinguished families: thus the Franks confined themselves to the Mervincian family, the Saxons of Britain to that of Hengist and Horsa, the Goths to the Anses,⁴⁰ and the Longobardi to the race of the Cugingi.⁴¹ But in their religion there are still more decisive traces of identical origin: they all regarded the northern shores of the Baltic as the land of their gods, if not of their own ancestors; and they all worshipped the Teutonic triad, Odin, Thor, and Freya,⁴² with similar rites and sacrifices. In the same way the divisions of ranks and condition were very similar. Among all of them the people were separated into Adelingë, Freilingë, and Liti or Lassi;⁴³ and their laws exhibit many singular coincidences, all pointing to a political connexion of no very ancient date.⁴⁴

In a very early age, we are told, the Longobardi were governed by dukes. Afterwards, in conformity with the custom of the neighbouring nations, they placed themselves under a military leader upon whom they conferred the title of "king."⁴⁵ They chose him at first from a particular family or Fara, named the Cugingi.⁴⁶ Afterwards the election fell indifferently upon Adelingë of any clan.⁴⁷ The power of these kings was confined to the same limits as that of all the other barbaric princes; they were the leaders of the people in war, and their civil judges in peace. The nation knew no other laws than their customs; and whatever public ordinances circumstances might require, were made with the consent of the general assembly of the people. An imperfect kind of Christianity had been introduced among them several ages before their last migration; yet even when they passed into Italy their religion differed, to outward appearance, very little from that of the heathen Alamanni or Saxons. Pagan sacrifices, divination, sorcery, and superstitions of the most motley character mingled with the rites of Christianity. Christ was worshipped by them as God; but he was regarded as inferior to the

particular family.

The primitive Longobardi indeed are said to have been governed by dukes; but they afterwards choose kings; first from the family of the Cugingi, then from other faras or clans of the people.

They adopt a species of Christianity, corrupted by many Pagan rites and practices.

⁴⁰ See chap. vi. sec. 2, p. 225.

⁴¹ Proemium ad Leg. Longob. Rothar. ap. *Canc.* tom. i. p. 63.

⁴² See chap. x. sec. 2, p. 504.

⁴³ Nobles, freemen, and dependents (Germ. Hōrige). The German antiquarian lawyers caution us against confounding the Liti (Hōrige, dependents) with the slaves, who are never taken into the account in the enumeration of conditions.

⁴⁴ The Gothic, Vandalic, Saxon, and Frankish races were unquestionably the issue of the same great northern family. But the connexion must be referred to an age preceding the great migration.

VOL. I.

⁴⁵ Conf. chap. viii. sec. 1, p. 317, of this volume, relative to the power of the Gothic kings.

⁴⁶ Prof. Leo (*Gesch. der Ital. Staaten*, vol. i. p. 63) transforms the word into "Kuningi." But Kuning, or Coning, was probably no more than the *title*, unless indeed he wishes it to be understood that the name was conferred upon the Fara to distinguish it as the royal Fara. But for this supposition I see no ground.

⁴⁷ Thus in the list of Rothari (ap. *Canc.* loc. mod. cit.) we find kings from the Faras of Cuging, Gausi, Beleos, Anauvat, Capui, Araudas: all these names are no doubt exceedingly corrupted in the present list of the laws of Rothari.

Father; and, indeed, it may be doubted whether the nation had yet entirely renounced the service of Odin, Thor, and Freya.

The victory of the Longobardi over their oppressors, the Heruli, restores the nation to its independence.

This general sketch of the political and religious condition of the Longobardi applies to that early stage of their career to which our attention is now about to be called. We shall not encumber the narrative with the traditionary lore of the national historian Paul Warnefrid. The reigns of the kings⁴⁸ of the race of the Cugingi who preceded Tato, the seventh in the series, present little of moment to the events now in progress. The unexpected victory obtained by that prince over the insolent Heruli⁴⁹ restored the nation to its independence. Their position in Pannonia placed them in contact with the warlike Gepidæ to the east, and with the empire to the southward. One of the first acts of the emperor Justinian, after his accession, was to confirm to them the possession of Pannonia, with the usual presents and stipends.⁵⁰ A transient inroad into Illyricum was speedily succeeded by a reconciliation; prisoners and deserters were mutually restored, and the Longobardi acknowledged themselves the military vassals of the empire, with the honourable title of "Federates."⁵¹ At the same time several scattered tribes of Heruli were admitted to the same privilege, and received a grant of territory along the bend of the Danube in Dacia Ripensis, near the city of Singidunum.⁵²

A.D. 525. Justinian confirms them in the possession of Pannonia; and they become the stipendiary vassals of the eastern empire.

Tato is slain by his nephew Wacco, who succeeds him.

Tato, the liberator, was dethroned and killed by his nephew Wacco. Resiulph, the son of Tato, fled to the Warni, a branch of the Saxon race settled between the Elbe and the Baltic, leaving behind him a son named Hildechis,⁵³ who betook himself, with the adherents of his house, to the neighbouring Slavi, for protection. The reign of Wacco was short; after his death his son Walthari, a child, mounted the throne under the guardianship of an Adeling of the Fara of Gausi, named Audoin. Walthari did not live many years; he was succeeded by his vigorous and ambitious guardian, under whose guidance the power of the Longobardi was extended and confirmed.⁵⁴

Wacco is succeeded by Walthari, who dies young. Audoin then usurps the throne.

Hildechis, the heir of Tato, places himself

From the first settlement of the nation in Pannonia the relation to the neighbouring Gepidæ had been hostile. Hildechis, the heir or repre-

⁴⁸ See *Paul Diac.* lib. i. c. 14., and the comparison between the list of Paul the Deacon and that of Rothari, by the learned *Muratori*, tom. i. p. 413.

⁴⁹ See chap. ix. sec. 4, p. 477 of this volume.

⁵⁰ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 33, p. 542.

⁵¹ See the corresponding relation of the Goths to the empire, chap. viii. sec. 1, pp. 340, 341, and note 69 of this volume; and generally sec. 2 of that chapter as to the character

of the federative connexion here referred to.

⁵² The modern Belgrad. *Procop.* loc. cit. p. 543.

⁵³ *Procop.* (lib. iii. c. 35.) calls him "Ildisgus," and, in another place, "Ildegisel." I have preferred the orthography of Paul Warnefrid.

⁵⁴ *Procop.* loc. cit. *Paul Diac.* lib. i. cc. 21, 22. pp. 418, 419.

sentative of Tato, had quitted the protection of the Sclavi, and placed himself under that of Thorisend,⁵⁵ king of the Gepidæ. The Longobardi complained to the emperor, and both nations pleaded their cause before Justinian. Sentence was given in favour of the Longobardi, and the decision was enforced by an army of ten thousand imperial cavalry. The Gepidæ, in alarm, hastened to make peace with their enemy; and Hildechis, who had collected a force of six thousand adherents, once more retired to the Sclavi.⁵⁶

under the protection of Thorisend, king of the Gepidæ,

but is compelled to retire to the Sclavi.

The favours enjoyed by the Longobardi at the imperial court were the cause of continued envy and apprehension to the Gepidæ; a war which followed soon afterwards was put an end to by a twelve years' truce. In the interim Hildechis, with his numerous and martial followers, had been received with distinction by the emperor Justinian, and appointed dux or colonel-general of a corps⁵⁷ of his domestic guards. The Gepidæ, meanwhile, took their revenge by introducing into the empire a horde of the Koutour-gour Huns from the vicinity of the Palus Mæotis. They facilitated the inroads of the predatory Sclavi, and shared the profits of their depredations. Wearied by these harassing hostilities, Justinian concluded a treaty with the Gepidæ, by which they were admitted to a share in those benefits which the barbarian neighbours of the empire had been long since taught to regard as their right. But again the irritable jealousy of the Longobardi compelled him to withdraw his favours from their rivals. Soon after the expiration of the twelve years' truce, Audoin, assisted by a small body of barbarian stipendiaries in the imperial service,⁵⁸ invaded the territory of the Gepidæ, and totally defeated them. But owing to the lukewarm support of the emperor, this victory was productive of no important advantages. Audoin complained bitterly to Justinian, that, though he had so lately devoted the flower of his warriors to the cause of the emperor under Narses in Italy, the latter had shown himself so indifferent to his interests, and so lukewarm in his support. Another cause of uneasiness in the mind of Audoin proceeded from the favourable reception of the pretender Hildechis at the imperial court. The Lombard king peremptorily demanded his dismissal. Justinian as promptly refused, and a breach must have been the result, if Hildechis, either weary of the

The Longobardi and Gepidæ make war upon each other.

Justinian takes the pretender Hildechis into his service. The Gepidæ commit acts of hostility against the empire,

and compel Justinian to subsidize them.

But the jealousy of the Longobardi induces him to withdraw these favours.

Audoin makes war upon the Gepidæ.

A.D. 553

or

A.D. 554.

The emperor withholds his support. Audoin complains,

and demands the dismissal of Hildechis. The latter quits the imperial

⁵⁵ I find no notice either in Paul Warnefrid or Procopius of the princes of the Gepidæ who succeeded the heroic Arderich, the friend and companion of Attila. (See chap. ix. sec. 1, 2, of this volume.)

⁵⁶ *Procop.* lib. iii. c. 34. p. 544.

⁵⁷ "Schola." This schola seems to have con-

sisted of the barbaric followers—Geleit—of Hildechis.

⁵⁸ This corps was commanded by Amalafrid, the son of the Thuringian king Hermenefrid, whom Theuderich of Austrasia had put to death at Zulpich. Chap. x. sec. 3, p. 535 of this volume.

court, and once more places himself under the protection of the Gepidæ.

confinement of a civilized capital, or apprehensive of a change in the imperial policy, had not withdrawn from the court, and betaken himself once more to his former friends, the Gepidæ, from whom he believed he had now nothing to fear.⁵⁹

Ustrigoth, a pretender to the throne of the Gepidæ, claims the assistance of Audoin.

But a singular accident had placed Thorisend, king of the Gepidæ, in a situation closely resembling that of his enemy Audoin. Ustrigoth, the son of a former king named Elimund, alleging that Thorisend had taken advantage of his youth to deprive him of the throne of his father, applied to the Longobardi for their assistance to recover his inheritance. The latter meanwhile had persuaded the emperor to join them in demanding from the Gepidæ the surrender of their guest Hildechis. Thorisend replied by calling upon Audoin to give up the pretender Ustrigoth to his vengeance. The Longobardic people indignantly repudiated so shameful a proposal; neither king could hope to get rid of the rival claimant by a public appeal to their people; it was therefore privately agreed that each should put to death the enemy of the other. Hildechis and Ustrigoth perished: "historians," says Procopius, "differ as to the manner of their death, which is a common occurrence in dark transactions of this nature."⁶⁰

The dispute is settled by the reciprocal murder of the pretenders Hildechis and Ustrigoth.

Adventure of Alboin at the court of Thorisend.

Audoin had obtained in marriage from the emperor Theudelinda, daughter of Hermenefrid, the unfortunate king of the Thuringians, and through her mother, Amalaberga, the granddaughter of Theoderich the Great. Alboin, the son of this marriage, had grown up to man's estate, and in one of those sanguinary battles, in which the Longobardi and Gepidæ assuaged their mutual hatred, he had pierced Turismod, the son and destined successor of Thorisend, with his spear, and left him dead upon the field. His exulting countrymen carried back the young hero to his father in triumph, and tumultuously claimed for him the privilege of a seat at the royal table, the highest honour a subject could enjoy. But Audoin objected that even the king's son could not lawfully sit at the royal table until he had been invested with arms by the king of some foreign state. The chivalrous prince bowed to his father's decision, and, selecting forty gallant companions, proceeded direct to the court of Thorisend, his own and his nation's enemy, and the parent of him whom he had so lately slain. But the bold claim of honour and hospitality was acknowledged, the aspirant at arms was received with all the customary forms; he was invited to the royal board and seated at the right hand of the king, the place which had been so shortly before filled by the unfortunate Turismod. The royal hall was thronged with guests

⁵⁹ This paragraph is abridged from *Procop.* in the arrangement.
lib. iv. cc. 18—27., with some slight alterations

⁶⁰ *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 27. p. 645.

to witness and to grace the ceremony. But the heart of the father sank within him when he beheld the place of his son occupied by his slayer. A passion of grief for a moment deprived him of his self-possession, and he exclaimed,—“ This place how loved when filled by him I loved ! But now how grievous to see it thus bestowed ! ” This burst of natural feeling rekindled the smothered resentment in every breast. Kuni-mund, the brother of Turismod, and now the acknowledged heir of the Gepidæ, rose from the table, and vehemently reviled Alboin and his friends. “ Away,” he cried, “ ye foals of the white-legged mares of Lombardy.” “ And do you,” retorted one of Alboin’s companions, “ go to the field of Asfeld, there to look on thy brother’s bones whitening upon the meadow plain, scattered like the bones of the sorriest jade, and learn how hard the white-legged colts can kick ! ” This coarse and passionate altercation roused both parties to fury ; the Longobardic geleit drew their falchions, and gathered round their prince, and in another moment the festive hall would have been deluged with blood. In this emergency Thorisend threw himself between the combatants, and threatened with death the first man who should dare to lay violent hands upon the public guest. The voice of their king and of honour was obeyed ; the tumult subsided ; Thorisend then invested Alboin with the arms of his deceased son, and dismissed him in safety to his father’s court. Audoin and his people listened with delight to the story of the prince, and all united in extolling the intrepidity of their hero, and in praising the good faith of Thorisend.⁶¹

In the year 565 the aged Justinian sank into the grave, and was succeeded by his nephew Justin. The death of Thorisend is commonly, but from uncertain data, computed to have taken place twelve years before.⁶² In the interim the relations of the Germanic nations of the Lower Danube with the empire and with each other underwent little alteration. The enmity of the Longobardi and Gepidæ was not abated by the accession of Kunimund ; but in the declining years of Audoin the war had been suspended by a truce or peace. His death, it is probable, occurred not long before that of Justinian. The heroic Alboin succeeded his father, and he mounted the throne filled with the deepest hatred of the rival nation. On the other hand, Kunimund, besides the unnumbered insults and grievous defeats suffered by his people, had a brother’s death to avenge ; and both princes eagerly prepared to quench these bitter feelings in each other’s blood.

A.D. 565.
Justinian dies.
Kunimund
succeeds Tho-
risend.

Alboin suc-
ceeds his fa-
ther Audoin.
Both princes
prepare for
war.

With such dispositions as these, it matters little from which party the

⁶¹ *Paul Diac.* lib. i. c. 24. p. 420.

⁶² *Kruse* (Hist. Atlas, Table x. A.D. 500—600) places that event in 553.

Alboin contracts alliance with the khân of the Avârs settled in Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia,

by which he agrees, in the event of success, to cede the territory of the Gepidæ to the Avârs.

Audoin sacrifices the emperor Justin to his new allies.

A. D. 567. The Longobardi and Avârs invade the kingdom

first provocation proceeded. The national historian of the Longobardi throws the odium, such as it is, upon the Gepidæ.⁶³ Kunimund, we are told, first broke the subsisting truce, and commenced the war. The Byzantine Menander ascribes the rupture to the apprehensions and ambition of Alboin ; but both are agreed that, for the more effectual prosecution of his designs, he sought the alliance of the formidable khân of the Avârs, who reigned in Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Gallicia. It appears likewise that after the death of Justinian a change had taken place in the policy of the Byzantine court which disappointed and irritated the barbarian neighbours of the empire. The envoys of Alboin complained to the khân of recent injuries received from the Romans ; “ the emperor, they urged, had insulted the Avârs themselves by withholding the customary stipends ; both nations, therefore, had wrongs to avenge ; and by uniting his arms with those of the Longobardi, the khân might not only obtain a share of the territory of the Gepidæ, but acquire independent possession of all Thrace up to the walls of Constantinople.” But the eagerness of the envoys opened to the crafty Hun a prospect of greater and more immediate profit ; he protracted the negotiation, shifted his ground, advanced his demands, and suffered himself at length to be persuaded into a treaty of which the entire advantage was on his own side. The Longobardi agreed to pay a tenth part of all the four-footed cattle they possessed by way of previous subsidy ; after the successful termination of the war, the khân was to have half the spoils, and the entire territory of the Gepidæ was to be abandoned to the Avârs.⁶⁴

These terms were too disadvantageous to the Longobardi not to lead us to the belief that Alboin took very little interest in the result of the war beyond his revenge upon his hereditary foes. His views for the overthrow of the Gepidæ were no doubt modified by some ulterior design, which rendered the possession of their country a matter of comparative indifference to him. He had sought, and easily found, a cause of quarrel with the Greek emperor ; and him he willingly sacrificed to his new confederates ; in the hope that while these dangerous allies were occupied in subduing Mœsia and Thrace, he might obtain leisure to prosecute that great design which has transmitted his name to posterity as the fourth barbaric conqueror of Italy.

In pursuance of the treaty, both people simultaneously put their armies in motion to invade the country of the Gepidæ—the Avars from the eastward, the Longobardi from the opposite quarter. The gallant

⁶³ *Paul Diac. lib. i. c. 27. p. 424.*

⁶⁴ *Menand. in Excerpt. de Leg. Ss. Byz. pp. 110, 111.*

Kunimund was not unprepared for the mortal encounter; and judiciously resolved to fall upon the more formidable Longobardi before they could effect their junction with the eastern swarm, and thus render all resistance hopeless. In the battle which ensued, both nations fought with a fury enhanced by national animosity of long standing. There is reason to believe that the entire male population of both, capable of bearing arms, was in the field, deeply pledged to each other's destruction. Neither party gave—neither expected quarter. In the heat of battle the heroes Alboin and Kunimund had sought and encountered each other; Kunimund fell by the hand of his more powerful adversary, and victory at length declared for the Longobardi. The Gepidæ, however, fought with the resolution of despair, and perished, we are told, almost to the last man. The savage Alboin severed the head of his prostrate foe from the trunk, and converted the skull into a drinking-bowl.⁶⁵ The old men, the women, and the children of the Gepidan warriors fell into the hands of their enemies. Rosamund, the fair daughter of Kunimund, fell to the share of Alboin; the elated and wanton victor dragged her to his bed, and she became the reluctant wife of the destroyer of her family and her people. All that their enemies had amassed by the plunder of a century, all the gains of war, all the acquisitions of commerce,—cattle, slaves, dependents, wives, children,—became the property of the Longobardi and their allies; and even the moiety which fell to them in the division of the spoil so increased their wealth, that no enterprise seemed now to transcend their means. The Gepidæ ceased to exist as a nation. Those that clung to their homes became the slaves of the Avârs; the rest followed the camp of the Longobardi as dependents or as servants. The fame of Alboin was spread over all Germany; and Paul Warnefrid assures us that even down to his own days⁶⁷ his generosity and glory, his valour and his successes in war, were still celebrated in the national lays of the Bavarians, Saxons, and other nations of kindred origin and language.⁶⁸

of the Gepidæ. Kunimund marches against the former;

but is slain in the battle by Alboin. The Gepidæ are totally defeated;

the survivors are reduced to dependence or to slavery. Alboin marries Rosamund the daughter of Kunimund.

The Gepidæ cease to exist as a nation.

⁶⁵ "Scâla,"—Germ. Schaale, a shell or cup.

⁶⁶ According to *Theophylact of Samocatta*, as quoted by Gibbon (vol. iv. c. 45. note 9), Alboin had seen and courted her prior to the last rupture with the Gepidæ. Alboin had, however, been but shortly before this released from a prior marriage with Chlotsuinda, the daughter of Chlothar of Neustria. Conf. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 3. p. 205, and *Fred. Epit.* c. 45. The

probability of the story of the impostor Theophylact seems to me to be very small. Gibbon is in error in making Chlotosinda or Chlotsuinda the daughter of Chlovis (Chlodwig). No daughter of Chlovis could have been young enough for Alboin.

⁶⁷ He died as a monk of Monte Cassino, in the year 799.

⁶⁸ *Paul Diac.* lib. i. c. 27. p. 424.

SECTION IV.—A.D. 568 to 573.

Oppressive Government of the Byzantines—The Italians dissatisfied—Alboin prepares to invade Italy—The Romans complain against Narses—He is superseded—Retires to Naples—Corresponds with the Longobardi, and invites them to invade Italy—His Death—Alboin gives up Pannonia to the Avärs—He crosses the Julian Alps—Subdues Venetia—Takes Milan—Blockades Pavia—Overruns Æmilia, Tuscany, and Umbria—Pavia surrenders—Pavia becomes the capital of the Longobardic Kingdom—Alboin insults his Queen Rosamunda—She conspires against his Life—Murder of Alboin—Rosamunda marries Helmechis—Flies to Ravenna—Administers Poison to her Husband, and dies by his hand—Reign of Cleph—His Death—Interregnum—Political state of the Longobardic Nation.

A.D. 567.
The evils of
the Byzantine
government
weigh heavily
upon Italy,

and weaken
the hold of
the empire
upon its new
conquest.

COMPUTING from the battle of the Vulturhus, ¹ Narses had now ruled Italy for the period of thirteen years. Under him the Roman system of administrative government had been re-introduced in all its rigour. The court of Constantinople not only expected that the exhausted country should pay back the expenses of the conquest, but support the army, and yield an independent revenue to the state, though the injury which a war of twenty years' duration had inflicted upon the wealth and prosperity of the Italians must have rendered all such expectations nugatory, until industry should have resumed its ordinary channels. Thus the condition of the people, and the irrational demands of the court imposed incompatible duties upon the imperial governor; and every solidus that was remitted to the treasury of Constantinople contributed to weaken the hold of the emperor upon his conquests. The army, now almost wholly composed of mercenary barbarians, ² was ready to dissolve itself upon the failure of the stipulated stipends, or upon the removal of the commander upon whose credit they had enlisted. In lieu of their regular pay they were not always unwilling to accept a general licence to plunder the unfortunate inhabitants among whom they were quartered; and to avoid this extremity, the viceroy had no alternative but to take the task of plundering the people into his own hands. But even when persons presented themselves, who, like Belisarius and Narses, were capable of conducting so vicious a system with the least possible injury to the public interests, that duty could not be performed without incurring odium on all sides; the people could never be taught to be thankful that still greater sufferings were not inflicted upon them; and

¹ See sec. 2 of this chapter, p. 593, A.D. 554.

² We find among them Isaurians, Armenians, Persians, Heruli, Longobardi, Huns, Avärs, re-

negade Goths, and Gepidæ, the refuse of all the neighbouring barbaric nations.

the court could not be convinced that a country naturally so productive as Italy had not the wherewithal to satisfy its utmost cravings. The agent of such a government could not escape the resentment of disappointed rapacity. Narses was charged with amassing vast wealth for himself, and the imputation was credited with equal readiness by the oppressed Italians and the dissatisfied courtiers.³

It is not, however, probable that these calumnies should have been without some foundation; Narses could not have wholly escaped the universal contamination which disgraced every branch of the public service. Hoarding is often the vice of old age; and the contemplation of vast wealth might afford some gratification to one who had no object upon earth upon which to bestow his barren affections. But the genuine causes of the dissatisfaction of the Italians lay deeper than this. The people, deceived by the reminiscences of ancient glory, irritated by religious hatred, and beguiled by fallacious hopes of improving their condition under a new master, had hailed the imperial eagles with delight. But when after the struggle was past, and peace, relief, and restoration were expected, it was found that new sufferings were to be endured, that the "vectigalia" were to be again enforced, the "tributa" to be once more exacted, and the old flagitious system of taxation⁴ to be resorted to without any regard to the public distress, dejection and wretchedness brought with them an indefinite longing for change of any kind for the mere chance of improvement. And in the interim pestilential diseases vindicated the laws of nature against the wanton outrages of man upon her holiest commandments—habitual contempt of human life, the neglect of human laws, and general disregard of all the humanities of the social condition.⁵

The Italians become dissatisfied with the imperial government.

The general distress is aggravated by pestilential diseases.

The state of Italy therefore was such as to invite an ambitious warrior like Alboin to attempt its conquest. His own position, between his artful ally the Khân, on the one hand, and the offended Byzantines

Alboin resolves to undertake the conquest of Italy.

³ *Paul Diac.* lib. ii. c. 5. p. 427. See also *Anastasius ap. Murat.* tom. iii. p. 133.

⁴ Conf. chap. viii. pp. 307, 308 of this volume.

⁵ *Luden*, vol. iii. p. 210. This pestilence is vividly described by *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. ii. c. 4. p. 426). In its symptoms it resembled very closely the Asiatic plague, glandular swellings and tumours, burning fever, and (in general) death on the third day. *Gregory of Tours* (lib. iv. c. 5. p. 205) mentions a similar disease, which ravaged the Arelatensian regions between the years 554 and 556. He calls it

the "Lues inguinaria." The pustules, he says, afterwards appeared in other glandular parts; death followed on the third day. *Paul Warnefrid* tells us that it took its rise in Liguria. *Marius of Aventicum* describes a similar disorder which prevailed in 570 and 571. *Marii Chron.* ad Ann. 570, 571, p. 18, ap. Bouq. tom. ii. p. 18. *Gregory of Tours* also notices this outbreak (lib. iv. c. 31. p. 219); and *Pope Gregory the Great* alludes to it in his dialogues (lib. iv. c. 26.) Conf. *Muratori*, tom. i. p. 426, note (28).

on the other, was in the highest degree precarious; since a coalition between them for his ruin—an event which the experience of the past rendered a matter of alarming probability—could hardly have failed of success. At the same time the Longobardi, who had served in the army of Narses, must have been in a condition to impart encouraging and useful information respecting the topography, the climate and the productions of Italy, and to enable Alboin to calculate the means of resistance which the imperial government might still possess. All these circumstances naturally tended to tempt the nation and its ambitious chief to risk all for so magnificent a prize: hence the indifference with which Alboin viewed the aggrandizement of the Avârs, his contempt of vast territory of the Gepidæ, and the eagerness with which he sought a pretext of quarrel with the imperial court.

The Romans make complaints against Narses at the court of the emperor Justin,

The citizens of Rome,⁶ at the instigation of their bishop John, took the first hostile step against the aged Exarch. They complained to the emperor Justin that the misrule of the eunuch had reduced them to a state of beggary and servitude; that their condition was now worse than it had been under the government of the Goths; and they intimated that, unless he was removed, they must again throw themselves into the arms of the barbarians.⁷ Who these barbarians were we are unable to ascertain with certainty, owing to our ignorance of the precise date of the complaint. The text of Paul Warnefrid connects the transaction immediately with the recall of Narses and the substitution of a new Exarch, named Longinus. To common understanding these and the ensuing events form one entire transaction; and, if this be granted, there can be little doubt that it was to the Longobardi that the Romans looked for the relief of their actual sufferings. Justin, and his imperious wife Sophia,⁸ listened to the complaints of the Italians, and superseded Narses: but the latter, feeling himself no longer safe in Rome, and dreading the resentment of the empress if he should return to Constantinople, disobeyed the imperial mandate for his recall and retired to Naples.

who supersedes Narses in the government of Italy.

He retires to Naples. Narses enters into a corre-

It is true that Narses suffered himself to be prevailed upon to return

⁶ "Tunc Romani invidiâ ducti," *Anastas.* loc. cit. in note 7.

⁷ "Aut certe nos *gentibus* deserviemus,"—"or surely we shall fall into servitude to the barbarians," *Anastas. Biblioth.* in *Vitâ Joh. III.* ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 133. Gibbon thus renders these words:—"Or they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master."—*Anastasius* in this passage servilely copies Paul

Warnefrid, lib. ii. c. 5. p. 427.

⁸ She is said to have sent an insulting message to Narses, inviting him home to undertake the eunuch's duty, namely, that of dealing out wool to the spinning women of the imperial Gynæcium. Narses replied to this spiteful intimation, "That he would weave her a web which it would trouble her greatly to unravel." *Paul Diac.* loc. mod. cit.

to Rome;⁹ but the conviction that slander and ingratitude had ruined his credit at court, and that his life could not be long safe in Italy, had sunk deeply into his mind; his loyalty yielded to indignation and fear, and he entered into a criminal correspondence with the enemies of his sovereign. His emissaries depicted to Alboin the beauty of Italy, its delicious climate and costly productions; they made him acquainted with the discontents of the people, and the denuded state of the frontier, and earnestly invited him to take possession of a land which only awaited his presence to drop peaceably into his arms. But before the result of these treasonable solicitations could be known, Narses was delivered by death from further humiliation and guilt. He died at Rome at the age of ninety-five; his body, together with all the wealth he had amassed, was immediately conveyed to Constantinople.¹⁰

spondence
with the Lon-
gobardi,

and invites
them to take
possession of
Italy.

He dies at
Rome.
A.D. 567.

In Italy the signs of the times all portended calamity; rumours of approaching danger disquieted the public mind; and nocturnal prodigies, meteors, fiery armies battling in the air, the terrible foreshadowings of strife and bloodshed upon earth, evinced the gloomy feeling with which the people looked forward to the coming events. The Longobardi, on the contrary, were elated by the prospect of possessing a land of such exuberant fertility and riches. By this time its sunny skies, its productive soil, its corn, its wine, and its oil, were known to them. Many of their warriors had served in the armies of Italy; they had tasted the luxury of its cities, they had observed the structures, the arts, the varied enjoyments of civilized life, with a greedy longing to enjoy, though probably without a thought of imitating or perpetuating them. Alboin accordingly collected the nation upon the Venetian frontier; he secured an unmolested departure by yielding up Pannonia to the Avârs, upon the vague understanding, that if unsuccessful in Italy, he and his people should be reinstated in their former pos-

Alboin collects
his people
upon the Ve-
netian frontier.

He yields Pan-
nonia to the
Avârs. His
army is swelled
by 20,000

⁹ This fact may indeed be inferred from the story of *Anastasius* (loc. mod. cit.), but the motives and the arguments which induced him to return are so obscurely expressed as to defy any rational construction.

¹⁰ Though the treason of Narses is noticed by none of the Greek writers, I cannot but think the evidence as to the fact conclusive. The cotemporary Latin annalists, with the exception of *Marius* of Aventicum (consult his Chronicle, ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 12), unanimously ascribe the invasion of Italy by the Lombards to the solicitation of Narses. Thus *Mellitus*, an annalist who closed his work in the year 614, and

Isidor of Seville (likewise a contemporary writer), concur in the statement that Narses invited the Longobardi into Italy. Conf. *Pagi*, Crit. in *Baron.* ad Ann. 567, tom. x. p. 267; also *Mascou*, Annot. xx. vol. ii. p. 516. *Luden* (vol. iii. p. 213) has acutely observed, that in addition to this positive evidence (which gainsayers can only meet by alleging the silence of the Greek writers), we have the fact that the Longobardi found the frontiers of Italy absolutely bared of troops or garrisons; a neglect altogether irreconcilable with the usual vigilance of Narses, except upon the supposition of a secret understanding with the enemy.

Saxons, and by other adventures from the interior of Germany. sessions.¹¹ The fame of his expedition brought to his standards an army of twenty thousand Saxons, with their property, their wives, and their children;¹² and multitudes of adventurers from the interior of Germany increased the numbers without adding much to the strength of his army. And now the numberless host turned their backs upon the wide pastures of Pannonia, without any of those regrets which so grievously affect the civilized man when he quits the familiar scenes of his youth without a hope of revisiting them. From the last eminences of the Julian Alps, Alboin looked down with rapture upon the boundless riches of the Venetian plain, and contemplated with no less delight the expansive forests beneath him, abounding with wild animals, especially the noble urus, a truly royal chase.¹³

He crosses the Julian Alps.

A.D. 568.
He speedily subdues the north of Italy.

A.D. 569.

Milan surrenders,

and Alboin invests Pavia. Turns the siege into a blockade, and conquers Æmilia, Tuscany, and Umbria,

without encountering

In the first campaign he conquered the whole of the modern kingdom of Venice as far as the river Adige. The cities of Padua, Monselice, and Mantua, alone offered some show of resistance. Paul, the patriarch of Aquileia, fled before the half-pagan host with the clergy and treasures of his church, to the Lagune islands at the mouth of the Brenta, where the fugitive Venetians were rearing their infant strength in poverty and in freedom.¹⁴ After providing for the defence of these important acquisitions,¹⁵ he invaded Liguria and Æmilia; and before the close of the years 569 the whole of northern Italy, from the Julian to the Cottian Alps, with the exception of Pavia, and a narrow tract along the Ligurian coast, had submitted to his arms. The city of Milan surrendered in the month of September, and the archbishop Honoratus, with the gentry and principal citizens, took refuge in Genoa.¹⁶ In the autumn of that year Alboin invested Pavia, and awaiting the slow but certain effects of famine among the dense population which had flocked thither for safety, he carried his arms to the southward of the Po. Within the period of two years from the commencement of the blockade of Pavia, his conquests extended over the whole of Æmilia, Tuscany, Umbria, and the Tiberine districts.¹⁷ The imperial armies had been long melting away amid luxury and licence, and as soon as the sustaining hand of Narses was withdrawn, neither general nor army remained to oppose even a

¹¹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 7. p. 428.

¹² *Paul. Diac.* loc. cit. c. 6. This armed migration vacated whole districts on the northern borders of Thuringia. The Frankish king Siegebert hastened to fill up the vacancy with expatriated Suevi, subjects of his own.

¹³ *Paul. Diac.* loc. cit.

¹⁴ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 10. p. 429.

¹⁵ He committed the custody of the districts of Forum Julianum, the modern Friuli, to his

nephew Gisulph, with several chosen faras or warrior-clans of Lombards. Gisulph is described as the nephew and marpahis, or chief equerry of Alboin. The divisions of the Lombard people will be noticed at the close of this section.

¹⁶ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 25. p. 434.

¹⁷ See *Bern. Sacco.* Hist. Mediolan. ap. *Murat.* tom. i. p. 424, note 158.

show of resistance to the Longobardic torrent.¹⁸ Ravenna, and a few towns upon the coast of Picenum, were enabled, by the strength of their bulwarks, to bid defiance to the rude attempts of the barbarians. Whatever military strength remained was congregated here, or in the cities of Rome and Naples, and thus some considerable fragments of his late dominion in Italy were preserved to the emperor Justin. The other cities and towns of Italy surrendered to the Longobardi without resistance—Pavia alone exhibited an honourable exception: for a period of nearly three years the inhabitants sustained all the fatigues and privations of a war carried on at their own gates with heroic fortitude. But the indolent submission of their countrymen had enabled Alboin to draw his nets more closely around them; all supplies were at length cut off, and the desponding citizens placed themselves in the hands of their barbarous and exasperated enemy without condition, and probably with little hope of saving their devoted lives. The Lombard king, irritated by the length and obstinacy of the resistance, had bound himself by a fearful oath that he would slay all and spare none within the walls; but as he rode through the city gate revolving his sanguinary purpose, his horse fell under him; neither spur nor thong, nor the efforts of the grooms in attendance could raise the stricken animal. At this instant one of his attendants exclaimed—“Renounce, O king, renounce your cruel vow! Remember that the inhabitants of this city are Christians like yourself!” The omen, and the startling interpretation put upon it, came home to the imagination of the barbarian; and superstition begat that mercy which Longobardic Christianity would probably never have suggested to the savage warrior.¹⁹ Alboin proclaimed a pardon to the despairing inhabitants; his steed arose, and bore him triumphantly into the destined capital of his kingdom.

resistance from the imperial troops. The imperialists shut themselves up in Ravenna and other fortified towns.

Pavia holds out for nearly three years.

At length the inhabitants are forced to surrender at discretion. Alboin resolves to punish them with the utmost severity; but is deterred by a supposed prodigy, and proclaims a pardon.

The situation of Pavia recommended it to the choice of the Longobardic king. The Ostrogoths had made it their principal treasure city for the north of Italy. Theoderich the Great had strengthened the walls, and extended and adorned the city. Industry and wealth were not wholly extinct; and amid the enjoyments they afforded, even the rude and sanguinary Longobard could not have regretted the act of mercy by which those enjoyments had been purchased.

Pavia becomes the capital of the new kingdom.

¹⁸ *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. ii. c. 26.) ascribes the disappearance of the imperial armies to want and pestilence. But such calamities do not destroy armies in their quarters. Besides this, ample time had elapsed since the great plague of 554 and 556 to recruit them. The

difficulty of obtaining supplies was no doubt a serious obstacle to the government; but the sea was open, and the Po offered a means of transport, by which any quantity of provisions might have reached the most distant quarters.

¹⁹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. cc. 26, 27. p. 434.

Alboin compels his queen Rosamunda to drink out of the skull of her father.

She plots the murder of her husband.

At her instigation Alboin is murdered.

The character of Alboin was truly barbaric : he was active and undaunted in all his enterprises ; but he was likewise superstitious, vindictive, and insolent. The skull of the vanquished Kunimund was still his festive cup ; it brought to his memory the first great triumph of his life ; and when heated by the huge draught it afforded, a tempest of wild delight arose in his breast. Not many months after the surrender of the capital, the king gave a royal banquet at Verona. In the phrenzy of wine and triumph the savage monarch sent for his queen Rosamunda to the board, and bade her pledge him in a draught from the skull of her father.²⁰ The queen suppressed her anguish and horror ; she obeyed, and in the draught she devoted her ferocious husband to destruction, and herself to her revenge. In this disposition she communicated her deadly purpose to a courtier named Helmechis, the shield-bearer and foster-brother of the king. Helmechis entered readily into the plot ; but yielding to a futile scruple arising out of that close kindred which was supposed to subsist between those who had been reared together at the same breasts, he declined shedding the blood of Alboin with his own hand. Another instrument was therefore to be sought ; and Helmechis recommended Peredeo, one of his own dependents, to the queen, as a fit person for the execution of their design. But when the murderous proposal was made to this man, he shrunk from the horrid task ; and the conspirators saw detection and ruin at their doors. In this emergency Rosamunda, to whom it was known that Peredeo carried on an illicit intercourse with a female attendant of her own, took the place of the latter at one of their nocturnal assignations, and plunged the unsuspecting servant into the guilt of adultery and treason : then, with desperate resolution, she placed before her appalled paramour the alternative to which his involuntary crime had reduced him—her own and his destruction, or that of the king. Peredeo yielded, and it was determined that he should take advantage of the king's midday sleep, when the palace was hushed in silence, to perpetrate the deed. Rosamunda secretly caused all arms to be removed from the chamber, and bound the sword which, whether sleeping or waking, the king always kept within reach, fast to the head of the bed where it usually hung when he took his repose. As soon as Alboin was buried in sleep she introduced the murderer into the chamber : the king awoke, started up, and grasped at

²⁰ The protestations with which Paul Warnefrid accompanies this fact are remarkable. "Let not this deed," he says, "be thought impossible ; for on the truth of Christ I speak it, I have myself, at a certain festival, seen the king Rachis bring forth this very vessel ; I have seen

him hold it in his hand and exhibit it to the guests." There is certainly no inherent improbability in the story ; and the historian who rejects it must do so upon grounds which have hitherto escaped the eye of criticism.

his sword; but the precaution was too well taken, and the hero fell beneath the blows of the assassin.¹²

Rosamunda was not unsupported in her crime: she had collected around her a number of Gepidan dependents and followers; and it seems that a party among the Longobardi themselves, alienated probably by the pride and insolence of Alboin, were not unfavourable to her projects.²¹ She found a temporary asylum in Verona against the resentment of the people. Here she married her accomplice Helmechis, and even projected elevating him to the vacant throne. But the Longobardi indignantly rejected the blood-stained candidate. Rosamunda and her paramour were compelled to abandon Verona, and throw themselves upon the protection of Longinus, the Greek exarch of Ravenna. At their request a vessel had been sent up the Po to convey the property of the queen and her party, as well as the entire treasure of the late king Alboin, which she had brought away with her, to Ravenna; and Rosamunda, accompanied by a numerous body of followers, was received by the exarch with extraordinary honours. The rapacious Greek became enamoured of the wealth of his guest; he whispered to her that real power was better than an empty title;—that it was more honourable to share the vice-regal throne of Italy than to add the loss of such eminence to that which she had already sustained, and for ever to remain the despised paramour of a houseless exile. Rosamunda listened and approved. She resolved to sacrifice Helmechis to her ambition, as she had doomed Alboin to her revenge. She mingled a deadly draught for her husband, which she administered as a restorative as he came out of the bath. He had already drunk the half, when the unusual taste, or some inadvertent gesture of Rosamunda, awakened suspicion in his mind. He presented the cup to her, and desired her to pledge him; her hesitation confirmed his suspicions, and he offered her the choice of

Rosamunda retires with her paramour Helmechis to Ravenna.

The exarch Longinus projects a marriage with her, and suggests the murder of Helmechis. Rosamunda approves and administers poison to Helmechis; but is compelled by him to swallow a part of the potion, to the destruction of both.

²¹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 28, p. 435. The Lombard historian tells us that Alboin reigned three years and six months. But it is difficult to determine from what epoch he computed this period. *Gregory of Tours* (lib. iv. c. 41. p. 224) says that he ravaged Italy for the space of seven years; but this is inconsistent with the whole chronology of the period. The *Art de vérifier les Dates* (tom. i. p. 413) introduces him into Italy in the month of April, A.D. 568. He remained, according to Paul Warnefrid, one year in the Venetian: the second year, in the month of September, he took Milan: the siege of Pavia may therefore be taken to have commenced in the autumn of 569: the siege lasted

three years and (aliquot menses) *some months*; therefore, at the period of the surrender a term of at least four years and five months, exclusive of the odd months of the siege, had elapsed: if we allow three or four months as the interval between the surrender of Pavia and the death of Alboin, and add three for the odd months of the siege, we shall obtain a period of nearly five years, which I think near the truth. His death must, therefore, have taken place early in 573. *Mascou* (vol. ii. p. 191) places it in 574.

²² Conf. *Agnellus*, Liber Pontificalis in Vit. Petri Senioris, Archiep. Raven. ap. *Murat.* tom. ii. p. 125.; and note (175) ad *Paul. Diac.* p. 435.

death by the sword or by poison: she chose the latter, and despairingly swallowed the remaining half of the fatal liquid. "And thus," says the Longobardic historian, "was the just judgment of God fulfilled upon the murderers, that they should die by each other's hand."²³

The Longobardi raise Cleph to their throne. Cleph reigns only a year and a half; after his death the people determine to revert to their ancient form of government under dukes.

Soon after the death of Alboin the Longobardic people elevated a nobleman, named Cleph, to their throne. Little is recorded of his short reign but his cruelty to the native Italians, many of whom were sacrificed to his rapacity, and many more driven into exile. He was put to death by a domestic assassin about eighteen months after his elevation. Though the conquest of Italy was not yet complete, and the condition of the nation in its new possessions rested upon no very solid foundation, the people abstained from filling their vacant throne. But neither the singular transition from a monarchical to an aristocratic form of government, which now took place, nor generally the relations of the Longobardic conquerors to the Italians, can be explained without reference to the *civil and military divisions of the people*. It may also conduce to the right understanding of the progress of the new social system in Europe that we should shortly trace the *changes* which the recent conquest of Italy produced *in the state of landed property there*, and the general bearing of the new relations in society which those changes introduced.

The Longobardic nation originally divided into clans or faras,

I. The original distribution of the Longobardic people was an adaptation of the simple patriarchal form of society to the condition of a military community; the divisions of the people being identical with those of the army. Both were divided into families or clans called *Faras*,²⁴ each clan following the banners of its patriarchal chief, but none of them attached to any particular district or proprietary settlement; and the principal commands, under the king, being intrusted to dukes chosen for their experience and valour. This primitive distribution answered every purpose of their rude and unstable condition. But the conquest of Italy brought with it changes similar to those which we have noticed in the state of the other barbaric settlers.²⁵ From roaming hordes, they had transformed themselves into the rulers of a populous and productive

become possessed of land.

²³ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 29, p. 436. Conf. *Agnellus* in *Vitâ Petri Senioris*, loc. mod. cit. p. 125. Agnellus was born not more than five or six years after the death of Paul the Deacon; he wrote about sixty years after the probable date of the Longobardic history of Paul. I am not certain that the account he gives of this tragic incident ought not to be regarded rather as an amplification of the story of the latter than as an original narrative. He makes Helmechis

(not Peredeo) the murderer, but follows Paul Warnefrid in the principal incidents. *Gibbon* vol. iv. p. 430) has been very lavish of ornament upon this story.

²⁴ Paul Warnefrid, lib. ii. c. 32. p. 436, uses indifferently the word *Fara*, or its Latin equivalent "Generatio." See also the *Laws of Rothari*, § 177, ap. *Cancian.* tom. i. p. 76.

²⁵ See ch. ix. sec. 4, p. 482—487.

country, and a partition of the territory acquired became necessary both for private convenience and for the purposes of government. The whole north of Italy, or—as we may now with propriety call it—Lombardy, was therefore divided into four great provinces, under the names of Austria, Neustria, Tuscia, and Æmilia:²⁶ these were again subdivided into thirty-six duchies or military districts, of which the most important were those of Friuli, Pavia, Bergamo, Brescia, Trent, and Beneventum.²⁷

They divide the country into provinces; and these again into duchies.

This distribution was not however the result of any public or formal decree of partition; but arose naturally out of the casual position and the prior habits of the people. Each of the more powerful dukes established himself with the Faras or clans attached to his banner, in the greater cities of the new kingdom, and in the adjoining districts, without at first agreeing upon any precise territorial limits: the less powerful took possession of the minor cities and towns; while others were obliged to content themselves with villages and even hamlets. The minor chiefs, as it may be readily imagined, were frequently reduced to dependence upon the greater; and until time had settled the bounds of these fluctuating military districts, any attempt at a precise enumeration of the Longobardic provinces would be labour thrown away.²⁸

II. The conduct of the conquerors towards the ancient proprietors of the soil bore considerable resemblance to that of the Ostrogoths at their first entrance into Italy. Paul Warnefrid²⁹ informs us that king Cleph put to death many Romans of rank and wealth to gratify his cupidity, and that the rest were assigned to the Lombards “per hospites,” so that each proprietor was compelled to pay to his Lombard “hospes,” or guest, one-third of the produce of his land, and thus became tributary to him. But the Gothic “Tertiæ,” as we have seen,³⁰ had been taken partly in land and partly in produce; the Lombard “tribute” was taken wholly in produce. The Roman proprietor therefore retained his estate, chiefly because it better suited the rude condition of the dominant people to take from him the fruits of his industry, rather than to assume the management of the land, and therewith the burthen of rendering it productive.

The Longobardi take to themselves one-third of the revenues of all the land.

²⁶ *Austria* was probably the Longobardic name for Venetia, *Neustria* for the Milanese and Liguria; *Tuscia* explains itself; *Æmilia* consisted of the modern Bolognese and the duchies of Modena and Parma.

²⁷ *Paul. Diac.* lib. ii. c. 32. p. 436, and conf. lib. iii. c. 32. p. 452, with Muratori's observations upon the origin of the duchy of Beneventum. *Hormayer* (Works, vol. i. p. 93) has furnished a complete list of the Longobardic duchies, viz. Ancona, Asti, Austria ducalis, Austria regni, Beneventum, Bergamo, Bercello,

Brescia, Capua, Castro, Friuli, Isola de San Gialio, Ivrea, Liguria, Milan, Mantua, Modena, Monselice, Nepi, Osimo, Padua, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Populonia, Reatë, Spalatro, Spoleto, Trent, Turin, Tuscia regalis, Tuscia ducalis, Vercelli, Verona, Vicenza, Zenada.

²⁸ In fact, *Hormayer's* list, as given in the preceding note, has reference to a much later period of the Lombard history.

²⁹ *Paul Diac.* lib. ii. cc. 31, 32. p. 436.

³⁰ Chap. ix. sec. 4. p. 482 of this volume.

In consideration of the tribute the native proprietor was said to be placed under the *protection* of the individual Lombard thus forcibly quartered upon him. The primary object of this regulation was no doubt to throw an effectual control over the land into the hands of the Lombard lord; and the claim to protection was rather an incidental advantage resulting from the new lord's sense of his own interest, than a matter of positive compact. Under the Ostrogothic system of government a fund had been reserved out of the sequestered lands of the Romans as public revenue.³¹ But among the Lombards the whole land became liable to division, and nothing that was not chargeable to the tribute remained over to the state.³² Alboin had no doubt received his assignment with the rest; but as the kingdom was elective, there could not, strictly speaking, be any crown domain; and thus it happened that when—wearied of the anarchical government of their dukes—the nation reverted to monarchy, the great nobles were obliged to set aside one-half of their revenues for the support of the king.³³

The entire kingdom is thus parcelled out; and no revenue or crown land is reserved to the king.

In the earlier ages after the conquest, the Roman proprietors diminish in numbers, and the traces of the old Roman

But while this system of partition was coming to maturity, the Roman inhabitants suffered under the most grinding oppression; from which they were not relieved till the reins of government passed into the hands of the vigorous and intelligent Authari. Almost all the greater Italian proprietors had been swept away by the wars between the Goths and

³¹ Namely, the excess of the *tertiae* beyond what was necessary for the dotation of all the Gothic claimants out of the conquered territory. *Savigny*, vol. i. p. 347.

³² The explanation of the precise import of Gothic and Lombard "*Tertiae*," particularly the latter, is a subject of great difficulty. Thus, *Gibbon* (c. 45. p. 447) expounds it,—and probably rightly,—upon the primary meaning of the word "*hospes*," according to which the barbarian is the "*hospes*," or guest, the Roman quasi the host. *Canciani* (tom. i. p. 264, note 5) leaves the question, which was the host and which the guest, undecided. The double acceptation of the word renders it probable that it was merely used to express the relation of the person quartered, to him upon whom he was quartered, a relation into which, however, the notion of hospitality had never entered. *Du Cange* (Gloss. ad voc. "*hospes*" and "*hospites*") applies it to those Romans, who, by the favour of the conquerors, were allowed to enjoy a share of the land, and of the serfs or slaves settled upon it. So also *Canciani*, loc. mod. cit. The "*Hospitalica*" among the Beneventine Lombards, signified the payments due from the Roman "*hospes*" to the Lombard lord. So also the laws of the Burgundians assume the old proprietor to be the *hospes*, and the Burgundian quartered upon him to be the

lord; and these laws provide protections for the former against the invasions of his remaining rights by the latter. *Leg. Burg.* ap. *Canc.* tom. iv. p. 29. Conf. *Mascou*, vol. ii. p. 367. The question is perhaps not of very serious importance; since it admits of no doubt that the words "*hospes*," "*tertiator*," "*censilis*," "*censualis*," &c., all signify the relation of lord and dependent. But I cannot think with *Maseou* that the Roman proprietor stood at all in the relation of a *military* tenant to the barbarian lord. The name of "*Tertiator*" and "*Censilis*" existed down to the ninth century. But at that period there was unquestionably nothing of a military character in their tenure. See *Capit. Sicard. Benev.* ap. *Canc.* iv. p. 265. As to the origin of a term apparently so incongruous as that of host or guest (which ever way it be taken) as applied to the condition of the vanquished Italians, I am very strongly inclined to think that it was borrowed from the Romans themselves, who used it in a sense not very different. The soldier who was quartered upon the citizen was called his "*hospes*;" and thus certain cities of the empire, and the legions quartered upon them, kept up a "*jus hospitii*" with each other. *Tacit. Hist.* lib. i. c. 54. A passage in lib. ii. c. 8. seems to refer to this custom.

³³ *Paul. Diac.* loc. mod. cit.

the Imperialists, by the tyranny of the Greek government, and by the frequent pestilences which had depopulated the country. Little notice of them occurs in the writings of Paul Warnefrid. There is no vestige of the old financial system of the Romans—though it had been in a great degree retained by the Ostrogoths,—to be found in the practice of the Lombard government. Thus the people were relieved from the particular evil of the old system, which perhaps more than any other had contributed to produce that moral enervation which had surrendered them a helpless prey to their barbaric invaders. And in the reforms afterwards introduced by Authari, the historian of the Longobardi saw an arrangement based upon perfect justice, and productive of the most beneficial effects. “After that,” he tells us, “it was marvellous to behold the improved state of the kingdom; violence and deceit were not found among the people; no one encroached upon the lands or violated the property of his neighbour; robbery and theft were at an end, and every man went about his affairs at home and abroad without the fear of molestation.”³⁴

The constitutional character of the Lombard kings seems to have stood upon a lower level than that of the Ostrogothic monarchs. Arbitrary elections were more frequent among them; and the kings were therefore more dependent upon the nobility and the people. They possessed no state revenue, and their power was often confined to the hereditary attachment of their own clans or faras. The coherence of Lombard society was looser, and its condition materially ruder than that of the Ostrogoths. But the latter had, even at their entrance into Italy, outlived the first impulse of migration; the former were in the full vigour of youth, and hope, and triumph. Their desire of acquisition was boundless; and therefore their yoke fell more heavily upon the vanquished. When, however, the rights of the conquerors once became defined by law, there is no reason to believe that the Romans were worse off under their dominion than under that of any preceding barbaric master.³⁵

The obscurity which rests upon the subject of landed property among the Lombards cannot now be cleared up. But as in the collection of laws which bears the name of king Rothari, and which was promulgated about eighty years after the conquest, no mention occurs of the Tributes, several writers have been induced to conclude that the disuse into which they had

system of government become more faint.

The power of the Longobardic kings is more limited than that of the Ostrogothic monarchs.

In the first elation of triumph their yoke presses more heavily upon the conquered people, but is afterwards mitigated by Authari.

The Tertæ, or Thirds, disappear within eighty years after the conquest,

³⁴ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 16, p. 443. Conf. *Savigny*, vol. i. pp. 289, 345, 347, 449, 450.

³⁵ *Savigny* (vol. i. p. 347) thinks that the condition of the Italians must have greatly improved under the Lombard sway. He likewise examines critically the theories of Gibbon, Lupi,

Fumigalli, and Spittler, regarding the “*divisio per hospites*,” and its effects upon the state of landed property, and notices *Sismondi’s* dogmatic but inaccurate exposition in his *Rep. Ital. du Moyen Age*, tom. i. pp. 76—79.

and the distinction of Roman proprietors vanishes.

fallen in the interval must be ascribed, either to the total expulsion of the original proprietors from their estates, or to a gradual commutation of the "Thirds" for an equivalent share in the land itself. It has, however, been objected, that if that expulsion did not take place in the first elation of conquest, it was not likely to happen in times of peaceable possession.³⁶ We cannot entertain a doubt that for a period of more than fifteen years after the entrance of Alboin into Italy, the tributes were not only levied, but levied with great severity; and that they continued to be so till Authari, as before observed, revised and settled the partition of lands upon a more equitable basis, to the great alleviation of the oppressed native landholders.³⁷ It is not, therefore, improbable that his reforms consisted in some kind of commutation of the levy in money or produce—a mode of enjoyment liable to the greatest abuses—for a share in the land itself; a conjecture which would satisfactorily account for the disappearance of the *Tertiæ* from the laws of Rothari, by the presumed abolition of the subsisting relations between the barbaric "hospes" and his Italian vassal, as to the ownership of the land. Services and renders of various kinds may have been, and probably were, reserved;³⁸ but there is ground for believing that these services were not of a military character. Indeed the steps by which the Lombards approached feudalism are very obscure; and inasmuch as more favourable opportunities of observing the progress of that remarkable modification of the social system will hereafter present themselves, we may be allowed to pass by a field of inquiry whose general appearance does not promise an adequate reward for our toil.³⁹

³⁶ See *Gibbon*, vol. iv. c. 45. p. 447; and *Conf. Savigny*, vol. i. p. 349.

³⁷ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 16. p. 444.

³⁸ It should seem even that the name "*Tertiæ*," as applicable to renders due from certain lands, was retained till many ages afterwards in the collections of the Lombard laws. Thus in the laws of Louis the Pious (beginning of the ninth century) § xxxi. *Canc.* iv. p. 190, we have "*Tributariæ terræ*"—"Terræ censuales"—from which renders to the king were reserved. And in the capitular of duke Sicard of Benevent (*Canc.* iv. p. 269) of the same age, we have this remarkable testimony to the continuance of the *Tertiæ*, "*De Tertiatoribus vero hoc stetit, ut nulla nova eis a parte Reipublicæ imponatur, excepto antiquâ consuetudine;*" and then the law goes on to enumerate these ancient customary renders and services by name. Among the heads of different chapters of this capitular, we find further mention of the *Tertiatores*, § 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29. But these *Tertiatores* had undoubtedly fallen into the rank of non-freemen; and their tenure reminds us strongly of the original of our own copyhold.

³⁹ It is, however, remarkable that the law and practice of feuds should have reached their highest cultivation in the country where their earliest steps are involved in the greatest obscurity. See *Eichhorn's* account of the *Liber Feudorum*, Deutsch. Staats und Rechts Altherthümer, vol. ii. § 278, p. 225.

I have sought with anxiety for some indications relative to the fate of the Roman cities and municipal institutions, after the Lombard conquest. The absence of direct testimony in an age of such literary indigence, would not greatly weaken the arguments from analogy and the natural course of events so ably unfolded by *Savigny* in favour of the continued existence of the old municipal constitutions (loc. cit. p. 355 to 360.) His collection of *direct testimonies*, particularly the analysis of the *Codex Utinensis*,—an ancient adaptation of the Visigothic *Breviarium Anianianum* (written in the reign of Alaric II.) to the state of the Italian community,—appears to carry weight; but the evidence requires a degree of investigation inconsistent with the progress of this work, and without which I could not venture to state them, or their results, as historical facts.

SECTION V.—A.D. 534 to A.D. 578.

I. Internal State of the Frankish Monarchy—Childebert I. and Chlothar I.—Saxon War—Chlothar sole King—Charibert, Gunthram, Chilperich, and Sigibert—Death of Charibert—Brunehildis and Fredegundis—Death of Sigibert—Childebert II. under the guardianship of Brunehildis—Convention of Andelau—II. External History of the Franks—The Avârs in Germany—The Saxons invade Provence—Mummolus repels them—The Interregnum in Lombardy—The Lombard Dukes invade Provence and Dauphiné—Mummolus defeats them—III. Political State of Bavaria—Bavaria continues an appendage of the Frankish Kingdom—The Lombards take possession of the Tridentine Districts—Duchy of Trent—Invasion of the Duchy by the Franks—They are defeated by Duke Evin—Garibald, Duke of Bavaria—His connexion with the Lombards.—IV. The Lombards—State of Italy—Pope Pelagius—Elevation of Authari.—Danger and Successes of Authari.—He is deceived by Childebert and Brunehildis—Marries Theudelinda, the Daughter of Garibald—Deposition of Garibald—Frankish Invasion repelled—Death of Authari—Theudelinda marries Agilulf of Turin—Agilulf, King—Peace with the Franks.

I. THEUDEBERT, the grandson of Chlodwig, reigned fourteen years in Austrasia. His interference in the affairs of Italy had met with its appropriate chastisement; designs conceived in perfidy and executed without discernment ended in disaster and defeat. But though he failed in adding Italy to his dominions, yet the largest and the finest portion of Transrhenane Germany, extending over the vast and fertile region lying between the Danube and the Alps, became annexed to his empire. His feeble and sickly son Theudebald again ventured for the same prize, and in the same spirit of double dealing and deceit. His lieutenants Butelin and Leuthar, with all their hosts, perished in that ill-fated enterprise, and Theudebald himself survived the defeat scarcely a twelvemonth. Austrasia fell without dispute to Chlothar of Soissons, the second son of Chlodwig; and thus, by the death of the two elder—Theuderich and Chlodomer—and the extinction of their families, the whole kingdom became the prize of the successful partners in crime, Childebert and Chlothar.¹

The sordid and heartless ambition of the Frankish kings of the Merovingian family is perhaps the most prominent moral feature in their history. No opportunity of making any small gain, or of obtaining any paltry advantage, was overlooked. Their conduct at home closely resembled that foreign policy into which we have already obtained some insight. Thus when Chramnus, the rebellious son of Chlothar, had con-

A. D. 534
to
A. D. 548.
I. Internal
state of the
Frankish mo-
narchy during
the period of
the Longo-
bardic inter-
regnum.
A.D. 548
to
A.D. 554.

Chlothar and
Childebert
share the king-
dom.
The Frankish
princes endea-
vour to over-
reach each
other.

¹ Conf. c. x. sec. 3. p. 531.

trived to delude his two brothers, Charibert and Gunthram, into rebellion, by a false report of their father's death in an expedition against the Saxons, Childebert eagerly embraced the alliance of the traitor, in order to deprive his two nephews of their share of the presumed inheritance.² But this scheme was defeated by the re-appearance of Chlothar; Childebert himself died without issue about a year afterwards, and the entire monarchy devolved upon Chlothar, now the last surviving son of Chlodwig.³

A.D. 558.
The Saxons of
the Weser
become tri-
butary.

A few incidents attract our notice in this place, which throw some feeble light upon the Transrhenane dependencies of the Frankish kingdom. In the reign of Chlothar we find the Saxons of the Weser in a condition of tributary vassalage. The tribes, it appears, which dwelt upon the river Weser had made frequent inroads upon the Frankish province of Thuringia; sometimes to plunder the inhabitants of the nearest cantons; at others, to assist the latter in plundering their neighbours, and to share the spoils. In the year 553, while yet king of Soissons, Chlothar inflicted a signal chastisement upon one of these predatory hordes; he drove them back into their thickets with great slaughter,⁴ and imposed upon them a tribute of five hundred cows. The tribute was indeed insignificant in amount, but it was probably as much as these indigent tribes could afford to pay. A few years afterwards it fell into arrear, and Chlothar again took the field. The Saxons became alarmed; they proffered not only the arrears due, but all their moveables, and one-half of their territory, to redeem themselves and their families from total ruin. The king was anxious to accept these advantageous terms; but the army, which on such occasions always possessed a potential voice, rejected them with disdain, and clamoured for the battle. The king then steadfastly refused to be their leader in this unjust and impolitic enterprise. The infuriated warriors then cut the tent-ropes of his pavilion, and placing him by force, and with threats of instant death, at their head, rushed into the battle:⁵ the Saxons stood their ground, and the blind fury of the assailants met with the merited punishment. The Franks were defeated, and compelled to grant peace to their victorious vassals upon their own terms.⁶

The tribute
falls into ar-
rear. The
Franks under
Chlothar in-
vade Saxony,

but are de-
feated.

Chlothar dies.

By his different wives⁷ Chlothar had seven sons and one daughter. Of

² *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 17. p. 212.

³ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 20. p. 213.

⁴ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 10. p. 207.

⁵ Chlothar was probably actuated in some degree by superstition. He urged to the importunate soldiers that he could not obtain a "verbum directum," or favourable response

from the Sortes Sanctorum. *Conf.* c. ix. sec. 2. p. 517, note 52.

⁶ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 14. p. 210.

⁷ Two of these, Ingunda and Aregundis, were sisters. He appears to have cohabited with them both at the same time. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 3. p. 205.

this family, four sons, and the daughter, Chlotsuinda, survived their father. The latter soon afterwards married Alboin king of the Lombards, but—as we have seen—died before the conquest of Italy by that prince; and when Chlothar sank at an advanced age into the tomb, the kingdom once more underwent a fourfold division—the eldest son, Charibert, was installed king of Paris, Gunthram of Orleans, Chilperich of Soissons, and Sigibert of Metz or Austrasia.⁸

A.D. 561.
The kingdom
is divided be-
tween his four
sons, Charibert,
Gunthram,
Chilperich,
and Sigibert.
The princes
quarrel about
the division of
the kingdom.

The grandsons of Chlodwig inherited little of the character of their vigorous ancestor but his perfidy and his unbridled ambition. The partition of the kingdom had not been accomplished without intrigue and even bloodshed. Charibert, Gunthram, and Sigibert, had been compelled to vindicate in arms their right to an equal share of the paternal inheritance against Chilperich of Soissons. The latter was expelled from the city of Paris by the adherents of the three brothers, and brought to acquiesce in the ancient and accustomed method of division by lot.⁹ But as soon as this object was accomplished, the threefold alliance was dissolved, and each of the brothers sought to aggrandize himself at the expense of the others. Sigibert of Austrasia, and Charibert of Paris, quarrelled about the city and territory of Arles: the place was betrayed to the latter by its wily bishop Sabaudus; and the partial civil war terminated in the annexation of the disputed territory to the kingdom of Paris.¹⁰

The death of Charibert, without issue, in the year 573, sowed the seeds of new dissensions among the surviving brothers. Chilperich of Soissons with matchless promptitude again possessed himself of Paris, and overran the midland provinces attached to that division of the kingdom.¹¹ Gregory of Tours, who depicts the character of that prince in a peculiarly hateful light, assures us that he ravaged the open country with fire and sword; that churches were burnt to the ground, priests slain at the altar, monks driven from their cells, and virgins devoted to heaven made to quench the brutal lusts of the savage warriors. But the no less active Sigibert succeeded in dragging his slothful brother, Gunthram of Orleans, into the field; and by their united efforts, and the help of a swarm of Transrhene German, whom Sigibert had evoked from their forests, they soon reduced the refractory Chilperich within the bounds of moderation. The conquests he had made in Aquitaine and central Gaul were recovered; but not until these regions, as well as many parts of Neustria, had suffered all the miseries which the wild

A.D. 573.
Charibert dies
without issue.
Chilperich
seizes the
kingdom of
Paris.

Sigibert and
Gunthram
unite their
forces to resist
his encroach-
ments; and
reconquer the
invaded pro-
vinces belong-
ing to the king-
dom of Paris.

⁸ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 22. p. 214.

⁹ See ch. x. sec. 3. p. 524 of this volume.

¹⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 30. p. 218.

¹¹ Gregory of Tours notices particularly his incursions into Quercy and Limoges, lib. iv. c. 50. p. 229.

warriors of Sigibert could inflict. Finally the pagan swarm rose against those restrictions of discipline which abridged their prospects of unlimited pillage; and if ever Sigibert deserved the gratitude of his subjects, it was when by his promptitude and courage he quelled this dangerous mutiny, and brought its authors and ringleaders to punishment.¹²

A.D. 574.
Gunthram
conspires with
Chilperich
against Sigi-
bert;

but deserts his
confederate;
the latter is
defeated by
Sigibert, and
compelled to
shut himself
up in the city
of Tournay.

The marriage
of the
kings of Metz
and Soissons
with the
daughters of
Athanagild,
king of the
Visigoths,
the source
of these dissen-
sions between
the brothers.

Galsuintha,
the wife of
Chilperich,

Scarcely a twelvemonth had elapsed from the date of this compulsory pacification before we find Gunthram of Orleans in league with his former enemy Chilperich, against his late ally Sigibert, for causes which, if accurately known, would be of little importance, where selfish ambition and family animosity were ever at hand to give weight to the minutest grievance, and a substance to any imaginary wrong. The possession of Aquitaine became the subject of contention, and Theudebert, the son and lieutenant of Chilperich, was defeated and slain by the generals of his uncle Sigibert in that province. In this emergency Gunthram of Orleans deserted Chilperich, and that king was defeated, and compelled to take refuge in the strong city of Tournay, now the only place of importance which remained to him of all the wide dominions he had inherited from his father. The victorious Sigibert possessed himself of Soissons, the capital of his enemy, and triumphantly established himself and his queen, the celebrated Brunehildis, in the city of Paris. He was now master of the contested inheritance of Charibert, and he publicly announced his intention to consummate his scheme of ambition by the deposition and death of his brother.

But other causes than those of rivalry or ambition had intervened to envenom the quarrel between the two brothers. The disgraceful concubinage of the Frankish princes had at length, it seems, aroused some sense of shame or right feeling in their minds. Sigibert had determined to connect himself in marriage with a royal house; and to that end he had lately sued for and obtained the hand of Brunehildis, the daughter of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths of Spain. Chilperich imitated this example; he promised to repudiate his actual wives and concubines—among the latter the notorious Fredegundis;—and the hand of Galsuintha, the sister of Brunehildis, was granted to his solicitations. The bride of Sigibert recommended herself to her husband and his subjects as much by her discreet conduct, her good understanding, and popular manners, as by the exceeding beauty of her person. But her less fortunate sister fell into evil hands: the concubine Fredegundis retained her power over the profligate Chilperich: after a short union, Galsuintha died so suddenly, as to awaken strong suspicions that she had been poisoned.

¹² *Greg. Turon. loc. mod. cit.*

Bruneildis never ceased to attribute her sister's death to the practices of the ambitious Fredegundis; and the marriage of the latter with Chilperich, which took place soon afterwards, confirmed the conviction, and stimulated the desire of vengeance. Thus this double marriage, which was to have established union and friendship between the two kingdoms, and to have put an end to a scandal equally injurious to the true interests of both, became the source of numberless crimes, and of a long continued and bitter animosity.¹³

dies soon after her marriage; her sister Bruneildis attributes her death to poison, and resolves to revenge her death upon Fredegundis.

The misfortunes of Chilperich seemed now to place revenge within the reach of Bruneildis. When Germanus, bishop of Paris, heard of the sanguinary design of Sigibert, he remonstrated with great boldness; and threatened the king with the retribution of Heaven if he persevered in his guilty purpose. Sigibert despised the warning, and caused himself to be raised upon the shield, and saluted king of Paris,¹⁴ at the town of Vitry, in Artois. But before the ceremony of installation was concluded, the dagger of an assassin hired by Fredegundis deprived him of life.¹⁵ His army dispersed, and Chilperich found no difficulty in resuming possession of his kingdom. His movements were so rapid, that Bruneildis and her daughters were made prisoners at Paris, and the youthful Childebert II., the only son of Sigibert, was with difficulty saved from captivity, and probably from death, by the promptitude of the Austrasian duke Gundebald, by whom he was conveyed to Metz, and presented to his father's lieges as their sovereign.¹⁶ Bruneildis was imprisoned at Rouen, and Austrasia fell a prey to the evils of a minority.¹⁷

But Sigibert is assassinated at the instigation of Fredegundis; his army disperses, and Chilperich recovers his kingdom.

A. D. 574.

He takes Bruneildis prisoner.

Gregory of Tours,¹⁸ though by no means an impartial, or even a discerning reprover of the wickedness of the age in which he lived, could not overlook the fearful signs of the times. "It wearies me," he exclaims, "to tell of the many civil wars which do so greatly grind down the people and the kingdoms of the Franks; for herein we perceive,—and this is the most fearful sign of all,—that time whereof the Lord hath spoken as of the beginning of sorrows. The father riseth up against the son, the son against the father, brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman. The wealth of Chlodwig and his sons was poverty compared with the hoards of gold, and silver, and precious jewels heaped up by the princes which now reign. Their palaces glitter in all the gorgeous-

The complaint of Gregory of Tours.

¹³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 28. p. 17.

¹⁴ This division comprised Paris and its dependencies, Picardy, Normandy, Artois, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and a few other districts in northern Belgium.

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¹⁵ Sigibert was killed in the forty-first year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years.

¹⁶ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 1. p. 233.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 59. p. 230.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* lib. v. p. 232.

ness of luxury. Their granaries are filled with wheat, their cellars and storehouses with wine and oil. One thing only is wanting: peace is far away from them; the grace of God abideth not in them! Why doth one man take away the goods of his neighbour? Why doth he covet the property of the stranger? Beware of the warning of the apostle,—‘If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.’”¹⁹

Meerwig, the son of Chilperich, rescues Brunehildis from her prison at Rouen, and marries her.

The state of the Frankish affairs at this period becomes exceedingly complicated, yet without any interest to compensate the toil of disentangling the thread. In her prison at Rouen the beautiful Brunehildis was seen and loved by Meerwig, the son of Chilperich. By a private marriage she converted the son of her enemy into a powerful protector. Chilperich forgave this rash step; but the persecutions of Fredegundis, or the violent passions of Meerwig himself, drove him again into revolt. He was however subdued by his father; taken prisoner, shorn and shut up in a convent, from whence he shortly afterwards made his escape, and took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Martin at Tours. Brunehildis retired into Austrasia, where she suppressed the ruling faction, headed by duke Gunthram Boso, took upon herself the guardianship of her son Childebert II., and reigned with plenary authority in his name.²⁰

He takes sanctuary at Tours, and Brunehildis places herself at the head of the regency during the minority of her son Childebert II.

The inheritance of Charibert continued the source of civil war and discord between Gunthram of Orleans and Chilperich, who had now united the kingdoms of Paris and Soissons²¹ in his own person. The guardians of Childebert II. had leagued with Gunthram in demanding, on behalf of Burgundy and Austrasia, the surrender of their rightful shares of the territory of Charibert²². Gunthram was childless himself; he therefore adopted his nephew Childebert as his heir and future successor. But the Austrasian and Burgundian Lendes, or Beneficiaries of the crown,²³ were at variance among themselves, and Gunthram found himself involved in numberless disputes with the guardians and vassals of his nephew.

She unites with Gunthram of Orleans against Chilperich. Gunthram adopts the infant Childebert II. as his son and successor, but internal dissensions prevent any beneficial effects from this measure.

The state of Neustria was scarcely more tranquil. Fredegundis was already suspected of the murder of Meerwig, who had been lately put to death within the sanctuary;²⁴ she now caused Chlodwig, another son of her

¹⁹ *Ep. Galat.* c. v. 15.

²⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 3. p. 233, c. 19. p. 246.

²¹ The whole of Neustria proper.

²² “*Quod de eorum minuerat regnum,*” are the words of Gregory. But as there is no charge of invading the original shares or sortes of the other brothers, the demand must have related to the restitution of Charibert’s kingdom.

Conf. Greg. Turon. lib. v. c. 18. p. 243.

²³ A term which will shortly be explained.

²⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 19. p. 246. He is said to have been killed by his servant at his own desire, to avoid falling alive into the hands of his merciless step-mother. But Gregory adds, “*Extiterunt tunc qui assererent Merovechum vero ejus (Predegundis) fuisse jussu clam intercmlum.*”

husband by a former wife, to be murdered for asserting too loudly his pretensions to the throne of his father.²⁵ Meanwhile the Leudes of Neustria, who had alternately sided with Charibert and Sigibert and Chilperich, had assumed the right of making war upon each other and their neighbours, without regard either to the commands or to the interests of their sovereign, and had converted the finest provinces of the kingdom into a mere arena of violence and carnage. In order to put an end to the distractions in his own and in the neighbouring kingdom of Austrasia, where he possessed considerable influence, Gunthram of Burgundy invited Brunehildis and her son Childebert to a conference at Andelau in the diocese of Langres.²⁶ The meeting took place, and terminated in the celebrated convention which served as the basis upon which the relations of the Leudes and Beneficiaries to the crown were henceforward to be determined; divided allegiance to be obviated, an equitable partition of the territories still in dispute between the two kingdoms to be effected, and, finally, the future succession to both crowns to be definitively settled.

In order to put an end to these disorders, Gunthram invites Brunehildis and her son to a meeting at Andelau, to determine the future relations of the Beneficiaries and Leudes, of both kingdoms, to the crown.
A.D. 587.

We shall have occasion in the following section to advert with rather more particularity to the circumstances which brought about this remarkable treaty. The remainder of the present section must be devoted to the external relations of the Frankish kingdoms down to the above-mentioned epoch.

II. That great movement of nations, of which Pannonia had been the focus, soon became perceptible upon the eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. The Longobardi had receded into Italy, and the Avâric Huns had pushed eagerly into their vacated settlements. Several years prior to this event single hordes had found their way across the Vistula, the Oder and the Elbe, into the heart of Transrhenane Austrasia. These Sigibert had encountered and dispersed.²⁷ No sooner however had they become possessed of the wide regions of Hungary and Pannonia, than they pressed forwards in mass towards the Rhine. The Austrasian king became aware of his danger, and called out the entire array of his dominions to repel and chastise the invaders. But the name of "Hun" carried with it a traditional terror.²⁸ The bravest warriors of the army shrunk from the conflict with these hideous savages, and Sigibert sustained a severe defeat.²⁹ Nevertheless by superior address and valuable

II. External history of the Frankish kingdoms down to the convention of Andelau.
Circa A.D. 562.
The Avâric Huns make inroads into Austrasia.

A.D. 569.
Sigibert is obliged to pur-

²⁵ *Ibid.* c. 40. p. 256.

²⁶ See the note of *D. Bouq. ad Greg. Turon.* lib. ix. c. 20. p. 243.

²⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 23. p. 214.

²⁸ The unanimity with which that name is applied by all the writers of this age to the Avâric swarm, furnishes to my mind a very

strong presumption of identity of origin. Conf. sec. 3. p. 604 of this chapter.

²⁹ Gregory of Tours affirms that the Huns were practised sorcerers, and that they deluded and confounded the Franks with magic arts and frightful phantasms. See lib. iv. c. 29. p. 217.

chase their retreat by valuable presents. The advance of the Huns, and the conquest of Italy by the Lombards, induce Sigibert to renew the communications with the Byzantine court.

presents he extricated himself from the present peril, and prevailed upon the khan of the Avârs to retire.³⁰

The advance of this new and terrible swarm, and the conquest of Italy by the Lombards, became sources of serious uneasiness to the Frankish princes. There are good grounds for believing that the intercourse between the most distant nations of the Germanic race, and the consequent transmission of intelligence, was far more frequent than the poverty and ignorance of the annalists might lead us to suspect.³¹ Sigibert no doubt entertained apprehensions that the Avârs would repeat their invasions, and he determined to renew the alliance with the Byzantine court, which had been interrupted by the disingenuous and offensive conduct of his predecessor Theudebald.³² He therefore dispatched an embassy to the emperor Justin to solicit a renewal of the friendship which had once subsisted between the two nations,³³ and a league against the common enemy. The request of the Frankish prince was granted, and the ambassadors of Sigibert returned with assurances of the support and friendship of the eastern emperor, confirmed, as upon such occasions was the invariable practice, by valuable presents or subsidies.³⁴

A.D. 569.

A.D. 570,
or
A.D. 571.
The Lombards invade
Provence and
Dauphiné,

The eastern frontier of the Frankish realm had been scarcely freed from its savage invaders, when the dangerous consequences of the Longobardic migration became perceptible upon the Burgundian and Alpine borders. The roving spirit of the Lombards had burst the barriers of Gaul long before they had acquired the right to call Italy their own. Provence, Dauphiné, and Auvergne, as appendages of the Aurelian

³⁰ Gregory appears to misplace this event. In conformity with his author's arrangement Dom. Bouquet gives the marginal date of 567. But the account of *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. ii. c. 10. p. 429) establishes a date more consistent with the natural course of events. It is not probable that the Hunnic swarm should have penetrated in such numbers into the heart of Germany before they had acquired possession of Pannonia and Hungary, that is, before 568. *Velesius* (as quoted by *D. Bouq.* ad loc. note i) adopts the date of 569.

³¹ See the eloquent, but somewhat exaggerated picture of Germanic society in this age, by *Leo*, in his history of the Italian States, vol. i. p. 64. Theudebald of Austrasia had married Waltrada, a daughter of Wacco, king of the Lombards, 30 or 40 years before they emigrated into Italy; and Alhoin more recently had married Chlotsuinda, the sister of Chlothar. *Paul Diac.* lib. i. c. 21.—*Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 9.

p. 207. These facts imply a pretty close political intimacy between the two nations.

³² See sec. 1. p. 577, and sec. 2. p. 589 of this chapter.

³³ "Pacem petens," are the words of Gregory of Tours; but there neither was, nor could be, any war between two powers so widely separated from each other. The peace here meant is *reconciliation* (for which there was abundant room), and alliance against common enemies, such as the Lombards and the Avârs. I cannot adopt the marginal date of *D. Bouquet* (566), since at that date there existed no sufficient motive for the proposed alliance; the Longobardi were as yet the confederates of the emperor, the Gepidæ were unconquered, and the Avârs were still detained in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Gallicia. I infer that the date of the embassy should be 569, at least not earlier.

³⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 39. p. 223.

division of the kingdom,³⁵ were governed in the name of Gunthram of Orleans by the duke or patrician Mummolus, a nobleman of Roman extraction, and an officer of ability and distinction. The Lombards invaded Dauphiné, and committed serious depredations in that province. Mummolus encountered them near Embrun, and so completely defeated them, that a very small number only could make good their retreat across the Alps.³⁶

but are defeated by duke Mummolus near Embrun.

Two years later Mummolus was called to encounter a still more serious danger resulting from the unabated ferment of migration. Twenty thousand Saxons, with their wives and families, had, as we had seen, accompanied their Lombard allies into Italy. The warrior tribes of Germany were not in the habit of surrendering their right of independent exertion for more than a single object, or a short period. The Lombards were by this time in possession of Italy; but the fierce Saxons were as yet unsatiated by adventure, and no less eager for booty. In this disposition they crossed the Cottian Alps, and established themselves at Establon in the diocese of Riez,³⁷ from whence they extended their ravages over the whole of Provence. Here they had chosen an insecure and bad position, and thus afforded to the active Mummolus an opportunity of attacking them at advantage. Nevertheless the Saxons defended themselves bravely till dark. The night afforded them leisure to count their losses and reflect upon the danger of renewing the combat; and in the morning they sent heralds to Mummolus with costly presents, and an humble supplication for peace, and permission to retire unmolested into Italy. Mummolus consented, but not until they had given up all their booty, surrendered all their prisoners, and taken an oath that they would return into Gaul as the military vassals of king Gunthram whenever they should be summoned to his wars.³⁸ This engagement seems to have been regarded as a mere expedient to escape the present danger; for in the following year they again passed the Alps in two divisions, bringing with them their wives and children, and all their portable effects,³⁹ with the intent of placing themselves under the protection of king Sigibert of Austrasia, by whom they expected to be re-instated in the districts which they had quitted to follow the fortunes of Alboin. The two divisions of the migratory host

A.D. 573,

or

A.D. 574.

Two years afterwards the Saxons who had accompanied Alboin make an irruption into Gaul.

Mummolus drives them back.

They return in the year following.

³⁵ This division comprehended all the territories which had formed the first kingdom of Burgundy, besides large districts between the Loire and the Seine, together with a share of Aquitaine. See *Kruse*, Atlas, &c. Chart ad Ann. 600. We shall hereafter designate this division as

“the kingdom of Burgundy.”

³⁶ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 42. p. 224.

³⁷ Diocesis Rhegiensis.

³⁸ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 43. p. 225.

³⁹ “Assumptis uxoribus, parvulis, et omne suppellectile facultatis,” &c.

But Mummolus arrests their progress at the passage of the Rhone, and compels them to make satisfaction for the ravages committed.

They are allowed to pass through Austrasia to their homes.

A.D. 577,

or

A.D. 578.

They attack the Suevic settlers, but are defeated after a protracted war. The independent Lombard dukes Rhodan, Zaban, and Amo invade Provence and Dauphiné (southern Burgundy).

united in the territory of Avignon, where they consumed the harvests of the inhabitants, and dealt with the country at pleasure. But Mummolus appeared with an overwhelming force upon the Rhone to dispute the passage, and to demand satisfaction for the infraction of the treaty and the injury already done. The Saxons, conscious of their inability to force the passage of the river, redeemed themselves by the payment of many thousand pieces of gold, and were permitted to continue their march into Austrasia.⁴⁰

Sigibert suffered them to pass unmolested through his territories. In the interim, certain vagrant tribes of Suevi had settled in the vacant seats of the Saxons; but the latter now claimed the whole district as their own, and haughtily refused every proposal of compromise,—even to the abandonment of two-thirds of the land—offered them by the new occupants. A protracted war ensued, which terminated about four years afterwards in the repulse of the Saxons, and the establishment of a Suevic canton or gau upon the borders of the Saxon territory;⁴¹ the traces of which, under the name of North-Suevia, existed as late as the ninth and tenth centuries.⁴²

The suspension of royalty in Lombardy left the independent dukes at liberty to pursue each his own scheme of aggrandizement. The impulse of migration had not as yet lost much of its original force; and though a great portion of Italy was not yet reduced into possession, yet the northern Lombards preferred the spoils of the neighbouring provinces of Arles, Avignon, and Valence, to the prosecution of any really national plan of conquest. The passes of the Cottian Alps were neglected by the Franks; no military force was stationed in the exposed provinces, and the people, almost wholly of Roman descent, were incapable of defending themselves.⁴³ Taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, three dukes of Ligurian Lombardy, named Amo, Zaban, and Rhodan, passed the Alps in the summer of 576; Amo occupied the ter-

⁴⁰ *Greg. Turon.* *ibid.* loc. cit.

⁴¹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 15. p. 242. This gau lay upon the river Unstrutt, in the modern diocese of Halberstadt.

⁴² Conf. *Meibomius*, *Ss. Rr. Germ. &c.* tom. i. p. 670, note “de Suevis Transalbinis.” But see *contra* a passage in the *Annales Mettenses*, ad ann. 748. ap. *Pertz*, tom. i. p. 230, from which it seems that in 748 the Suevic gau was in possession of the Saxons.

⁴³ This incapacity is imputed to their vices. The Anchorite Hospilius dwelt in a sequestered cell near Nice. He mortified the flesh with the utmost rigour; he abstained from all the indulgences, and neglected all the decencies of life. He

wore a hair shirt; he wound iron chains round his body, subsisted upon crusts and a few dates; for the season of Lent he procured from the merchants of Marseilles a store of sacred herbs from Egypt, such as those which the holy eremites of that country subsisted upon. To the people he declared the enormity of their sins; the whole land, he said, was lost in perjuries, thefts, rapines, homicides. He preached repentance of sins, and, in case of impenitence, he predicted that the Lombards should come and destroy seven cities, and chastise the people for their offences. It is probable that the picture of the decay of morality is not overcharged.

ritories of Arles and Avignon; Zaban penetrated to Valence, and Rhodan besieged Grenoble. The entire region between the Rhone, the Alps, and the Mediterranean Sea, was plundered, the towns laid under contribution, and the portable wealth of the inhabitants collected ready for removal into Italy. At this moment the patrician Mummolus appeared with a numerous army upon the banks of the Isère. Rhodan had taken Grenoble, and awaited there the attack of the Franks. After some delay a ford was found in the swollen stream, and a detachment which had passed the river was attacked with fury by the Lombards. Their duke Rhodan received a severe wound, and was compelled to withdraw into the mountains, from whence he afterwards found his way with not more than five hundred men to his confederate Zaban, who was at this time engaged in the siege of Valence. At the approach of Mummolus, Zaban abandoned his enterprize, and retired to Embrun at the foot of the Alps. Here the combined dukes were overtaken and totally defeated by the patrician of Burgundy; the chiefs and a few warriors only effected their escape into Italy. Amom now hastily collected the spoils of Arles and Avignon, and pressed his march towards the Alps; but so rapid was the pursuit of Mummolus, that the Lombard duke was glad to purchase a safe retreat for himself and his followers, by the sacrifice of the entire fruits of his expedition.⁴⁴

Mummolus defeats duke Rhodan at Grenoble,

and duke Zaban at Embrun.

Duke Amom retreats into Lombardy, with the loss of all his booty.

The time of retribution for these unprovoked injuries was fast approaching. The Frankish kingdoms were about to enjoy a short respite from the curse of intestine war and discord: the Lombards, sensible of their own feeble and disunited condition, were about to resort once more to the monarchical form of government: the Byzantines renewed their intrigues, if so it might be, to snatch some advantage from the quarrel between the Lombards and Franks, without expense or sacrifice on their part: a new series of events begins to unfold itself; other agents appear upon the scene. But before we proceed to give an account of the revival of the Frankish scheme of conquest in Italy, and the reign of the able and vigorous Authari in Lombardy, it is necessary to advert succinctly to the changes which had taken place in the condition of the most influential people of southern Germany, the Bavarians, in order to obtain as clear a view as our defective materials permit, of the share they took in the ensuing transactions.

These invasions draw upon them the attention of the Franks, provoke retaliation, and revive the Frankish projects of conquest in Italy.

III. In our notices of the extension of the Frankish dominion in southern Germany,⁴⁵ it was observed that down to the reign of Theudebert of Austrasia that people had mastered the entire regions extending

III. Political condition of the Bavarian people.

⁴⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 45. p. 226.

⁴⁵ Chap. x. sec. 3. p. 536 of this volume.

Bavaria continues an appendage of the Frankish monarchy, even after the loss of the Cisalpine districts to the Lombards.

These districts are taken possession of by the Lombards.

While the three dukes are ravaging Provence, the Franks invade the Lombard duchy of Trent.

from the Rhine to the Inn, and from the Danube to the Eisach and Adige, comprehending the whole of Swabia, Bavaria, the Thurgau, the Grisons, and the Tyrol. About the year 536 Theudebert took advantage of the distress of the Ostrogoths to possess himself of the Tridentine, Julian, and Carnian Alps, and of the districts upon their southern declivity from the Adige to the Lagunes of Venice. It seems probable that the pestilence which destroyed the army of Leuthar in the north, and the total overthrow of Butelin in the south of Italy, deprived the Franks of these Cisalpine dependencies. But Bavaria Proper remained, as it had been since the conquest of Theuderich, a vassal duchy of the great Frankish empire. The mountain-districts had in the interim changed masters more than once, and it is still a matter of uncertainty how far beyond the Inn, in the direction of the Adige and the Drave, the Franco-Bavarian territory had extended, at any time prior to the Lombard conquest of Italy. That event clears up the obscurity, and marks the region extending from the foot of the Rhætian Alps to the confines of Venetia, including the southern moiety of the Rhætia Prima of the Romans, as a constituent portion of the new Lombard kingdom under the designation of the "duchy of Trent."⁴⁶

The resplendent valley of the Adige, extending for upwards of one hundred miles from the high ridge of the Brenner, to the rocky gorge through which the stream issues into the plain of Lombardy, was, in fact, one of the earliest acquisitions of the Lombards, and had been erected into a duchy by Alboin in favour of Evin, one of the bravest of his chiefs.⁴⁷ The Tridentine duchy was accounted to the Austrian division of the kingdom; it bordered to the northward upon Bavaria, to the south and west upon the duchies of Verona and Brescia, and to the east upon that of Vicenza.

The contact of the Franks and Lombards upon this frontier had been hostile from the first. While the dukes Amo, Zaban, and Rhodan were ravaging the Provence, a numerous Frankish army commanded by duke Chramnechis penetrated through the passes above Trent. The frontier fort of Anagnis⁴⁸ opened its gates to the invaders, and the Lombard count Rugilas was overthrown. Shortly afterwards Trent, the capital, fell into their power, and the finest part of the duchy was unsparingly ravaged by the vindictive enemy. Laden with booty, the Franks were

⁴⁶ In terms of modern geography, the southern Tyrol, as far as the Brenner, including perhaps the Valteline. Conf. *Hormayer*, Works, vol. i. pp. 64, 92, 94.

⁴⁷ *Paul Diac.* lib. iii. c. 10. p. 439.

⁴⁸ According to *Mannert* (Geog. &c., vol. ix.

part i. p. 142), Anagnis is the modern town of *Neumarkt*, between Botzen and Trent. According to *Hormayer* (Works, vol. i. p. 99), it is *Nan*, in the district of Nonsberg, on the banks of the torrent of the Nocer.

retracing their steps across the mountains when they were overtaken by duke Evin and the whole force of the duchy. The battle was fought at Salurno, a town a few miles to the northward of Trent.⁴⁹ Duke Chramnechis was killed, and the Franks totally defeated; the amount of the slaughter is attested by the relics still found upon the field of battle,—Frankish and Lombard coins, antique weapons, enormous horseshoes, and numberless bones of men and animals.⁵⁰

Evin, the duke of Trent, totally defeats them at Salurno.

Whether the Bavarians took any share in this unfortunate expedition we are not informed. At the period in question they were governed by duke Garibald, head of the noble race of Agilolf, an ancient chief, from whose line the dukes of the Bavarians were invariably chosen. Garibald was allied by blood to the Merwingian family, and was at this moment the husband of Waltrada, widow of Theudebald of Austrasia, and daughter of Wacco, king of the Longobardi. After the death of Theudebald, his lecherous granduncle Chlothar I. had taken the youthful widow to his bed; but at the urgent remonstrance of the priesthood he had repudiated her soon afterwards, and married her to duke Garibald.⁵¹ Evin of Trent had obtained a daughter of Garibald and Waltrada in marriage; and from this period the Bavarian duke appears to have withdrawn himself from his connexion with the Franks, trusting to their civil dissensions and the assistance of his new allies, the Lombards, to maintain the independence of his dukedom.

At this period the Bavarians are governed by duke Garibald,

who had married Waltrada, the daughter of Wacco, king of the Longobardi, and widow of Theudebald of Austrasia.

The daughter of Garibald marries Evin, duke of Trent. Garibald connects himself with the Longobardi.

IV. The political structure of the Lombard society was of a federative character; it consisted of numerous independent clans, united by voluntary compact under several military leaders or dukes,⁵² with an elective king at their head. The royal functions were originally no doubt purely military; yet as the chief of a nation in which every man was a warrior, the king was the natural arbiter in all private disputes, and in this way became invested with the attributes of supreme judge of his people.⁵³ But this rude constitution was grounded upon a state of war. In peace the nation felt the pressure of a monarchy as an evil, since it brought with it sacrifices to the private interests of the sovereign, which the individual clans or their chiefs were as yet disinclined to make. Thus it happened that when the successor of Alboin fell by the hand of

IV. The Longobardi under Authari.

⁴⁹ The "Salurnis" of Paul Warnefrid. See *Mannert*, loc. mod. cit.

⁵⁰ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 9. p. 439. Conf. *Hormayer* (*Hist. of the Tyrol*), Works, vol. i. p. 49.

⁵¹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 9. p. 207. *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. i. c. 21. p. 419) notices his marriage with Chlothar (under the uncouth name

of "Cuswald"), who, he tells us, repudiated her from dislike. Gregory is the better witness.

⁵² Herzoge or Hertoge.

⁵³ Legislative authority there was, properly speaking, none at all; because the nation had not arrived at that stage of its progress in which the want of such an authority was felt.

During the interregnum the Lombards embroil themselves with the Franks and the Greeks.

a domestic assassin, the Lombard confederacy dissolved itself, or rather broke up into minor leagues, each of which took an independent direction. During the ten years of lawless liberty which followed the death of Cleph, the nation, as might have been expected, contrived to embroil itself with all its neighbours. Their invasions of Gaul exposed them to the retaliation of the Franks, while the harassing warfare they carried on against the remnants of the imperial dominions in Italy aroused the sluggish resentment of the Byzantine court; and now a tempest of indignation was raised on all sides which nothing but a prompt recurrence to the strong forms of a military monarchy could have enabled them to withstand.

They invade and ravage the duchy of Rome. Pope Pelagius II. applies to the emperor for aid.

During the period of the interregnum, the Roman duchy had been the scene of unsparing devastation and warfare. "Italy," says Pope Pelagius II. in a letter to his Apocrisarius Gregory⁵⁴ at Constantinople, "is trodden under foot by the impious and ruthless Longobardi; the people are destitute of arms, money, and leaders; the greater part of the Roman territory is without troops or garrisons to protect it; and the exarch, Decius of Ravenna, protests to us that he has barely soldiers enough to maintain the post committed to his charge."⁵⁵ And the pope directs his legate to spare no solicitations which might move the emperor Tiberius II. to take pity on his Italian subjects. But Tiberius was involved in a war with Persia,—the remote and unconscious, but most effective ally of the barbaric invaders of Italy,—and could spare neither men nor treasure for the recovery of that country. Justinian and Narses were no more; the accidental stimulants to which the empire was indebted for its past successes were withdrawn; the court was once more driven to shifts and expedients, and compelled to rely rather upon the errors, the vices, or the weakness of its enemies, than upon its own strength, to maintain the semblance of dominion in a country so lately its own.

Tiberius II. sends him a sum of money to buy off the Lombards; or to subsidize the Franks for the defence of Italy.

After some delay the well-meaning Tiberius sent a sum of money to Pelagius, with directions to pacify the neighbouring Lombard clans, or to engage them in the service of the empire, and thus to keep the rest in check; but if this scheme should be unsuccessful, the pope was recommended to employ the money in subsidizing the Franks, and by that means to create a diversion in his favour in the north of Italy.⁵⁶ How far these instructions were followed, or with what result, we are uninformed; but in the year 582, Tiberius was succeeded upon the

⁵⁴ Afterwards St. Gregory the Great.

⁵⁵ *Baron. Ann. Eccles. ad Ann. 584, tom. x.* p. 400.

⁵⁶ *Menand. Prot. Ss. Byz. p. 124.* See also *Murat. tom. i. p. 442.*

throne by Maurice; and the new emperor took the earliest opportunity after his accession to renew the communication with the Frankish princes. An embassy was sent to the Austrasian king, Childebert II., with a present of fifty thousand golden crowns, and an assurance of the co-operation of a Roman army from Ravenna, as inducements to that prince to invade Lombardy. Solicitations, so seconded, rarely failed of their due effect upon the greedy passions of the Frankish courts. A numerous army approached the frontier of Italy to avenge the wrongs of the nation upon their late spoilers, and to reap the harvest of pillage which the rich plains of Lombardy never failed to furnish.⁵⁷

Tiberius dies, and his successor Maurice sends an embassy to Childebert II., to induce him to invade Lombardy. A.D. 584.

The Franks prepare for the expedition.

But the Lombard chiefs had perceived and taken warning from the increased activity of their enemies; they were humbled by the failure of their schemes of conquest in Gaul, and alarmed by the intrigues of the Pope and the Byzantines with the more southern clans, whose remote position exposed them to the lures of the enemy, and threatened to perpetuate the dissolution of the national confederacy. Thus convinced of the necessity of a strong and united government, the assembled people unanimously raised to their throne Authari, the son of Cleph, of the tribe of Gausi, and conferred upon him the august surname of Flavius.⁵⁸ They provided a suitable revenue for their new king by setting apart one-half of the produce of the ducal incomes for his maintenance. The first act of Authari tended to allay the discontents of his Italian subjects by a more equitable distribution of the *Tertiæ*, and the establishment of regulations which put an end to the arbitrary requisitions and levies under which they had suffered without intermission since the first rude and inconvenient quarterings of Alboin. He introduced the relation of patron and client between the Lombard lord and his Roman entertainer; the former became entitled to fixed renders and services, the latter to protection for person and property. Paul Warnefrid assures us that this measure was almost instantaneously attended with the most beneficial effects, and that peace, security, and contentment took the place of violence, spoliation, and suffering.⁵⁹

The Lombards are alarmed;

in this emergency they feel the want of a strong government. They therefore raise Authari, the son of Cleph, to the throne. A.D. 584. The new king applies himself to gain the affection of his Italian subjects, and redresses their grievances.

⁵⁷ There is considerable discrepancy among historical critics respecting the date of this embassy. D. Bouquet (ad *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 18. p. 321) adopts the date of 585. Baronius places it in 588, but this is clearly erroneous, if Gregory of Tours is correct in stating that the envoys arrived at the court of Childebert in the *ninth* year of the reign of that prince, which answers to A.D. 584. Muratori (ad *Paul. Diac.* tom. i. p. 444) thinks that the embassy was sent before the accession of Au-

thari in 584, and it is certain that the invasion took place *after* that event, though in the course of the same year.

⁵⁸ So also Theoderich the Great, see chap. ix. sec. 4. p. 482 of this volume. The Germanic nations, to whom titles of honour were unknown till they became the conquerors of Rome, uniformly borrowed these distinctions from the vanquished.

⁵⁹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 16. p. 444. "Nemo aliquem injuste *angariabat*." The "*Angariæ*,"

The Byzantine general Romanus anticipates the movements of his allies, and reduces the eastern duchies of Venetia, Friuli, and Histria.

While the hosts of Childebert were approaching the Alps, the Byzantine general Romanus, with a numerous army, invaded the Longobardic duchies of Mantua, Modena, and Altino.⁶⁰ Unable to withstand the imperial forces, the dukes submitted to the terms imposed upon them, and gave in their submission to the empire at Mantua, where the Exarch met them, received them into the service of the state, and carried away their sons to Ravenna as hostages for their future obedience. After this exploit, Romanus became intent upon reducing the eastern duchies of Friuli and Histria, whither he led his army, and succeeded in detaching duke Gisulf from the Lombard league.

The Franks pass the Alps. Authari collects his people within the walled towns. The Franks are disappointed of the expected booty. Romanus withholds his assistance; and the Frankish dukes enter into a compact with Authari, and evacuate Lombardy.

The Franks, meanwhile, had passed the Alps, and ravaged the open country of Lombardy. Authari, sensible of his inability to meet the enemy in the field, collected the whole military force of the kingdom within the walled towns, and threw himself into Pavia with a powerful garrison. By this measure the Franks were prevented from maintaining military possession of the country they had overrun; the little property which had been left behind in the villages and open towns, was soon collected, and the provisions consumed with their ordinary improvidence. The imperial army remained stationary upon the Adige, carefully abstaining from any movement which might assist their formidable allies to obtain a footing in Lombardy. The latter therefore regarded the objects of the campaign as fulfilled, as far as their own interests were concerned; the Frankish dukes entered into a treaty with Authari, who readily yielded to their demands; and the multitude, enriched with the treasures of the Lombards, retired to their homes.⁶¹

both under the Roman and barbarian administrations, were forced requisitions of draught or sumpter cattle for the public service. The word was afterwards used to denote arbitrary services imposed upon the land, or upon the persons of the occupiers, to be performed by themselves, their cattle, carriages, and servants, at the requisition of the lord. Hence it was at length applied to every kind of exaction and vexation practised by a superior against a dependent. See *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad-verb. "Angaria," and "Angariari." As to the arrangement of the events detailed in the above paragraph, I have consulted, and, in a great measure adopted, the criticisms of *Muratori* (loc. cit., note 111), and *Mascon* (vol. ii. p. 213).

⁶⁰ But it must be admitted that this invasion may have taken place at a somewhat earlier period. Romanus, in his letter to Childebert II. (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iv. p. 88), mentions it in connexion with the other operations of the cam-

paign, only with a view to show how easy a task the expulsion of the Longobardi would have turned out had the Frankish dukes done their duty, and to persuade the king to send a second army under better leaders to co-operate with the imperialists.

⁶¹ *Gregory of Tours* (lib. vi. c. 42. p. 288) affirms, that king Authari professed himself the subject of Childebert. Paul Warnefrid says nothing of any such condition. The emperor Maurice, in his letter to Childebert respecting the conduct of the Frankish dukes, complains that they made a *truce* of ten months with Authari. This amounted to no more than a suspension of arms for that season, and is irreconcilable with a profession of vassalage. I believe that the Lombards bought off the invaders; and as the court of Constantinople, relying upon the faith of the subsidy already paid, did not outbid them, the Frankish dukes preferred present profit to the fulfilment of a treaty, by which they

In vain the emperor Maurice demanded back his fifty thousand golden crowns: on this point Childebert was deaf to all remonstrance, and dismissed the Byzantine envoys without a reply.⁶³ But in the interim an incident had occurred which induced Brunehildis and her son to soften their tone towards the emperor. Ingundis, the daughter of the Austrasian queen, had married Athanagild, the son of Hermenegild, king of the Spanish Visigoths. Athanagild fell in an unsuccessful resistance to the tyranny of his father, and Ingundis and her son were carried off to Sicily by a body of Greek mercenaries, who in the hour of peril had betrayed and deserted their employer.⁶³ It was intended to convey the royal captives to Constantinople, but Ingundis died in Sicily. Though the fate of the mother was known to Brunehildis, she still believed that the child was in the power of Maurice; and wrote a letter to the empress Anastasia, earnestly intreating the release of her grandson.⁶⁴ These solicitations were seconded by active preparations for the invasion of Lombardy. An army, consisting of Franks and Alemanni, was collected for the expedition; but ere long dissensions broke out between these ill-matched confederates, and the army broke up and dispersed before it had accomplished any one of the objects in view.⁶⁵

The emperor Maurice claims repayment of the 50,000 crowns, which is refused.

The Franks assemble an army for the invasion of Italy; but the troops disperse without entering upon the campaign.

The retreat of the Franks appears to have afforded Authari the necessary leisure for recovering a portion of the eastern duchies which had been reduced by Romanus. The exarch Smaragdus had involved himself in a religious dispute with the bishops of his province⁶⁶ for the maintenance of the imperial standard of orthodoxy in opposition to Rome and the majority of the Italian hierarchy. In the midst of these broils the Lombards, under duke Evin of Trent, invaded Histria, while Authari himself led another body against the fortified island of Amacina in the lake of Como, which had been held by the imperial lieutenant Francio ever since the conquest of Italy by Narses. Both expeditions were successful. Evin transmitted a considerable sum of money to

Authari recovers the eastern duchies from the Greeks.

may have suspected that it was not intended they should be the gainers. Conf. Epist. 43, 44, 45, in *Variorum Epistolæ* ap. *D. Bouq.* loc. mod. cit.

⁶³ *Paul. Diac.* loc. mod. cit.

⁶³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 39. p. 255, and conf. lib. vi. c. 43. p. 289, and lib. viii. c. 18. p. 320. Also *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 21. p. 447.

⁶⁴ A political advantage of some moment might result from having a pretender to the crown of the Visigoths in her hands—an advantage which the shrewd and ambitious Brunehildis was not likely to overlook. See Epist. 47, in *Ep. Var. ap. D. Bouq.* tom. iv. p. 89. Chil-

debert himself wrote a letter to Theodosius, the son of Maurice, with the same request. See Epist. 46 of the same collection.

⁶⁵ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 22. p. 447. Both *Mascou* (vol. ii. p. 215, note 51, and the *Art de vér. &c.* (tom. i. p. 414) date this abortive expedition in the year 585. It strikes me as more probable that it took place in the spring of 586. The former date (including the winter months) would not have allowed time for the ten months' truce to expire.

⁶⁶ The dispute related to the *Tria Capitula*, and the validity of the fifth synod of Constantinople.

He takes the
strong fort of
Amacina.

Romanus is
made exarch of
Ravenna.

Authari be-
comes a suitor
for the hand of
Chlodosuinda,
daughter of
Brunehildis,
who accepts his
presents and
promises the
princess.

But Reccared,
king of Spain,
makes the
same request;
and Chlodo-
suinda is affi-
anced to Rec-
cared.

The Franks
again invade
Italy, but are
totally de-
feated by Au-
thari.

Authari, which he had levied upon the refractory Histrians, while the king himself, after a six months' siege, compelled Francio to surrender the fort, with all the wealth which the strength of the place had induced the imperialists to deposit there. Smaragdus, of Ravenna, died during these transactions, and was succeeded by the more able and active Romanus. The new exarch exerted himself to revive the slumbering hostility of the Franks and Lombards, and his scheme was favoured by an incident strongly characteristic of the age and of the fraudulent policy of the Frankish rulers.⁶⁷

The more tranquil relations which had subsisted of late between the two nations had inspired Authari with the hope of sealing the pacification by a matrimonial connexion with the Merwingian family. He demanded the hand of Chlodosuinda, a sister of Childebert II.,⁶⁸ in marriage, and backed his application with many rich presents to the king and the queen mother. The gifts were accepted, and the request was granted. But before the marriage could take place, envoys arrived from the Spanish Visigoths to demand the hand of the same princess for their monarch Reccared. That nation, after the example of their sovereign, had renounced the Arian heresy, and desired by the present step to testify their anxiety for a more intimate communion with the orthodox Franks. The prospect of so brilliant an alliance threw the claims of Authari into the shade, and the hand of Chlodosuinda was transferred without scruple to the Spanish prince. All obstacles to the success of the negotiations of Romanus were now removed; the Frankish court naturally suspected the man whom it had wantonly insulted and injured; and the imperial agents were told that Childebert was now prepared to execute his engagements with the empire, and to assist heartily in the expulsion of the Lombards from Italy. In order to evince the sincerity of these professions, an army of Franks took the field without delay, and crossed the Alps into Lombardy. But Authari was now in a condition to lay aside the timid and dilatory plan of operations which circumstances had on the former occasion forced upon him: he boldly met the Frankish forces in the field, and inflicted upon them a

⁶⁷ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 26. p. 449. That Romanus was the agent of the empire in these transactions may be inferred from his letter to Childebert II., in which he strongly presses him to fulfil his engagements. See the Collection ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iv. p. 88.

⁶⁸ *Pagi* (ad Bar. Ann. 585, note 7), and *Muratori* (ad Paul. Diac. lib. iii. c. 27. note 168), object that a queen of Reccared of Spain, named "Baddo," signed the celebrated synod of Toledo

(Tolet. III.) in 589, and that therefore Chlodosuinda never could have been married to Reccared. I cannot, however, think it likely that Gregory could easily have mistaken the name, or needlessly misstated a transaction which must have taken place under his own eye. I would rather suppose that Chlodosuinda changed her name, or that she died soon after her arrival in Spain, and was succeeded by a queen Baddo, who subscribed the council.

severe defeat ; the greater number were either killed or made prisoners, and the remainder with difficulty effected their escape across the Alps.⁶⁹

The imperialists lost little by the defeat of their confederates ; the flame of international hatred burnt but the more furiously for the temporary suspension of arms which ensued. After the failure of Authari in obtaining the hand of the Frankish princess, he demanded in marriage Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald, duke, or as he now styled himself king, of the Bavarians.⁷⁰ The sister of Theudelinda was already married to the gallant duke Evin of Trent, and Garibald would have openly thrown himself into the arms of the Lombards if he had not dreaded the danger of setting his mighty superior at defiance. Without any public renunciation of his allegiance to the Austrasian king, he had taken advantage of the intestine broils of the Frankish princes to assume the powers and the title of an independent sovereign. Time might be necessary to consolidate his authority and mature his means of defence. But the resentment of Authari was hardly less to be dreaded than that of the Franks, and he determined to trust to the natural course of events to extricate him from the difficulty in which he was involved. The king of the Lombards had accompanied his own embassy to the court of Garibald as one of the envoys. In total ignorance of his rank the beautiful Theudelinda saw and admired the handsome and martial figure of the disguised prince. Authari was not less attracted by the charms of the Bavarian princess ; and when the quality of her lover was disclosed to her, she gladly consented to become his bride.⁷¹

Authari repairs in disguise to the court of Garibald of Bavaria,

and recommends himself to his daughter Theudelinda.

Elated with his success, Authari returned towards Italy, accompanied by a guard of Bavarians. When he reached the borders of his own kingdom he imprudently threw off his disguise, and thus revealed his secret and his quality to the astonished escort : “ Mark,” he exclaimed, “ the blow of Authari ! ” then, raising himself in his saddle, he buried his battle-axe deeply in the solid trunk of the nearest tree, and left it in the cleft, as a token of the irresistible strength of his arm to serve a friend or to chastise an enemy. The disaffection of Garibald had however already excited the resentment of the Franks ; his connexion with the Lombards, since the union of his eldest daughter with one of the most powerful princes of that people, and the now public pretensions

The Franks, offended by the connexion of Garibald with the Longobardi, invade Bavaria.

⁶⁹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. ix. c. 25. p. 348.—*Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. cc. 27, 28. p. 449.

⁷⁰ See p. 636 of this section.

⁷¹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 29. p. 450. *Conf. Aventinus, Ann. Boiorum,* lib. iii. c. 7. p. 237.

The fact that Theudelinda was the divorced wife of Childebert of Austrasia (*Fredeg. Chron.* ad c. 34. p. 424) is prejudicial to the romance of the story, as told by Paul Warnefrid, who has therefore judiciously suppressed it.

Theudelinda
flies to her
brother-in-law
Evin of Trent;
and is married
to Authari.
A.D. 589.

of their king to the hand of another daughter, drew down upon him the prompt vengeance of his superior. The armies of Childebert invaded Bavaria; the princess Theudelinda, accompanied by her youthful brother Gundobald, carrying with them the treasure of the kingdom, fled to the protection of her brother-in-law, Evin of Trent, and was soon afterwards publicly united to Authari in the town of Sarnis. Garibald, unable to resist the numbers of the Franks, was deprived of the dukedom; and Tassilo, a member of another branch of the Agilolfingian race, appears in the list of the dukes of Bavaria as his successor. The fate of Garibald himself is not noticed by any annalist.⁷²

The Franks
enter into
close alliance
with the court
of Byzantium.

The dangerous connexion of the Lombards with the rebellious Bavarians, and the disgraceful defeat of their armies in Italy, determined the Austrasian Franks, by one powerful effort, to crush the rising prosperity of the upstart kingdom. Their eagerness for vengeance even outran the wishes of the Byzantines. They despatched three envoys to Constantinople, to concert the necessary measures with that court. On their voyage they put into the port of Carthage, where two of the ambassadors were killed in an accidental affray with the citizens. But in their anxiety to bring the negociation to a speedy conclusion,⁷³ even this flagrant affront was passed over with little animadversion by the Franks. The return of the surviving ambassador, Grippo, with the ratified treaty, was the signal for a general gathering of the Frankish armies upon the Rhætian frontier. Insubordination, robbery, and bloodshed marked the track of the various corps through their own territory,—an earnest of the ruthless spirit in which the war was undertaken—and before the three great divisions into which their host was divided had reached the points of departure, they had loaded themselves with the spoils of the countries through which they had passed, and with the curses of the wretched inhabitants. The right wing, under duke Anduald, penetrated through Switzerland to Milan, and encamped before that city; the centre, under duke Olo, passed the St. Gothard, and approached Belinzona through

They assemble
a powerful
army for the
invasion of
Lombardy.
They invade
the kingdom
in three divi-
sions.

⁷² *Paul. Diac.* loc. mod. cit. cum notâ *Murator.* (177), and *Conf. Hormayer*, Works, vol. i. p. 100, et seqq. *Conf.* also *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 7. p. 455. Tassilo was raised to the dukedom by Childebert II.

⁷³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. x. c. 2. p. 363. *Conf. Paul. Diac.* lib. iii. c. 30. p. 450. The hatred of the Franks towards the Longobardi was no doubt enhanced by religious differences. Thus, in the letter of Childebert II. to the Patriarch Laurentius (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iv.

p. 90), we meet with such expressions as these: “*Gentis Longobardorum religioni et fidei iniquissimæ perfidia*”—“*Quatenus manus Domini gentem execrabilem dignetur elidere;*” phrases quite in the vein of the churchmen: thus Pelagius II. (ap. *Baron.* ad Ann. 585, tom. x. p. 403) “*Nefandissima gens Longobardorum,*” and Gregory the Great, “*Nefandissimus Autharis,*” scil., because he prohibited the baptism of the children of the Longobardi into the Catholic communion.

the broad Val Levantina;⁷⁴ the left, commanded by duke Ghedin, advanced through Bavaria, and speedily mastered all the strongholds of the Lombard duchy of Trent.⁷⁵ But no enemy appeared to encounter them in the field; light detachments watched and followed their movements, cutting off the stragglers, and restricting in some degree the limits of devastation. The moveable property and families of the inhabitants was placed in security within the walls of the fortified cities, which Authari had strongly garrisoned and provided with ample means of subsistence for a long siege. The king himself, with the flower of his warriors, took post within the walls of Pavia, and in this attitude awaited the invariable effects of a summer campaign in Italy upon the health and bodily constitution of the invaders.⁷⁶

Authari withdraws his people from the open country into the walled towns,

and resolves to await the effects of the climate upon the invaders.

Duke Olo was killed by a javelin from the walls of Bellinzona, and many of his followers, who had dispersed in search of subsistence or plunder, were cut off by the Lombard detachments. Anduald lay inactive before Milan, vainly expecting the promised arrival of the imperial army. Ghedin employed himself profitably in completing the reduction of the Tridentine valleys, collecting the spoils, and putting the inhabitants to ransom. It soon became apparent that the Greeks were as little disposed as ever to afford the stipulated co-operation, and the Frankish multitude spread themselves, regardless of order or discipline, like a swarm of locusts, over the exuberant plains of Lombardy, devouring its raw and rank productions with barbarian voracity. The mass of the army, impatient of the obstacles to the gratification of their rapacity which the impregnable walls of the cities presented, expended their strength in indiscriminate pillage and brutal indulgence, till the appointed period of military service had expired. Fevers and dysenteries carried off great numbers; and others quitted their ranks and retired to their homes in mutinous discontent. The Lombards meanwhile kept themselves close within their fortresses, and by well-timed sallies and desultory skirmishes cut off many of their enemies. The wasteful plunder of the open country soon exhausted its resources, and a distressing dearth was added to the sufferings of disease and disappointment. The divisions of Anduald, as well as that lately commanded by Olo, dissolved themselves and retired across the Alps; but so reduced in purse, that before they reached their homes they were compelled to sell their arms, and even their garments, to obtain sustenance for the march.⁷⁷

The Frankish duke Olo is killed;

the Greeks withhold their aid.

Fever and dysentery carry off great numbers of the Franks. Many soldiers desert.

They exhaust the resources of the country; the army breaks up, and retreats.

Though the Franks were unable to retain any portion of their Italian

Authari applies to Gun-

⁷⁴ The "Campi Canini" of the Romans.

⁷⁶ *Greg. Turon.* lib. x. c. 3. p. 364.

⁷⁵ *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. iii. c. 30. p. 451) mentions them by name.

⁷⁷ *Greg. Turon.* loc. cit. p. 365.—*Paul. Diac.* loc. cit. p. 451.

thram of Burgundy, as a mediator, for peace with Austrasia.

conquests,⁷⁸ it is probable that they made this expedition subservient to the confirmation of their dominion in Bavaria.⁷⁹ At all events the dangerous connexion of that people with the Lombards was cut off for the present, and the increased activity of the Pannonian Avârs soon furnished the Bavarians with sufficient employment at home. Meanwhile Authari availed himself of the mediation of Gunthram of Burgundy to put an end to the war with the Austrasian Franks. Gunthram received his ambassadors favourably, and supported their application at the court of his nephew Childebert with all his influence. But while the negotiations were still pending, the gallant Authari died at Pavia—it was believed of poison. His beautiful consort Theudelinda had become the idol of the Lombard people, as she had been of her happy husband. The estates of the kingdom placed the disposal of the crown in her hands; and resolved that the choice she might make of a second husband, provided he were a person of ducal rank, was to be regarded as the choice of the nation. After a decent interval of mourning, the queen gave her hand to the noble Agilulf, duke of Turin, a man of great personal strength and beauty, and of a vigorous but moderate and prudent character. In the month of May, in the year 591,⁸⁰ Agilulf was proclaimed king in the city of Milan; and he made it his first care to bring the negotiations for peace with the Franks to a close.

To this end he sent duke Evin and Agnellus, bishop of Trent, to the court of Childebert, to press the conclusion of the treaty, and to redeem those Lombard prisoners whom the Franks had carried away with them during the late invasion.⁸¹ The envoys were successful in these objects. Both nations had become weary of the destructive and indecisive wars with which they had harassed each other for a period of nearly sixteen years. Childebert had lost all confidence in his Greek allies;

Gunthram assents.

5th September, A.D. 590. Authari dies during the negotiation, and the Lombardi place the disposal of the crown in her hands.

She marries Agilulf, who is forthwith proclaimed king. A.D. 591.

Agilulf brings the treaty of peace to a conclusion.

⁷⁸ Gregory of Tours, it is true, tells us, that though they were unable to accomplish any of the objects of the expedition, yet they added to the kingdom of Childebert that which his father (Sigibert) had previously possessed. If this passage be indeed applicable to the duchy of Trent, as Valesius (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 365 note *f*, and *Hormayer* (Works, vol. i. p. 104) suppose, it is hardly to be reconciled with Paul Warnefrid's account of what occurred afterwards. In the first year of Agilulf (A.D. 591), Evin was in possession of his dukedom of Trent. *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. i. p. 454, and M. v. *Hormayer* himself admits that duke Evin died at Trent in the year 595. It is equally difficult to discover *what it was* that Sigibert had ever pos-

sessed in Italy. His duke Chramnichis had, as we have seen, been defeated and slain by Evin in the year 574, or thereabouts, and the invaders expelled from the duchy. Indeed Trent was one of the earliest possessions of the Lombards in Italy, and must have been originally conquered from the Franks in the year 568 by Alboin, if the passage in Gregory be held to apply to this district (conf. p. 636 of this section); for certainly they had held no part of the duchy since that year.

⁷⁹ See *Mannert* (Geschichte der alt. Deutsch.) vol. i. p. 234.

⁸⁰ *Art de vér.* &c. tom. i. p. 414.

⁸¹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. i. p. 454.

the latter found that their subsidies had been lavished in vain, and resented the tergiversation of the Franks with as much bitterness as if no part of the blame rested upon their own supine or faithless neglect of their engagements. Agilulf was too sensible of his own inability to resist a combined attack from both these quarters at once, not to desire to widen this misunderstanding. The indignant Franks threw no obstacle in the way of the proposed reconciliation; and a long period of tranquillity upon his Frankish frontier rewarded the wise policy of the Lombard monarch.⁸²

May,
A.D. 591.
Hormayer, i.
104.

⁸² *Paul. Diac.* loc. cit.—*Conf. Mascou*, vol. ii. p. 218.

C H A P. XII.

GERMANY AND FRANCE UNDER THE MERWINGIAN KINGS.—ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE GERMANIC NATIONS IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE Eleventh Chapter of our narrative has brought the history of the great migration of the northern nations of Europe to a close. We have already, on several occasions, adverted to the peculiar conduct of the new communities after the subsidence of the migratory spirit. But the period which we now approach opens out more abundant sources of information respecting the social and political condition of the newly-settled nations; and *this* it is which constitutes the chief interest of the story. The incidents themselves do not present more points of attraction than those of the prior age; and if we did not regard them as evidence of a new state of society—as stepping stones to a more complete acquaintance with the original forms of great institutions, and as keys to the master-principles of human conduct, we should be much inclined to pass them by as void of instruction or amusement. But there is a middle path before us, by pursuing which we hope to avoid prolixity without neglecting anything that is material to the elucidation of the important subjects just alluded to.

We shall not dwell upon those minute circumstances to which the original annalists and historians, from whom our materials are derived, attached great importance. Some of these are perhaps irrelevant as evidence of the particular facts to which the men of our own age ascribe a preponderating interest; a great many more are of value only in enabling the historian to frame his own conception of the character of the times, and, more particularly, to judge of the credit due to his witnesses, whose fidelity of general statement he is thus enabled to try by the accuracy and consistency of their particular detail. But the process by which these important duties are performed need not appear upon the face of his narrative: all that they are capable of doing for him may be extracted in private; and he may then, without any serious injury to the completeness of his history, allow them to sleep in the lonely archive, or in the ponderous volumes of the professed collector.

The particular aspect in which we are now called upon to view the forms which political society assumed in the sixth and seventh centuries is of great importance to the right comprehension, not merely of Germanic, but of European history. It discloses to us the earliest germs of the feudal condition and polity; it exhibits the original forms of religious belief prevalent among the old Teutonic tribes, in combination with the spurious Christianity of an age of ignorance and superstition; it indicates the rise of the sacerdotal power, and marks the quarter from whence emanated that mighty influence which moulded the chaos of religious feeling and prejudice into a well-digested and efficient system of spiritual dominion. The further development of this great scheme will be resumed in the following chapter; the ground upon which it was built must be pointed out in this.

SECTION I.—A. D. 574 to A. D. 587.

Inducements to the Treaty of Andelau—Dispute respecting the Kingdom of Charibert—Death of Chilperich—Gunthram protects the infant Chlothar II. of Neustria—Conspiracy of the Nobles to dethrone the reigning Princes—Gunthram convokes an Assembly at Andelau. I. Ranks and Conditions with reference to the Land—1. The Roman Proprietors—2. The Franks—Sources of the Feudal Institutions—3. The Leudes—The great Nobility becomes merged in the body of Leudes—4. The class of Freemen—Attributes of personal Freedom—5. Serfs, Bondsmen and Freedmen—Roman Coloni—Liti—Causes of Slavery—Tokens of Servitude—Villain Services—Household and predial Services—Manumission—II. Ranks and Conditions with reference to Government—Proceres or Nobles—Antrustions—Officers in Hoste—Officers in Truste—Wehr-gelds—Attendants and Followers of Antrustions—Treaty of Andelau—Objects of the Treaty—Relates to Fiscal Lands only—Benefices, conditional, resumable, not hereditary.

WE have already adverted to some of the events which led to the meeting of the Burgundian and Austrasian estates at Andelau, under the auspices of Gunthram of Burgundy.¹ It is necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to state somewhat more fully a few of the most prominent circumstances which preceded it.

The dagger of Fredegundis had cut short the career of Sigibert; and scarcely had the loud homage of the Leudes assembled at Vitry died away upon their lips, than they were found ready to repeat the venal oath to their former lord. Paris and the southern dependencies again hailed Chilperich as their king; and his talents and activity, seconded by the crafty and resolute character of his queen Fredegundis, enabled him to retain an almost undisturbed possession of the entire kingdom of Charibert to the end of his life.

Chilperich re-gains his kingdom,

and keeps possession of that of Charibert.

¹ Chap. xi. sec. 5. p. 631 of this volume.

A.D. 584.
He is assassi-
nated. He
leaves an in-
fant son, Chlo-
thar II., only
four months
old, under the
guardianship
of his mother
Fredegundis.
Gunthram, of-
fended by his
adopted son,
Childebert II.,
protects the
regent of Neu-
stria.

The Austra-
sian and Neus-
trian nobles
conspire to de-
throned the
reigning
princes.

In the year 584 the king of Paris and Soissons fell by the dagger of an assassin, as he was dismounting from his horse on his return from hunting.² He left behind him an infant son named Chlothar, whom the nobles and Leudes of the kingdom immediately acknowledged as their king. Fredegundis,³ as the guardian of the minor sovereign, cultivated a good understanding with Gunthram of Burgundy, and that prince promised his assistance and protection. The death of Chilperich had, in fact, totally changed the relative position of the three courts. Gunthram was now delivered from the fear of a dangerous neighbour; at the same time it had come to his knowledge that Childebert II. had of late entered into communications with Chilperich, the object of which was to deprive him of his crown.⁴ Natural resentment of such unworthy treatment from one whom he had already declared heir of his kingdom, inclined him to extend his protection to the infant king of Soissons; while the almost helpless state of Fredegundis seemed to secure her absolute dependence upon himself. It appears likewise that the disputed inheritance of Charibert had been yielded up to him by the Neustrians as the price of his alliance; and when a proposal was made on the part of Childebert II. to set aside the infant Chlothar II., and share his kingdom,⁵ he not only refused his concurrence, but reproached the Austrasian with his previous perfidy towards himself, and declared his intention to retain the contested territory as a forfeiture, justly incurred by disloyalty and treason towards an adopted father and benefactor.

Meanwhile the Austrasian kingdom itself had become a prey to internal dissensions. A numerous party of nobles and courtiers, at the

² Chilperich was a person of acquirements very unusual in a layman of that age. He had learnt to read and to write, and even to make verses; but of these Gregory of Tours speaks with exceeding disrespect. He added a few letters to the Frankish alphabet, to express sounds for which the Latin characters which the nation had adopted afforded no equivalent. He moreover studied the New Testament, and wrote a treatise upon the Trinity, wherein he fell plump into the heresy of the Sabellians, by denying the distinct personality of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The royal dogmatist was not a little surprised when bishop Salvius informed him that the church had already decided the question against him. See this amusing anecdote, ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 45. p. 260. The coarse invective of the bishop of Tours only proves that Chilperich had had the sense to perceive and to check the rapid progress of the church towards the acqui-

sition of a very inconvenient amount of power and influence in the state.

³ The author of the *Gesta Francorum* (c. 35. p. 564) imputes the murder of Chilperich to Fredegundis, whom he had detected in an intrigue with Landerich, the high steward (major domus) of the royal household. *Gregory of Tours* (lib. x. c. 19. p. 376) seems to impute the crime to one Sunnegisel; *Fredegarius* (Hist. Franc. Epit. c. 93) to a person named Falco. The story of the "Gesta," &c. is probably no more than the expression of the universal detestation in which the memory of Fredegundis was held. The contemporary historian knows nothing of many of the crimes imputed to this celebrated woman in after ages.

⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. 3. p. 266.

⁵ Chlothar II. was only four months old at the death of his father Chilperich.

head of whom stood the powerful duke Rauching, entered into a secret league with certain malcontent chiefs of Neustria, for the purpose of removing not only Gunthram himself, but also Childebert II. and Brunehildis, and raising Theudebert and Theuderich, the infant sons of Childebert, to the vacant thrones, and in their name of engrossing the absolute government of the whole realm. The infant Chlothar could not, they thought, oppose any serious obstacle to their plan, if it should prove successful against the more powerful parties. But Gunthram obtained intelligence of the plot. He warned his nephew Childebert; duke Rauching was forthwith put to death; the conspirators were dispersed, overpowered singly, and most of them perished by the sword. The triumph of Brunehildis was complete; Childebert submitted passively to her guidance; and even Gunthram suppressed his dislike, and yielded up to her certain districts in Aquitaine, which she claimed as the heiress of her sister Galsuintha.

Gunthram discovers the plot; the conspirators are punished, and the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia again approach each other.

Still the division of Charibert's inheritance continued the subject of perpetual and harassing contention to both kingdoms. During the continuance of the unhappy contest, the beneficiary vassals had thrown themselves alternately into this or that scale as the balance of private advantage seemed to incline. The wars of the Frankish kings among themselves were not national wars. Had this been the case, the dismemberment of the kingdom must have long since taken place. From all we read relative to the state of parties, we cannot resist the conviction that the armies with which they were carried on consisted entirely of the beneficiary vassals or Leudes, and their dependents; and that the cause of the combatant princes rested wholly upon *their* fidelity and attachment. But the frequent changes of territory, the ever-recurring desertions and secessions, had so confounded the limits of allegiance, that the kings no longer knew on whom they could rely. The partizans held themselves almost discharged of the duties of subjects; they carried on their own private wars without reference to the public cause, or the interests of the prince to whom their services were pledged; they renounced obedience where it was due, and claimed protection where they had no right to require it. Desertions and treasons were encouraged by the mad ambition of the rival kings; and when they began to take breath after their murderous conflicts, they were surprised to find all the bounds of authority broken down, and the limits of legal obedience almost obliterated⁶.

The division of Charibert's kingdom remains the source of jealousy and contention.

Amid the turmoil of civil war, Gunthram of Burgundy had displayed

Gunthram pro-

⁶ The facts upon which this statement is founded, will be found in *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. and ix. passim. We shall have occasion here-

after to quote the particular passages in reference to the general "state of the nation."

poses a definitive settlement of the question,

A.D. 587. and a meeting takes place at Andelan which terminates in a convention for the partition of the disputed territories, and the settlement of the duties of the great officers, vassals, and beneficiaries of the Frankish kingdom.

more moderation of character than any of his competitors. He was beloved and caressed by the clergy, and his position enabled him in some measure to check the headlong progress of anarchy. The preponderance which the course of events had now thrown into his hands, enabled him to apply a remedy to the manifold disorders of the realm. He proposed to Brunehildis and Childebert a scheme for an equitable partition of the disputed territories, for determining the duties of the Leudes or crown vassals, and for settling the future succession to the kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy. A meeting between Gunthram, Brunehildis and Childebert was held in the year 587, and a treaty was concluded, which has been properly held to throw great light upon the relations of the Frankish kings to the great officers and vassals of their dominions, and to afford important explanations with respect to the earliest rudiments of the feudal system. This point of time is, therefore, the most favourable for a short retrospective view of that state of society which had been growing up among the Franks since the conquest of Gaul, to point out the elements of which it consisted, and to indicate the steps by which it reached that stage at which we find it at the epoch of the convention of Andelau.

Ranks and conditions of men among the Franks.

As among all the ancient Germans, so among the Franks, a three-fold distinction of ranks prevailed, founded partly upon birth, and partly upon personal distinction.⁷ In their primitive state, a difference seems to have subsisted between the functions of the king or chief, and those of the duke or military leader. But at the period now under review that difference had become obliterated, and the ranks in society consisted still of kings or supreme civil and military chiefs; 2. nobles, and 3. freemen.⁸ Out of the two latter ranks there arose, in the progress of landed acquisition, a variety of conditions and classes of men, deriving their origin *partly from their connexion with the lands, and partly from their relation to the government.* These distinctions are sufficiently marked in the Frankish codes to enable us to point out with a great degree of certainty the ranks and conditions which proceeded from either or both of these sources.

To be considered, *First*, in their relation to the *land*: Secondly, in their relation to the *government*.

I. 1. Fate of the old or Roman proprietors of the soil.

I. 1. The new relations of society which took place after the acquisition of landed property by the Franks in Gaul call for a sketch of the treatment of the ancient Roman proprietors by their conquerors, and of the conditions of men which arose out of that treatment. Unlike the Burgundians, Longobardi, and Goths, the Franks did not—as far as we are informed—adopt any definite mode of partitioning the lands of the

⁷ See chap. ii. sec. ii. p. 85 of this volume.

⁸ Conf. note 7 to the passage cited in the preceding note.

conquered. But though we possess no direct evidence respecting the precise scheme of transfer, there remains no doubt that a very large portion of the land passed into the hands of the new-comers. The extensive possessions of the imperial Fiscus, together with all the rights which the emperors had exercised within and over them, fell to the share of the Frankish kings, and constituted thenceforward the domain, or, as it is uniformly designated, the "Fiscus" of their kingdoms. Again, the ravages of war, the extinction of families, the gradual depopulation and abandonment which resulted from the anarchical character of the times, must have placed a vast extent of unclaimed land at the disposal of the conquerors; and this land, without doubt, they applied to their own use, and shared among themselves.⁹

The imperial estates fall into the hands of the Frankish king. "The people divide among themselves the lands vacated by war and anarchy and consequent depopulation."

Still many of the ancient inhabitants continued in possession of their estates. The greater proprietors entered into the service of the kings; the lesser enjoyed their lands subject to the imposts previously levied by the imperial government. A third class, consisting of the mere cultivators of the soil, continued in a state approaching closely to slavery. All these conditions were originally liable to the Roman tribute, which was assessed upon them according to the ancient tax-registers of the empire;¹⁰ and all were, from the first, placed in a position of legal inferiority to the Frankish conquerors.¹¹ In after-times therefore we distinguish three denominations of Roman subjects: 1. Roman Table-companions of the king—*Romani convivæ regis*; 2. Roman free proprietors—*Romani Possessores*; and 3. Roman tributaries—*Romani Tributarii*.¹² But though these three classes were, in the eye of the law, inferior to Franks, none but the last of them laboured under a total civil disqualification. Every free Roman might aspire to become the

The remaining Roman proprietors are liable to the tributes formerly paid to the emperors,

and are placed in

a condition of legal inferiority to that of the Franks.

⁹ Conf. *Savigny*, vol. i. p. 267.

¹⁰ Comp. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ix. c. 30. p. 350; and lib. x. c. 7. p. 366, with *Mannert*, vol. i. pp. 228 and 231. These registers however afterwards fell into disuse; the clergy, whose lands, like those of the old inhabitants, were liable to the "tributum," contended stoutly against the impost, and in the age of Childebert II. succeeded in getting rid of it altogether. In the hands of the Frankish government it could never have been very productive. The duty of assessing and collecting it had, in conformity with the old Roman practice, been imposed upon the citizens of the towns (*Comp. chap. viii. p. 310 of this volume*), and advantage was frequently taken of the ignorance and venality of the royal officers to evade it altogether. The registers themselves were often lost or destroyed, and the impost vanished with them; and thus, before the end of the sixth

century, this vexatious system of taxation was abandoned as obsolete and impracticable.

¹¹ This appears from the difference of the Wehrgeld or compositions for homicide. Thus the death of a free Roman proprietor (*Romanus possessor*) was compounded for by the payment of 100 Solidi, while that of a "*Francus Ingentius*" (the corresponding rank) was rated at 200 Solidi. *Lex Salica*. Tit. xliii. § 1 and 7, ap. *Cancian*, tom. ii. p. 143. The compositions for the other ranks are in proportion.

¹² *Lex Sal.* loc. mod. cit. § 6, 7, 8. Thus Asteriolus and Secundinus, officers of the court of Theudebert of Austrasia were probably such *Romani convivæ regis* (*Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 23. p. 201); so likewise Aurelian under Chlodwig (p. 503 of this volume), and perhaps Arcadius, the satellite of Childebert I. and Chlothar I., (*ibid.* p. 529.)

companion of the sovereign as a warrior or as a statesman; and, like the rest, to share the munificence of the crown.¹³ The *mere* tributaries, whatever their original condition, sank in process of time into that of the non-freemen.

The free Frank (Francus ingenuus) the companion, not the subject, of the prince.

2. From the Roman subject of the new Frankish realms, we pass to the condition of the free Frank, or, as he is styled in the Latin of the age, the "Francus Ingenuus." By virtue of his original and inherent liberty of person, the free Frank was not bound to follow the king in any war to which he had not assented as a member of the free community of warriors; he acknowledged no power of coercion or punishment in the king except in the field; he denied his liability to impost or tax of any kind¹⁴; he strenuously asserted his national superiority over the vanquished Roman, and carefully guarded himself by positive law against such an equality of treatment as might imply equality of condition.¹⁵ The prince was scarcely less dependent upon the numbers and attachment of these free followers now, than when he ranged the forests of Germany in quest of adventure and spoil. Every freeman in his own estimation still stood in the honourable relation of the voluntary follower of the king; and claimed to be consulted in all measures in which he was to take a share, or by which his interests might be affected.

Immediately after the conquest the prince is hardly less dependent upon his free followers than before.

Every free man is however bound to attend the Heribann or general military muster of the realm. This is not so much the duty as the privilege of his condition.

But after the conquest there is a perceptible change in one particular. Every Frank was, in virtue of his freedom, a warrior by birth, and now became *bound* to attend the summons of his prince to the general muster of the realm. Under the earlier princes of the Merwingian family this military assembly is noticed, by the name of the "Heribann," and in the Latin of the age, under that of the "Campus Martius." Whether any and what public business, not of a military character, was transacted at these meetings it is difficult to determine.¹⁶ The period of their recurrence is not more easily ascertainable; it is however not improbable that they took place once a year, or as often as the public exigency or the projects of the sovereign required it;¹⁷ and it may be admitted

¹³ Instances will be quoted hereafter. All that is here asserted is, that they were *not* disqualified.

¹⁴ See several instances ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iii. c. 36. and lib. vii. c. 15. The illegal exactions, however, which the bishop reprobates in these passages, may appear to apply to free Franks only.

¹⁵ The distinction of Wehrgeld between the ancient inhabitants and their conquerors pervades all the barbaric laws.

¹⁶ Conf. *Grimm*, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 295.

¹⁷ I am not yet satisfied with the evidence

upon which the very generally adopted proposition rests, that it was the custom of the Merwingian kings FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL to assemble the people each year in the month of MARCH. The only passage in Gregory of Tours which seems to afford direct evidence, relates obviously to a merely military muster—a Campus Martius, or field of review—"Transacto anno"—i. e. a year having elapsed since the audacious act of the soldier, who had refused the golden vase to Chlodwig—"omnem armorum apparatu advenire phalangam, ostensuram in Campo Martio suorum armorum nitorem." *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. 27. p. 175. The object of this Campus

that such meetings afforded good opportunities for the adjustment of private disputes ; the trial and punishment of public offenders, and the discussion of such general measures of government as could not be carried into effect without the sanction of the whole free population. Beyond these conjectures our acquaintance with the nature of the earlier popular assemblies of the Franks will not carry us.

All the evidence however tends to establish the fact that the kings of the Franks were to such an extent dependent upon the general feeling and opinion of the people, that they would have found it impossible to commence or carry through any measure, or any enterprise in which the public at large took an interest, without the general concurrence, ascertained by some public and satisfactory organ. The Geleit,¹⁸ or chosen companions of the kings, stood indeed in a closer relation to them than the great body of the people ; but neither the power nor the numbers of these select associates were now found adequate to the enlarged prospects and designs of the Frankish princes, or to control the inclinations of the nation in the mass. The kings therefore sought the means of increasing their numbers, and of converting the voluntary ties which had hitherto bound them to their service, into a permanent obligation. All benefits already flowed through the chief to the "Comes," or companion ; the firmest bonds of honour attached him to his person ; the utmost penalty awaited the deserter and the traitor ; the Geleits-man or Leudis was armed, fed, and clothed, by his chief ; and nothing seemed wanting to

In this state of things the Frankish princes find themselves wholly dependent upon the will of the people.

They therefore cast about for means of converting the voluntary ties which connected them with the Geleit into a permanent obligation.

Martius was *an inspection of arms*,—a military parade. The word is borrowed from the Romans, and used in the same sense as they used it. And so it seems to have been understood by *Flodoardus* (circa A.D. 950), and by *Hincmar of Rheims* (circa A.D. 850) ; see also *Du Cange Gloss. ad voc. Camp. Mart.* In the whole work of *Gregory of Tours*, though it extends over a period of nearly two centuries, there is not another allusion to the "Fields of March." His narrative however closes precisely at a period when great changes were about to take place. The first instance of any great legislative measure passing at a council held in the *month of March* is an ordinance of *Childebert II.*, promulgated at *Andernach*, about the year 595 (see *Canciani*, tom. ii. p. 115), for the remedy of several gross abuses and disorders, and for punishing the crime of murder with death. From that period these assemblies became more frequent, and their objects better defined. And thence it seems to me that the "Mos Francorum" of *Aimoin*, who wrote at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, as well as the "Consuetudo Francorum," mentioned in the *Annals of Metz* (ad Ann. 692,

ap. *Pertz*. tom. i. p. 320), a work of the last years of the tenth century, must be dated from that period, and not from the origin of the nation, or from the conquest. I admit that the writers of a subsequent age speak of these musters as an ancient custom of the Franks, and as a general legislative assembly ; it is frequently noticed, under the name of "Conventus,"—"Conventus generalis,"—"Conventus maximus,"—"Mallum publicum,"—"Curia Francorum,"—and after the Ordinances of *Pepin* (A.D. 766), under that of *Campus Martii*. But all these writers lived and wrote at least a century after *Childebert II.*,—most of them much later ; so that the custom had quite time enough to grow up since the death of that prince, or the accession of *Chlothar II.* (A.D. 613), from whose reign so many important innovations may be dated.

¹⁸ For the derivation of the word "Geleit" or "Geleut," see note 14 to chap. ii. sec. 2, p. 89 of this volume. I shall here transfer the words of that note to the text, because I do not see that I could vary them materially with advantage.

This is the genuine source of the Feudal institution.

convert the subsisting relation into *vassalage*, but a binding contract like that which the distribution of the lands and possessions of the Roman Fiscus now enabled him to conclude. In this observation the rise of "feudalism" is, we apprehend, traced to its true and legitimate source. No time indeed is marked,—no specific spot in the chart of history is pointed to of which it could be said, "Here is the fountain-head;"—but the region is indicated, and the direction of the current is ascertained; all the previous and subsequent historical phenomena confirm the presumption, and the subject of inquiry is placed upon a clearer and more intelligible basis.

With a view to fix the inclination of the military class by legal obligation the king grants out the Fiscal lands to them upon condition of personal attendance and services.

With a view therefore to fix the inclinations of the chiefs of the people, and of their followers, by the tie of interest and by legal obligation, large portions of the royal Fiscus, or domanial lands were granted out to them as of the *liberality* of the king,¹⁹ under the implied or expressed stipulation of military service, attendance upon his court and person, and general fidelity.²⁰ Inasmuch as the source out of which this bounty flowed was the private estate of the sovereign, the obligation itself assumed a strictly personal character. These "benefices" therefore came to be regarded in the light of salaries or retainers, paid to the king's friends—the officers of his court, his personal attendants, body-guard, "Comitatus," Geleit;—in consideration of their attendance and services in war and in peace; and to this body of men the name of "Leudes" was distinctively applied.

3. Leudes or original Geleit—free companions—become now the instruments of the royal designs. They render him less dependent upon the will of the people.

3. Though the Leudes were not, strictly speaking, a new rank in society, yet their character as a body in the state now underwent a material change. Originally they were neither powerful nor numerous enough to control the popular will. But soon after the conquest we find them in a condition to render the king in a very great degree independent of the nation; they enable him to carry on wars in which the nation took little interest, to pursue plans of private aggrandizement, and to gratify private jealousies and resentments without having recourse to the Heribann of the nation, and probably therefore to dispense with those multitudinous assemblies from which he must frequently have met with mortifying contradiction. And in fact the long-continued feuds between the Frankish princes to which we have already had occasion to advert, were henceforward carried on almost wholly by the Leudes. The great nobles and officers of state²¹ frequently stood aloof, and watched the turn of affairs

¹⁹ For specific instances of such grants see *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 3., and lib. vi. c. 45. Several others occur passim. See also *Aimoin De Gest. &c.*, *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 38.

²⁰ This is given as the probable amount of the stipulation; but in the origin of *beneficia* it would be difficult, if not impossible to determine

what the precise conditions were. Conf. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 207.

²¹ *Proceres*, *Majores natu*, *Seniores*, as they are indifferently called, together with dukes, counts, Antrustiones, are the body here alluded to.

most favourable to their own interests ; the people regarded with indifference contests which did not immediately affect them or their rights,²² while the great body of Alodial proprietors, the original partitioners of the conquered territory,—the free and unfettered proprietors of the soil, beheld with dismay the pillage of their property, or defended themselves with difficulty against the insolent encroachments of the hired retainers of the crown.

The peculiar relation of the Leudes to the general mass of the free men, therefore, arose out of the tenure of Fiscal land. They constituted now the most influential body of men in the state. Their tenure presented advantages of which all, without exception, were anxious to partake, and their numbers were very soon augmented by the accession of the nobility and great proprietors, who readily availed themselves of that power which large hereditary possessions already conferred, to merit or to extort important benefices from the crown ; and thus to assume the first rank among the Leudes, and to become the most intimate counsellors of the sovereign. The words used to denote this high class are precisely those applied in all ages to an aristocracy of birth.²³ Throughout the history of the ancient Germans we find the interest attached to ancient descent, and great ancestral merit,²⁴ never wholly obliterated from the minds of the people.²⁵ It is possible that for a time these claims may have been obscured amid the turmoil of conquest, and the opportunities it offered to persons of inferior birth to lay claim to similar distinctions ; yet the popular opinion by which those earlier pretensions were supported never became extinct,²⁶ and was ever at hand to revive and foster them, as soon as society should assume a more settled form.

The great nobility enrol themselves among the Leudes and beneficiarii.

Whatever may have been their original rights or distinctions,²⁷ the

Whereby they

²² Conf. *Professor Stenzel's* sensible summary of the elements of the feudal relation between the nobles and freemen on the one part, and the sovereign on the other (*Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, vol. i. p. 170).

²³ See *Greg. Turon.* lib. vii. cc. 19 and 32, and elsewhere. The appellations alluded to are, "Majores natu,"—"Seniores,"—"Principes,"—"Optimates,"—"Proceres." The numerous passages in which these names occur are accurately quoted by *Hüllman*, (*Geschichte des Ursprungs*, &c., p. 176). The most detailed examination of the question whether the Germanic races acknowledged a birth nobility distinct from the great body of the freemen, is to be found in *Jacob Grimm's Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 267, et seqq.

²⁴ The "insignis nobilitas," and the "magua patrum merita" of *Tacitus* (*Germ.* c. 13).

²⁵ Thus the laws of the Saxons, Anglo-Saxons, Angles and Werini, Burgundians and Lombards, all notice the distinction between an ordinary freeman and a Nobilis, Adeling, Atheling, or Etheling. *Grimm.* ubi sup.

²⁶ Unless it be contended that the Franks formed an exception to the universal practice of the other barbaric nations ;—a bold proposition to maintain.

²⁷ *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 357) thinks that the Optimates, Majores natu, or Proceres, were the hereditary counsellors of the kings. The Lombards chose their kings from among the Athelings. The Goths fixed upon the Anses (likewise a birth nobility), as the royal race. The Franks selected the Merwingian family. We meet with many noble races mentioned by name among the barbaric nations ; but we have no account of their peculiar privileges (excepting

place their original rights and privilege upon a new foundation.

They become intermingled with the great body of the Leudes.

nobles were now content to place them upon a new foundation. They mingled with the ever increasing and prospering body of the Leudes, and shared with them the munificence of the crown. Their privilege was diluted by the numbers and the power of their new associates; they perceived that if that privilege was to be sustained at all, it must be by the superior quality and extent of the benefices conferred upon them to secure their support;—it must be by royal favour, and by the influence of office. The kings themselves did not spare the Fiscus when it became necessary to attach the rich, the noble, and the free to their person and service. Even bishops and priests stretched out their hands for “Beneficia;” and it was no unusual sight to behold prelates in armour discharging the ordinary duties of these lay tenures, and heading their retainers at the Heribann of the kingdom.²⁸

4. Simple freemen.

4. A fourth class of subjects, as distinguished from the three preceding conditions, claims our notice on the score of their numbers, their original importance, and their subsequent fortunes. This class consisted of the simple *freemen*. They constituted in all the more ancient Germanic communities the body and the strength of the nation. Their condition was the basis upon which all distinctions rested; it was the groundwork of nobility, which boasted the same rights, only in a higher degree. “Every man,” says an eminent German antiquary, “was free, that was born of a free father and a free mother: the word ‘free’ runs through all the Germanic tongues, and fully answers to the Latin ‘ingenuus,’ and ‘liber;’ and hence in the Latin codes and chartularies of the ancient Germans, these words are used synonymously to express the condition of full freedom.” We shall here enumerate the legal attributes of personal freedom. 1. The free man possessed *full liberty to go whithersoever he pleased, without let or hindrance from any one*: he acknowledged neither lord, nor master, nor service, nor political obligation, but such as he had freely and specifically adopted or assented to. His family and his property partook of, and followed his personal condition. 2. *The right to carry arms*:²⁹ the genuine freeman was born to arms;³⁰ he always bore them at the

The attributes of personal freedom are, liberty to go whithersoever the freeman pleases.

The right to go armed.

perhaps that of a higher wehrgeld). And in an age of total literary darkness it would be surprising if we had. The distinction rested solely upon *opinion*, and it is the work of a much more advanced stage of civilization to reduce that opinion into the form of law, or of settled and well-defined usage.

²⁸ Thus the bishops Salonus and Sagittarius fought at the battle of Embrun, in which Mumolus defeated the Lombards (chap. xi. sec. 5. p. 634). See *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 43 p. 225. And so *Fredегarius* (in Chron. c. 41. p. 429).

“Burgundiæ Farones (Barones) vero, tam *episcopi* quam *cæteri Leudes*, &c.”

²⁹ “Nihil neque publicæ, neque privatæ rei, nisi *armati* agunt.” *Tac. Germ.* c. 13.

³⁰ Thus the *Sachsen-spiegel*, “Dat echte kint unde vri behalt sines vader schilt.” (Book iii. Art. 72, p. 167, Ed. 1827.) “The legitimate child and free takes his father’s *shield*, and his inheritance, and likewise that of his mother, &c.” Hence the word “*Schildbürtig*,” “born to the shield,” a free-born man.

“Heribann,” at the “Mallum,”³¹ and at all public meetings in which he took part, as by right he was entitled to do. This custom, together with that of wearing the hair either loosely flowing over the shoulders, or gathered—as among the Suevi of Tacitus,³²—upon the crown of the head, were the earliest badges of personal liberty: the latter custom disappeared; the former was retained with pertinacity down to the latest period of feudalism. 3. *The right to avenge his own wrongs either in person, or by the hands of his family and kindred*, provided he did not elect to accept the compensation or the wehrgeld, offered by the law. In aggravated cases he was borne out by the usage of society in pursuing his enemy to satisfaction without stint or measure. But if he chose the legal indemnity offered him, the “Faida” or Deathfeud abated, and might not be revived but by some fresh injury. The same right was exercised by kings and nobles, who in their private wars assumed to act by the same rule as that appealed to by every freeman; and the appropriate termination of every such feud, whether between public or private persons, was as genuine a treaty of peace, as if it had been concluded between independent and irresponsible belligerents. The right of the Faida was extinguished first among the lower classes of freemen; it lasted longer among the princes and minor nobility; it became at last restricted to kings and sovereigns; and with them it still rests—for the protection of the national honour; but no longer for the gratification of private resentments, or the redress of merely private wrongs.³³ 5. *The life of every freeman was protected by a wehrgeld or composition in money*; for the defence of the weak against the strong man.³⁴ For the non-free-man there was no wehrgeld; the kindred of the person slain were entitled to nothing; but the lord claimed his value in money, as he would that of any other chattel which might have been lost, damaged, or destroyed by accident, or by the neglect or the malice of another.³⁵ 6. *The freeman alone was capable of holding real property*. Upon the possession of land depended the right of attending the cantonal and other courts, and of exercising almost every other political franchise; the free landed proprietor alone was competent to the Heribann or general assembly of freemen of the realm,³⁶ and to the particular assemblies of the gau or

The right to
avenge his own
wrongs by force
of arms.

The life of
every freeman
was protected
by a wehrgeld.

Freemen alone
could hold
land.

³¹ The cantonal court, “Gau-gericht.”

³² Tacitus, Germ. c. 38. See other modes of wearing the hair peculiar to freemen, ap. Claudian, De IV. Cons. Honor. vv. 446, 447. Sidon. Apoll. carm. xii. Paul. Diac. lib. iv. c. 23; and other authorities quoted by Grimm, Deutsch. Rechtsalterth. p. 285—287.

³³ Conf. chap. ii. sec. 2. p. 82 of this volume.

Also chap. x. sec. 3. p. 529, note 10. Grimm, loc. cit. p. 288.

³⁴ The alternative of the Faïda was, in the earlier ages at least, always open to him.

³⁵ Lex Sal. tit. xi. § 2, 5, 6, 7; and tit. xxxviii. § 1, 2, 3, and 4.

³⁶ He was the “Arimann” (Harimann, Herimann, Heer-man, Man of the assembly, array

canton for judicial or local purposes: he was liable to be called upon to take part in the hue and cry, or fresh pursuit of malefactors; to obey the summons to the general array or military heribann, and to follow the king in his wars. The summons to the performance of these duties consisted either of a public notice by proclamation,³⁷ by the sound of a horn, or the ringing of bells; or by a symbol,—such as the delivery of a spear, an arrow, a mallet, a hat, a flag,—or by a lighted beacon. Inasmuch as upon all the occasions above adverted to the free proprietors appeared in arms, it is probable that the term “Heribann” was not confined to military gatherings; but that other assemblies convoked by the ordinary “cry to arms,”³⁸—the readiest and most intelligible mode of convocation for all purposes which could be adopted in so rude a state of society,—frequently went by that name.³⁹

5. Condition of serfs and bondsmen.

Of these there were two classes only.

Origin of servitude, war, and conquest.

5. The foregoing sketch of the *original* privileges and duties of free men is intended to apply specifically to the first two centuries after the conquest.⁴⁰ But in the delineation of this early stage of Frankish society, we cannot pass over certain inferior conditions, connected, though perhaps not so immediately as the preceding, with the state of landed property; these are *serfs*, *bondsmen*, and *freedmen*.⁴¹ Properly speaking, there were but two classes of non-freemen: the first comprehended all persons who were *absolutely*; the second, those who were only *partially* dependent.⁴² The first is designated by the common appellation of serf or thrall,⁴³ importing the absence of all civil rights, and absolute dependence upon the will of another. The origin of servitude may be almost universally traced to war and conquest. Among the Germans, prisoners taken in battle or raid lost all the distinctions of freemen, and became the mere property of the captor. The life of every captured warrior was forfeited, and might be taken at the pleasure of the victor; if therefore it was spared, there remained no restriction behind upon the arbitrary right of

or host) of the Longobardi: he was the “*Rachinburgius*” of the Franks, the “*Bieder-mann*,” (Bonus homo), the good man and true of the Germans and English; the “*καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός*” of the Greeks; all words implying the full participation in the rights and virtues of free men.

³⁷ Clamor—Hue and cry—heer-horn.

³⁸ “Clamor ad arma.” Fr. “Aux armes”—Hence, “Alarm.” “Larum.” Germ. “Lärm.”

³⁹ Grimm, loc. cit. p. 295.

⁴⁰ In the progress of feudalism they underwent very important modifications, which will be noticed hereafter. It is important as much as possible to avoid confounding the institutions of one age with those of another.

⁴¹ Germ. Leibeigene — Hörige — Freigelassene.

⁴² The various terms by which these several relations are designated in all the Teutonic dialects are collected and arranged by Grimm, loc. cit. pp. 300—306.

⁴³ The term “Schalk” or “Skalk” was the most universal name for the condition of absolute servitude. The Anglo-Saxon þræll, Swed. Dan. Träl, answers to the old North. “Skalk,” and both correspond nearly with the Latin “Servus” and the Greek “δούλος.” From þræll and þrældóm come our vernacular “thrall” and “thralldom.”

dealing with the mere person as he thought fit. Captivity reduced kings, and princes, and nobles, and freemen, and slaves, to the same level. But it seems that when the victory was followed by the occupation of the territory of the vanquished, a more indulgent mode of treatment was adopted. The Goths, Burgundians, and Lombards, as we have seen, took a portion only of the land; the original proprietor was permitted to retain the rest with the rank of a free man. The freedom of the Roman inhabitant of the Frankish kingdom is attested by the prolonged existence of a great many Roman institutions, and by the privilege of Wehrgeld granted by the conquerors to their Roman subjects, a privilege never conceded to any but freemen.⁴⁴

All prisoners are reduced to servitude.

But when the Germanic tribes settle in the conquered territory, they do not enslave the free inhabitants.

But though the Franks did not in general reduce the free inhabitants of Gaul to slavery, they did not alter the condition of those whom they found in a state of servitude. The whole mass of the Roman *coloni*, or predial labourers and domestic slaves, continued attached to their servile employments, and passed with the land into the hands of the conquerors.⁴⁵ In the process of time, however, various causes operated to mitigate the condition of absolute servitude, and to introduce a middle class of dependents, who, though destitute of most of the rights of freemen, were nevertheless exempted from the worst caprices of domestic tyranny. This class was designated among the Franks, Frisians, Saxons, and Alemanni, under the name of "Leti," or "Lidi,"⁴⁶ among the Lombards under that of "Aldii" and "Aldiones;" and, in a later age, the general appellation of *Hörige*, denoting persons bound to obey the arbitrary behests of another, was applied to all the shades of bondage between the conditions of absolute servitude and perfect freedom.⁴⁷

Various causes contribute to mitigate the condition of absolute servitude,

and to introduce a middle class of dependents named *Liti* or *Lidi*, *Aldiones*—*Hörige*.

The means by which the class of non-freemen was sustained and recruited may be thus shortly summed up: 1. *By birth*;—where both mother and father were of the servile or non-free condition, the offspring followed that of the parents; but when the parents were of different

The means by which the class of non-freemen was sustained and recruited are:
1. Birth,

⁴⁴ *Grimm*. loc. cit. p. 321.

⁴⁵ Such were the "Mancipiorum Tertiae," which were handed over with the land to the Burgundian conquerors. *Lex Burg.* tit. liv. § 1. ap. *Canc.* iv. p. 29.

⁴⁶ *Grimm* (p. 308) derives the word through its equivalent form "latus" from the adj. *laz* (*piger*, *tardus*) Goth. *lats*, Ang.-Sax. *lāt*, Old Nor. *latr*. "That a person," he continues, "of servile condition, should be designated as 'segnis,' 'ignavus,' in opposition to the noble and the free, who is the 'fortis' and the 'celer,' seems exceedingly natural. The superlatives of *laz*—*lazortō*, *lazirtō*, mean not only the latest

and lowest, but also the worst and meanest, and in this form also the word is peculiarly applicable to persons of servile condition." The great grammarian pursues the scent with his ordinary sagacity.

⁴⁷ This was the notion I had formed of the force of the term "*Hörigkeit*," before the passage in *Eichhorn* (vol. i. c. 49. p. 141) met my eye. "*Hörigkeit*," he says, "among the Franks, is the most appropriate general term for the different classes of non-freemen between the absolute serf (*leibeigene*) and the mere tributary (*Zinspflichtige*.)"

2. Disparaging marriage.

3. Voluntary renunciation of freedom:

for debt; or from helplessness.

4. Enslavement by violence.

condition, the general rule seems to have been that the children followed the lower grade.⁴⁸ The children of a free mother, by a husband of a lower rank, were not regarded as of "equal birth" with her; those of a free man, by a servile or non-free woman, were in a similar predicament; their birth was tainted by the condition of the mother; and the very various modes of dealing with such mixed offspring adopted by the different nations of the Germanic race, evince, as well the strong popular prejudice against the taint of servile blood,⁴⁹ as the difficulty of determining the social rank of the progeny of such disparaging marriages: 2. *By marriage*;—it was the general rule among the Franks, that if a freeman married a woman of servile degree, he thereby sank to her level, and became the property of the lord to whom she belonged;⁵⁰ the same rule obtained with respect to the free woman connecting herself in marriage with a man of lower degree: 3. *By voluntary renunciation of freedom*;⁵¹—calamities, such as famine, extreme poverty, spoliation, oppression, often induced freemen to seek an asylum in voluntary servitude, and with that view to surrender themselves to some powerful lord who was capable of feeding, employing, and protecting them;⁵² and delinquents sometimes gave themselves up to servitude in repayment of the wehrgeld advanced by another to save their lives from the pursuit of the injured party:⁵³ very common causes for this species of self-abandonment were prodigality and debt; but the most prevalent of all was helplessness: in the lawless state of the Frankish kingdoms⁵⁴ every man's hand was stretched out to grasp the property, and even the person of his neighbour; resistance, in many such cases, must have exposed the weaker party to inevitable destruction; he therefore made the best bargain he could with the oppressor; but more frequently he chose the protection of the church, and to that end surrendered himself to the nearest ecclesiastical foundation, where the dependent could always reckon upon milder treatment, lighter services, and probably more effectual protection than any lay hand could hold out.⁵⁵ *Lastly*, we may class together punishment, violence,

⁴⁸ "Den ärgern hand"—literally "the worser hand."

⁴⁹ See the various rules adopted by Anglo-Saxons, Visigoths, Danes, Alemanni, Longobardi, &c. carefully collected and compared, ap. *Grimm*. loc. cit. pp. 323—326. Conf. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 144.

⁵⁰ *Marculf*. *Form*. lib. ii. *Form*. 29, ap. *Canc*. ii. p. 237, compared with the positive precept of the *Lex Ripuar*, tit. lviii. § 9 and 18, *ibid*. p. 312, and the *Lex Sal*. tit. xiv. § 7, 11, *ibid*. pp. 129, 130. This was proverbially ex-

pressed among the Germans thus: "Trittst du meine henne, so wirst du mein hahn," and among the French, "En formariage, le pire emporte le bon." *Grimm*. p. 326.

⁵¹ "Servus dedititius." Old North. *Guafpæll*.

⁵² *Greg*. *Turon*. lib. vii. c. 45. p. 311. Conf. *Lex Frison*. tit. xi. § 1, ap. *Canc*. tom. iii. p. 13; and *Lex Bajuvar*. tit. vi. c. 3. § 1. p. 371.

⁵³ See the formula for this case ap. *Marculf*. lib. ii. *form* 28. *Canc*. ii. p. 237.

⁵⁴ See c. xi. sec. 5. p. 631.

⁵⁵ See *Lex Alemann*. tit. i. § 1. *Canc*. ii.

kidnapping, and other lawless acts, as ordinary means whereby freemen and freewomen were reduced to servitude.⁵⁶ Liberty was, in short, regarded as an alienable commodity—a thing to be bought or stolen. This notion might perhaps be traced to the boundless extent to which the ancient Germans carried their abstract idea of freedom: yet none more dangerous to the very being of liberty itself could have been devised; and as law and civilization advanced, society first annulled the right of men to alienate their own freedom, and then—but not till many ages afterwards—deprived them of the power to enslave their neighbours.

The external marks and tokens of servitude were closely cut hair, short and scanty garments, finger rings of iron, brass, or copper. Among the more northern Teutonic races, mutilation, such as slitting the nose, or boring the ears, was not unusual. The serf was regarded as incompetent to bear arms; and if the lance, the distinguishing weapon of the freeman, was found in his possession, it was ordered to be broken about his back.⁵⁷ The *Litus*, or dependent, was allowed to carry arms upon proper occasions, as in the *Heribann*, or for the defence of the land. But though the mere serf was bound to follow the banner of his owner to the field, yet his duties were confined to the drudgery of the army; he buried the dead, carried off the wounded, cleared the roads, and performed all the servile labours of the camp.⁵⁸ In peace as in war the person of the serf was to almost all intents and purposes the property of the lord; the predial labourers were numbered like the beasts *levant* and *couchant* upon his land;⁵⁹ their lives were protected by no *wehrgeld*; the composition for slaying or maiming them was claimed and enforced by the lord. All of the barbaric codes, it is true, affix specific money values to the lives of non-freemen of various ranks, but in no other sense than that in which they are affixed to various kinds of domestic animals, hounds, hawks,

External tokens of servitude: hair close cut, scanty dress, mutilations. Serfs are incompetent to bear arms, but follow the armies and perform the drudgery of the camp.

They are the property of the lord; have no *wehrgeld*.

p. 323.—*Du Cange*, Gloss. ad voc. “*Oblati*.” *Grimm*, loc. cit. p. 328.

⁵⁶ Kidnapping and stealing men, women, children; carrying them to a distance from their homes, and selling them as slaves, was no uncommon practice; as appears from the *Lex Angl. et Werin.* tit. vii. § 5. *Canc.* iii. p. 35. *Lex Alemann.* tit. xli. § 1, 2. *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 334.

⁵⁷ *Capitul. Reg. Franc.* lib. v. c. 247. *Canc.* iii. p. 242. The same is repeated in lib. vi. c. 271. *ibid.* p. 286.

⁵⁸ We are describing a very early period of servitude. Christianity produced a great revolution in the condition of the absolute serf, and

gave rise to many grades of mitigated servitude. These distinctions were augmented in number by the demands of war and of increasing civilization. Mere serfs were soon permitted to mingle in the battle, the *Tabularius*, *Chartularius*, *Litus Aldio*, *Parscalkus*, *Sindmannus*—all persons below the rank of freemen were very soon introduced into the armies, and of course the opportunities of earning freedom by services, deeds of arms, &c., were multiplied. *Conf. Grimm*, p. 354.

⁵⁹ *Conf. Grimm*, p. 342 and 364. But his proofs are somewhat less pregnant than usual.

May be disposed of, sold, mortgaged, exchanged.

and others. The same price was paid for a murdered as for a stolen serf.⁶⁰ The lord had the same power of disposing of his bondsman by sale, or gift, by mortgage or exchange, as he had over any other implement or chattel in his possession.⁶¹ The serf was not permitted to quit the land upon which the lord had settled him; if he absconded, the lord might follow and reclaim him as he might a head of cattle that was stolen or had strayed: "the *freeman* may go whithersoever he hath a mind; the *bondsman* must stay or go when and whithersoever the lord commandeth."⁶²

He clasps his hands; bows the knee, and stands at a humble distance in the presence of the lord: he is incapable of prosecuting or giving evidence in any suit; he cannot hold land or acquire property.

It was common of old for the slave to clasp his hands, or to bow the knee in the presence of the lord, and to stand on all occasions at a respectful distance till commanded to approach. All persons of a servile condition were rigorously excluded from the courts of justice, and from all assemblies of the free. Non-freemen were not permitted to sit in judgment upon others, nor to bear testimony, nor to answer for themselves; for the lord did all this for them. They were deemed incapable of holding real property; in strictness they could not possess property of any kind as against the lord; they and all they had were his already, and consequently they could neither take nor transmit any rights of inheritance or representation. "But it may be doubted," says our authority, "whether slavery to this extent was ever practically exercised in Germany. Certain rights of property were very soon conceded to serfs whom the lord had permitted to dwell for a long time upon his land; such persons were commonly allowed to keep what they earned, and even to acquire land of their own. It was of the essence of the milder kinds of bondage,—a condition always far more general than that of strict servitude,—that lands should be assigned to the bondsman for his use and occupation, whereby he acquired a kind of modified property therein."⁶³

Villain services.

The services of the bondsman were either domestic, predial, or occasional. All the household drudgery fell upon the male and female servants of the establishment, the chief of which appear to have been the grinding the lord's corn, washing his linen, heating his chambers, and cooking his food.⁶⁴ The duty of beating the hemp and the flax,

⁶⁰ The words of the *Lex Salica* (tit. xi. § 1, *Canc.* ii. p. 34) are remarkable: "Si quis *Servum aut Ancillam, Caballum aut jumentum* alterius furaverit. . . Sol. xxxv. culpabilis judicetur." Again (§ 2) "Si quis *servum alienum furaverit aut occiderit aut vendiderit.* . . Sol. xxxv. culp. judicetur," &c.

⁶¹ See the Formula of the sale and warranty

of a slave, apud *Marculf.* Form. lib. ii. 22. *Canc.* ii. p. 235. See also the mitigations introduced in process of time, and by the operation of Christianity into the condition of the bondsman, ap. *Grimm.* pp. 344, 345.

⁶² See the quotation in *Grimm.* p. 345.

⁶³ *Grimm.* p. 350.

⁶⁴ See the punishment of *Septimana*, nurse of

of carding the wool, and of spinning and weaving them into garments, fell upon the female serfs; the general business of the chambers, the kitchen, and the garden, the duty of waiting upon the lady, feeding, and milking the cows, and the like, were regarded as womanish occupations; and it was degradation to impose them upon men: grooms, armourers, farriers, and falconers, completed the domestic establishment.

1. Household;
Female services.

Male services.

It should seem that these duties were not altogether arbitrary, either as to amount, or as to the persons whom the lord might employ in them.⁶⁵ The same observation applies more strongly to the predial labourers or villains-proper. The principal duties imposed upon this class of persons were those of ploughmen, shepherds, and foresters; they tilled the land, tended the sheep and cattle, cut down wood, burnt charcoal, hunted and fished for the lord, by the labour of their hands and with their carts and cattle. But these villain-services were rarely without some stint or measure.⁶⁶ The hours of labour were generally determined by the rising and the setting of the sun, and the villain was rarely called upon to do more than three days' work in the week upon the lord's land;⁶⁷ the Sunday and the remaining three days were at his own disposal for the cultivation of his allotment, manufacturing his raiment, and raising the needful food for his family.⁶⁸

2. Predial and out-door services.

The hours of labour from sun-rise to sun-set.

With regard to the condition of servitude in general, it may be assumed that, in principle, the bondman was a being without a will of his own; that the command of the lord was his law, and that when that command was issued, he could allege neither personal danger, inconvenience, nor scruple to exempt him from the promptest, and the most unconditional obedience.⁶⁹ When the lord went abroad his ordinary place was at his heel; when at home, at his feet.⁷⁰ It is true that the benign influence of Christianity, and the gradual rise of humanizing customs, the increase of population, the rise of corporate towns, the exigencies of private warfare, the progress of handicrafts, the demands of improving com-

Principle of the condition of a serf, absolute dependence upon the will of the lord.

But this is gradually mitigated by a variety of causes.

the children of Childebert II., for conspiring with Doctrulf and others against the royal family; ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. ix. c. 38. p. 354. Septimana is condemned to labour as a bondwoman in the royal villa or farm of Marlheim in Alsace: "Ut scilicet *trahens molam*, his quæ in Gynæcio erant positæ, per dies singulos farinas ad victus necessarias præparavit."

⁶⁵ The separation of duties is distinctly observable. Thus we meet with a class of *grooms*, another of house-servants (*hausknechte*), of *ancillæ pensiles* (spinning-women), of *focariæ* or kitchen-maids, whose particular duty it was to light the fires. *Grimm.* p. 351.

⁶⁶ *Grimm* (p. 353) mentions several, but they are of a much too late a date to be strictly applicable to the period now under review.

⁶⁷ Since the villain had to maintain himself and his family, he could at no period have afforded a much greater proportion of his labour.

⁶⁸ *Grimm.* loc. mod. cit.

⁶⁹ "Necessitas domini, etiam si parricidium jubet, implendum est." *Jorn.* as quoted by *Grimm.* Again, "*Mancipium ire debet quoquo jubetur.*" *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ In the old northern: the bondman is "*mitigengo*" (*pedissequus*) and "*fuozgendo*" to the lord.

merce, and a variety of other causes to which we hope for an opportunity of adverting hereafter, intervened to limit and define the will of the lord, and to introduce a very great variety of distinctions and exemptions in favour of the servile classes. But in the age of the Merwingian kings these salutary customs had not yet had time to grow up; the naked principle of bondage was still in operation, and the contrast of condition between the freeman and the serf was then most manifest and striking.

Freedmen.

Little remains to be noticed regarding the *freedmen*. The first consequence of manumission was the right to change his place of abode at pleasure. It was essential to the notion of freedom that a man should possess the right of freely going in and out, and to and fro, as he liked,⁷¹ without question from any one.⁷² The manumission therefore took place with open doors, in token of this important ingredient of the new condition, to which the bondsman was about to be admitted; the lord then took him by the hand and let him break away; or he conducted him to a place where four roads met, and then permitted him to choose which he pleased.⁷³ With the right to carry arms the newly made freeman acquired most of the original rights of free-born persons, yet not all. His marriage with a free-born woman was a disparagement; his wehrgeld and his lands fell to the king, the church, or his former lord, according as his manumission took place before the king by the solemn delivery of the "arrow, coin, and sword," or by the attested act of the church, or by the deed of the lord.⁷⁴ The two last classes were regarded as in a state of clientship, and were still bound to pay certain dues to the patron; and if the latter could substantiate any charge of gross injury, insult, or ingratitude against his freedman, he might reduce him again into possession, and retain him in bondage as if he had never been liberated. The mode of manumission which brought the freedman nearest to the condition of *full freedom*, was that which took

Manumission with open door: at a cross road.

The manumitted serf acquires only *personal* freedom, but very few or no political rights.

They continue in perpetual tutelage, and may even in certain cases be reclaimed by the lord.

⁷¹ Thus among the Romans: "*Liber esto, atque abito quo voles!*" *Plaut. Menæchm.* 5, 7.

⁷² So in the ancient Frankish formula, or "*Gesta Manumissionis.*" "*Ea conditione ut eat ubique, quam voluerit partem pergat tanquam si ab ingenuis parentibus fuisset natus,*" &c. *Marc. Form. App.* lxxvi. ap. *Canc.* tom. ii. p. 268. Again the *Leg. Rotharis*, § 225, in *Leg. Longob.* "*De quatuor viis ubi volueris ambulare liberam habeas potestatem.*" *Canc.* tom. i. p. 82. See also the formula "*Traditio Libertatis,*" in *Form. in usum Reg. Ital.* ap. *Canc.* ii. p. 475.

⁷³ These were the simplest, and therefore probably the earliest modes of manumission. The Lombards manumitted "*Per Sagittam,*" by

the delivery of an arrow; the Anglo-Saxons, by *sword and spear*, the weapons of a freedman. See *Carta Reg. Willielmi Conq. &c.* § 65. ap. *Canc.* tom. iv. p. 360, and *Leg. Henr. (I.) Reg.* § 78. *Ibid.* p. 401.

⁷⁴ The two last classes of freedmen were called respectively "*Tabularii*" and "*Chartularii.*" See the common forms of manumission "*Per Chartam,*" ap. *Marculf. Form. lib.* ii. Nos. 32, 33, 34; *Canc.* ii. pp. 238—240. For the method of manumission "*Per Tabulam,*" see *Leg. Ripuar.* tit. lviii. (*De Tabulariis*) § 1. *Ibid.* p. 311. This was performed before the bishop and clergy; and the new freedman was thereby taken under the protection of the church.

place before the king by the delivery of "arrow, coin, and sword." By this ceremony he became *amund*,⁷⁵ that is, absolved from all private patronage; the king was then his patron, and his wehrgeld fell to him.

II. We pass to the enumeration of those conditions of men dependent upon the nature of the government or political system,—if institutions so rude and irregular deserve the name of system,—which had arisen among the Franks since the conquest. Having considered the "Proceres," or nobility, the Leudes, and the several classes of freemen and non-freemen, in their relation to the land⁷⁶ and to each other, we shall now regard them in their relation to the state.

II. Ranks and conditions with reference to the nature of the government.

1. It has already been observed of the class of the Proceres, or great nobility, that whatever may have been the distinctions and privileges attached to their rank, the rise of the Leudes had made a change in their condition; that it had compelled them to secure their ascendancy by enrolling themselves in the great body of the Leudes, by accepting fiscal grants, offices, and commands, and thereby placing themselves in a more intimate connexion with the crown and the general government of the country. With the advantage of high birth and large possessions, the Proceres claimed and obtained the highest offices of the state, and the first places among the Leudes of the king. The bolder and more distinguished warrior was made *duke* or commander of the Heribann of particular military districts;⁷⁷ the more aged and experienced became the *Graffio* or Comes of the canton, the supreme judge in civil and criminal matters, and when occasion required, also the military leader of the forces of the district; yet without prejudice to the superior command of the duke.⁷⁸

1. Proceres or nobles.

The nobility rises with the Leudes or personal servants of the king.

They obtain the higher commands and offices: e. g. those of duke and count.

2. But with the increased power and riches of the kings there also grew up a multitude of domestic and personal offices in his court and palace, for which all persons connected with his service eagerly stretched out their hands. The whole amount of patronage may be divided

2. Antrusions or servants of the crown and the state.

⁷⁵ "Extraneus a patrono." *Grimm*. p. 335.

⁷⁶ The reader will not, I trust, have expected a very rigid adherence to the principle of arrangement above laid down. Several matters have, it is admitted, been introduced, which do not, in strictness, depend upon the relation adopted as the foundation of arrangement. But in historical narrative the order of an essay cannot be preserved.

⁷⁷ Thus we have the "Ducatus Dentilini" (Normandy), "Duc. Campaniæ" (Champagne), "Duc. Juranus" (Burgundy and Western Switzerland), "Duc. Curenensis" (Grisons). See *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 20. p. 421.—*Fredeg. Contin.* ii. c. 101. p. 452.—*Mannert*. vol. i. p. 358.

⁷⁸ The Franks could never learn wholly to

separate the civil and military offices of the state; and indeed as long as every man was a soldier this could not be easily done. Hence, though the "Comes" of the Romans came nearest in signification to the Frankish "Graffio," the superior rank of the Roman Comes was sunk among the Franks in the military dignity of the "Dux," and the precedence he enjoyed under the imperial government was lost. From the *Formulary of Marculf*. (lib. i. Form. 8, ap. *Canc.* ii. p. 193), it appears, however, as if the terms "dux," "comes," and "patricius" were nearly synonymous. See the learned note of Canciani (note 3, ad loc. cit.) upon the scope and nature of these offices. Conf. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 81.—*Savigny*, vol. i. pp. 224—230.—*Grimm*. p. 752.

Offices in
"Hoste;" and
offices in
"Truste"
generally.
Officers in
Truste domi-
nica; the
especial per-
sonal servants
of the king.

Their high
social rank
is evinced
by the en-
hanced wehr-
geld.

3. Attendants
and followers
of the Antrus-
tions and
Leudes.

into offices "*in hoste*," and offices "*in truste*,"⁷⁹ denoting the military and civil service of the state. Both these classes were bound to fidelity or fealty towards the king. But the immediate officers of his court and government, contracted a closer obligation; they were said to be "*in truste dominica*," in the king's trust, and therefore bound to him in an especial engagement of personal fealty distinct from their obligation to the state, and having the king's interests and behests for its immediate object.⁸⁰ This class of persons was denominated the king's "Antrustions." By degrees all that was distinguished by birth or property, by valour or by talent, was admitted into this body, without any very severe discrimination of ranks. The Proceres, or great nobles, engrossed all the higher trusts; yet not merely freemen, but even Roman tributaries, freedmen, and Liti, might aspire to the condition of Antrustions. The social rank and dignity of the several orders of Antrustions is determined by the wehrgelds or values put upon their lives by the Frankish codes. Thus the composition ordained by the Salian law for an ordinary freeman was 200 solidi; but if he was "*in truste dominica*," 500: the price of an ordinary Roman freeman⁸¹ was only 45 solidi: but if an officer of the king's household⁸² it was 300.

3. Every Antrustion brought his personal followers and dependents with him into the service of the king.⁸³ These followers consisted both of freemen and non-freemen, and are sometimes called the *Arimanni* or *Heermannen*,—the soldiers and attendants—of the chief.⁸⁴ Besides the ordinary distinction of wehrgeld, the great official dignitaries

⁷⁹ "Hostis"—*exercitus*; Eng. "host;" O. Fr. "host"—"ost"—"houst." See *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad voc. *hostes*.—"Trustis," Angl.-Sax. *trȳorð*, Engl. "truth." *Du Cange*, ad verb.—*Grimm*. p. 275.

⁸⁰ See the form of admission of an *Antrustio*, ap. *Marculf*. Form. lib. i. form. 18. *Canc.* ii. p. 201, with the notes of the editor. If we may judge from the unbounded love of personal liberty among the ancient Germans, they could not have formed any very distinct notion of an "obligation to the state." Barbarians, though they have an acute perception of that which is for their immediate interest, do not refine much. Not one of them ever dreamt of the theoretical substratum of modern polity—the duty of giving up a portion of our personal liberty for the benefit of the community.

⁸¹ *Romanus tributarius*.

⁸² "*Conviva regis*," *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad verb. *Lex Sal.* tit. 45. § 1, 4, 6, 7. But the wehrgelds varied much both in the positive and the relative amounts in the different barbaric codes: thus in

the *Lex Ripuar.* the simple wehrgeld of an "*ingenuus*," or freeman, was 200 sol. as in the *Lex Sal.*; but his value, "*in truste*," was threefold, i. e. 600 sol. It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at any standard of comparative value, on account of the defective enumerations of the codes. But see *Grimm*. pp. 273, 289.

⁸³ "Et quia ille fidelis noster veniens ibi in palatio nostro *una cum Arimania sua*," &c. *Marculf*. loc. sæp. cit.

⁸⁴ *Grimm* (p. 292) thinks the word *Arimann*, in its proper sense, denoted only freemen. The word "*Arimannia*" is, however, used in another and perhaps more general signification, denoting the collective freemen of the canton. Conf. *Savigny*, vol. i. p. 170. When it is used in this signification, no doubt, none but freemen must be understood. The mere followers are often called "*ministeriales*," "*pueri regis*," or simply "*pueri*," the domestics and lads of the lord. So *Greg. Turon.* (lib. vi. c. 15. p. 275, and lib. x. c. 10. p. 369), in several passages, uses the word "*puer*" in this sense.

and nobles of the Franks, enjoyed the privilege of a numerous suite of free attendants and military followers. All Antrustions, Leudes, and great proprietors, entertained as many armed attendants as their means enabled them to do. Arms were thus put into the hands of many classes of persons to whom that privilege did not originally belong; and when by the extension of feudalism nearly the whole of the military population became mediately or immediately engaged in the service of the kings and their vassals, all other interests became absorbed by that service: those who were not fortunate enough to obtain admission into one or other of the classes connected with it, found themselves exposed without weight, and often without protection, to the whole force of an all-powerful military aristocracy, and were compelled to seek by any sacrifice to obtain the protection of the king, or of some one of the privileged Antrustions, Leudes, or officers of his court.⁸⁵ Great advantages accrued in this state of things to the immediate dependents of the kings. The royal freedmen approached nearer to the condition of absolute enfranchisement; they, as well as the Liti of the king, were competent to the engagement of allegiance,⁸⁶ and were admitted into the great body of the Antrustions; their lives and property were more strongly protected. Even the Roman, though in the scale of caste his life was valued but at half that of the meanest Frankish freeman, might place himself upon a level with the proudest noble or follower of the court.⁸⁷ By these means the establishment of the palace offered a rallying point for bringing all the wealth and dignity of the ancient population into nearer connexion with the conquerors. The rising power of the church further promoted the union of both classes of subjects; and though the legal distinction still subsisted, it may be questioned whether in the reign of Charles the Great there remained any considerable class of subjects to whom it might be applicable.⁸⁸

The Antrustions, &c. maintain numerous armed followers and domestics;

whereby the lowest classes are raised, and the middling or independent classes depressed.

Advantages of admission into the service of the kings to the lower orders:—prospect of advancement;—nearest approach to absolute freedom:—tends to amalgamate the old (Roman) and the new population.

⁸⁵ The poorer classes of freemen sank almost into insignificance; and it strikes me that it is to this revolution in society that we must attribute the silence of Gregory of Tours, and his continuators, respecting the national assemblies of the Franks. Such assemblies were, it is true, regularly held by the Carlovingian princes; but I much question the propriety of regarding these later meetings as a continuation of the ancient custom. They seem to me to have derived their origin from different sources; the earlier, from the rights incident to the primitive freedom; the later, from the feudal relation of the constituent members to the crown: they were feudal assemblies, among whom we find nobles, procures, Leudes, fideles,

but very rarely “liberi homines;” most frequently only procures and episcopi enumerated. See note 17 of this section.

⁸⁶ They might become “fideles.”

⁸⁷ *Gregory of Tours* enumerates a great many Roman names with the titles of dux, comes, patricius, præfectus, &c. Thus, for example: Ennius Mummiolus, “patricius,” “præfectus,” “dux.” *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 42. p. 224. Amatus, “Dux,” *ibid.*

⁸⁸ The *Lex Salica Reformata* is a revision of the more ancient *Lex Sal. Antiquior*, undertaken by the direction of Charles the Great, and completed A.D. 798. I am not aware that the distinction exists in any later collection of laws or in the capitularies.

*Treaty of
Andelau.*

The foregoing sketch of the outward form of the political structure of the Franks, may serve to throw light upon the principal provisions of the treaty of Andelau. In the course of those sanguinary and unnatural conflicts in which the unbounded lust of power had involved the Frankish kings, each party had striven to multiply adherents by prodigal grants from the royal Fiscus. The vassals of course seized the opportunity of selling their services to the highest bidder. Each of the contending parties claimed the allegiance of the vassals of the contested territories, and these districts themselves changed hands so often, and with so little formality, that at length it became doubtful to what party the obligation was really due. During the intervals of domestic peace, each of the rival princes endeavoured to weaken the other by enticing away his Leudes and adherents. In war the latter changed sides as often as their interests or their passions inclined them; or they availed themselves of the conflicting claims of the kings to throw off all dependence, and to carry on a system of pillage, extortion, and violence against the persons and property of every one around them.⁸⁹

Objects of the treaty. 1. To bring back the disloyal Leudes to their natural allegiance: 2. To settle the claims of the kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy to the services of their respective vassals.

The most important objects therefore of the treaty of Andelau were to bring back the disloyal Proceres and Leudes to their natural allegiance, and to settle the separate claims of the two kingdoms upon the duty and service of the great nobles, beneficiaries, and churchmen.⁹⁰ For these ends it was absolutely necessary to fix the territorial limits of the two kingdoms, more especially with reference to the disputed inheritance of Charibert. Passing wholly by the interests of the infant Chlothar II. of Neustria, the uncle and nephew shared between them the entire kingdom of Paris, with all its dependencies on both sides of the Loire.⁹¹ After

⁸⁹ See p. 651 of this section.

⁹⁰ The latter had, as will appear shortly, taken no unimportant part in the civil disturbances of the nation.

⁹¹ One-third of the city and territory of Paris, the cities and districts of Chateaudun, Vendôme, Chartres, and Etampes, were made over to Gunthram. The province of Meaux, two shares of that of Senlis, the territories of Tours, Poitiers, Avranches, Aire in Normandy, St. Lizier, Bayonne, and Albi in Aquitaine, were transferred to Childebert II. It seems not improbable that this partition of territories, so strangely intermingling with each other, has immediate reference to the districts where the fiscal lands mostly lay, and where, of course, the greater numbers of the Leudes were settled. It was the main object of the two princes to determine rather the relative force and strength of their kingdoms, than the mere extent of territory. And

this supposition, if true, would go very far towards the elucidation of the hitherto inexplicable principle of division adopted in all the partitions which took place from the age of Chlodwig downwards. Thus the partition between the sons of that prince, Theuderich I., Childebert I., Chlothar I., and Chlodomer, which Gregory of Tours describes as having taken place "*Æquâ lance*," by an equal scale—would have been made rather with reference to the districts where the fiscal lands lay, than with a view to geographical boundary or *arrondissement*. It seems to me that the kings of the Franks thought little of any other territories than those they could call *their own*; the subjects most interesting to them were the Leudes, Antrustions, and Proceres; and *that* prince was the strongest who could secure the greatest number of these personal adherents. But this kind of allegiance was in a great degree defined by the obligations arising

this territorial arrangement the treaty adopted, with reference to the allegiance of the Leudes, the principle laid down at the partition between the four sons of Chlothar I., viz., that those who had sworn to King Sigibert, the father of Childebert, should continue the vassals of the latter, and that those who had engaged with Gunthram at the period just named should abide in his allegiance; and that such of the Leudes as had transferred their obedience to any other lord should be brought back to their rightful allegiance, as determined by the territorial provisions of that treaty. The two kings confirmed all grants of crown lands which either of them might have made in the interim, and both parties bound themselves neither to inveigle away the vassals of the other, nor to harbour or protect any who should desert their lawful service. Both kingdoms were settled upon Childebert II. and his two sons, Theuderich and Theudebert; and the large fiscal grants made by way of dower or “Morgengabe” to the Queens Brunehildis and Faideleuba, as well as the apanages of Chlothildis daughter of Gunthram, and Chlodosuinda the sister of Childebert, were secured to them in perpetuity with the most extensive powers of granting them out to whomsoever they pleased.⁹² Other provisions were introduced for the further assurance of lands actually granted, or which might thereafter be granted to the churches or to the vassals, in either or both of the two kingdoms,⁹³ so that whatever any such church or vassal might have been lawfully possessed of at the death of Chlothar I. should be secured to them free from all encroachment or diminution, except by legal means, or by the operation of that treaty.⁹⁴

Gunthram and Childebert II. divide the inheritance of Charibert.

They determine that the vassals of Sigibert shall continue the vassals of his son Childebert II.: And that Gunthram shall retain all who had sworn to him at the partition between the sons of Chlothar I. They confirm all intermediate grants of crown lands.

It is indispensable to observe in this place that the lands to which this treaty refers are fiscal or beneficiary lands. No notice whatever is taken of alodial property. No duty attached to the possession of this last description of land but that which was incumbent upon every freeman, viz. attendance upon the Heribann.⁹⁵ But the national assemblies of the mere freemen were fast falling into disuse

The treaty of Andelau relates only to fiscal or beneficiary lands.

out of the grants of crown land: therefore the paramount object must always have been to secure those lands, and to obtain the greatest share of them.

⁹² I thought at first that a power of sale was given by the treaty to the princesses. But on further consideration it appears to me that such a kind of alienation was not contemplated. But that these entire grants were not in the nature of benefices is quite clear. They were *absolute donations* of crown lands to them and their heirs; which shows, I think that as yet there existed no restriction upon the Frankish princes in dealing with the fiscal estates of their crowns. Those lands were still

regarded as hereditary property, like that of any other private alodial proprietor.

⁹³ Where a vassal possessed grants in both kingdoms, as was frequently the case, the allegiance seems to have been determined by the priority of the oath taken at the great partition made between the sons of Chlothar I., A.D. 562.

⁹⁴ *Greg. Turon. lib. ix. c. 20. pp. 343—345.*

⁹⁵ We are here speaking of political, not of merely civil duties, such as attending the public Mallum, or district court of justice, and a variety of other local obligations which every landholder contracted.

The greater alodial proprietors bring with them the power which their independent tenure confers into the service of the crown :

The smaller decline in numbers and influence.

Was the original benefice hereditary, or resumable ?

The practice is against the hereditary quality :

the formula of Marculf in its favour.

before the prevalent importance of the Proceres, Leudes, and Antrustions. The free alodial landholders were subjects of little interest to the kings, who could not command their services for the promotion of their private ends, as they could those of their own paid⁹⁶ and retained servants and satellites, whom they might punish by deprivation,⁹⁷ or encourage by the hope of further acquisition. Though almost all the Proceres, and probably the majority of the Leudes and Antrustions, possessed large alodial domains, yet the acceptance of a benefice converted them at once into the servants of the crown. The greater portion of the land in the kingdom was by this means brought as it were within the ring-fence of the royal domain, and made to prop and support the rising feudal structure. The independent alodial proprietors became from age to age a weaker and less influential class, till in the end all their political privileges became absorbed, and all their rights swallowed up in the vortex of feudalism.⁹⁸

The question whether the earlier beneficiary grants were, or were not, hereditary, is one of great interest, but can only be very superficially touched upon in this place. We have observed that the fiscal grants were regarded in the light of salaries or retainers. If the tenant continued to perform the service, he retained his benefice : if he abandoned it, the understanding was that it reverted to the donor ; and hence we may infer that it was inalienable without the consent of the latter. It is well known likewise that in practice benefices were frequently resumed without any proved delinquency, at the mere arbitrary will of the kings,⁹⁹ and oftener still at the death of the holder. All this is at variance with the notion of an hereditary tenure. Yet looking superficially at the instruments touching the formal mode of disposing of fiscal lands to the laity, which have been handed down to us by Marculf, the

⁹⁶ The payment was made in lands.

⁹⁷ That they did so appears clearly from the punishment inflicted upon the conspirators, Gallomagus, Gunegisild, and Doctrulf, " Quibus nihil aliud relictum est nisi quod habere proprium videbantur." *Greg. Turon.* lib. ix. c. 38, p. 354. By the " proprium " here mentioned, *Alodium* is always meant.

⁹⁸ This was particularly the case in France, where the consummation of the feudal system was far more rapid than in any other country in Europe. Hence we may account for the enormous accumulations of lands in the hands of the greater feudatories,

⁹⁹ " *Villas vero quas ei (Godino) e fisco in territorio Suessionico Rex indulserat abstulit,*

et Basilicæ contulit beati Medardi." *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 3, p. 233. Again in the same chapter :— " Siggo quoque referendarius qui annulum regis Sigiberti tenuerat, et ab Chilperico rege provocatus erat, ut servitium quod tempore fratris sui habuerat, obtineret, ad Childebertum regem Sigiberti filium, relicto Chilperico, transivit, *resque ejus quas in Suessionico habuerat, Ansoaldus obtinuit.*" As to the resumptions at the death of the holder, see the case of Wandalaricus. *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 22. p. 323. And in the same chapter the case of Bodegisel, where it is said that his sons were permitted to take his beneficia ; and this is clearly stated as a mere matter of favour.

question might perhaps be regarded as answered in the affirmative. But these formulæ, though they give an absolute hereditary interest as largely as words can convey it,¹⁰⁰ have in fact no apparent reference at all to a beneficiary tenure. They are, in form as well as in substance, grants *in fee*, made in the exercise of the absolute power of the king to dispose of the fiscal domain at his pleasure.¹⁰¹ That such a power was acknowledged to be in the crown is evinced by the absolute grants to the princesses of the royal houses by way of dower or provision, already alluded to, as well as by other testimony.¹⁰² The formulæ therefore decide nothing but that absolute estates might be given by the kings out of the royal domain; and the original question relative to the hereditary nature of the beneficiary tenure is left to be decided upon other evidence.

But the formula relates to absolute not to beneficiary grants;

therefore the question must be decided upon the practice.

That evidence, it must be admitted, is obscure. The kings, as appears from the fourteenth precedent in the first book of Marculf's formularies, were indeed in the habit of making absolute grants to their fideles or lieges.¹⁰³ But these grants are called "donations," and "concessions," and contain no allusion to any condition, service, or render due in respect of them to the donor. When however a beneficiary tenure only is intended, it is frequently said to be conferred "*jure beneficii*."¹⁰⁴ If therefore the donations of the formulæ were real benefices, they must have differed altogether from the ordinary conditional benefice. And the question whether benefices of any kind were *legally* resumable or not, must be decided wholly upon the practice; since the *law* is silent upon the subject; and that *practice*, however irregular, and even violent it may have been, is all that we have to guide us in speculating upon their legal character, if they ever possessed such a character. It must therefore be taken that those grants whose original nature was that of a retainer, or salary, were held as long the service continued; and that those which were given by especial favour, or as a remuneration for services performed, not unfrequently assumed the shape of unconditional donations.

But the practice is ill-defined.

The sum of the evidence seems to be that the kings were in the habit of making grants in fee, and grants in benefice: that the former were hereditary; the latter resumable in various ways.

¹⁰⁰ "Et ipse (the donee), et posteritas ejus, eam (villam) teneant atque possideant, et cui voluerint ad possidendam relinquant, vel quicquid exinde facere voluerint, ex nostro permissu libero perfruantur arbitrio." Marc. Form. lib. i. form. 18, p. 201.

¹⁰¹ Conf. *Canciani*, note (2), ad loc. mod. cit.

¹⁰² See the examples ap. *Canc.* loc. mod. cit.

¹⁰³ And this is confirmed by Gregory of Tours. "Cui aliquid de fisci ditionibus est largitus deditque ei potestatem faciendi de his rebus quæ voluisset." See the citation ap. *Canc.* loc. cit.

p. 199.

¹⁰⁴ Or "*in usum beneficii*" or, *munere regio*. See the precedents xii. and xiii. loc. cit. Sometimes the word "*fiscus*" alone is used to signify a single grant out of the domain. "*Munus regium*," and "*Prædia fiscalia*," are used both to denote donations and benefices. The word "*Beneficium*" does not, to my knowledge, occur once in the whole work of Gregory of Tours; but the thing itself was quite familiar to him.

To the former the hereditary quality could not attach, because they were conditional estates essentially dependent upon the duration of the service and the good behaviour of the tenant: to the latter that quality was expressly imparted by the grant itself, of the form of which we are in possession.¹⁰⁵ But from the character of kings, and the temper of the times, it seems certain that these latter grants were the exceptions in the practice of the Frankish princes in dealing out the royal domain; their object being throughout to make vassals, not to enrich their turbulent subjects, or to add to the class of independent proprietors.

SECTION II.

Popular Religion—Ancient Religion of the Franks—Imperfect Conversion—Superstitions—Gilds—The worship of Christian Saints substituted for that of the ancient Gods, Heroes, and deified Ancestors of the People—Sorcery and Incantations—Rural Priests—Compliances and Accommodations—Foundations of the Sacerdotal Power—Piety of the Age—Ascetic Devotion—Sources of Ecclesiastical Wealth—Chilperich attacks them—Invective of Gregory of Tours—Vices of the Clergy—Election of Bishops—Immunities of Bishops—Immunities of the Clergy—Ecclesiastical Judicatures—Claims of the Clergy—Moral and Religious state of the Franks during the Merovingian Dynasty—Superstitions—Anarchy—Religious Extravagance—Weakness of the Governments—Character of the Franks.

The religion of a people cannot be left out of the calculation in considering the progress of political society.

It would be difficult to render an intelligible account of the progress of the public institutions of the Germans without adverting to the advance of Roman Christianity among the numerous branches of that distinguished race. Neither can that advance be clearly traced without some acquaintance with the superstitions which were supplanted by the new doctrine. The religion is part of the character of a nation, and the compound force of both in a great degree determines the direction of public events, and the formation of national institutions. The secret of their union is indeed concealed from

¹⁰⁵ These remarks may perhaps contribute to accommodate the difference between Mr. Hallam (*State of Europe, &c.*, vol. i. p. 161, note) and the French critics Montesquieu, Mably, and Du Cange. It appears to me that the law respecting benefices must have remained for many ages wholly unsettled; or, more properly, that there existed no law that could touch them. The question lay wholly between the kings and their retained servants; it had little to do with any

national rights; the rest of the freemen took no interest in it; and it was therefore left to be settled between the parties themselves, uncontrolled by any custom hitherto known to the people, since no relation at all resembling it had ever existed before. The further progress of feudalism towards that which I may be allowed to call its *legal existence*, must be left to a future opportunity.

us; the mode in which the combined power acts is open to observation; and the mighty hand which directs its course is never wholly hidden from our view. We find the social edifice reduced to a mass of ruins—we perceive a variety of agents at work for its reconstruction, and, among them, Christianity assuming a conspicuous station; we are therefore prompted to look about us with some anxiety for the means of estimating the share which may be assigned to her in the great work of social and political regeneration.

Such is the shape which the general question assumes. The particular objects of research in this place are: the progress of Christianity among the people, and the direction impressed upon it by the prevalent religious feelings; the modes of conversion adopted; the character and the conduct of the men to whom that important task was committed.

The ancient religion of the Franks consisted wholly in the performance of the customary rites and sacrifices attached to certain superstitions. They had neither priests nor a settled creed.¹ The merely mystical substructure of any mythological system is rarely perceived by the people, and therefore destitute of any observable influence over their conduct. Though such occult doctrines may be traceable, they are not of any immediate historical importance until they are promulgated and become distinctly embodied with the popular belief. But when *that* once takes place, they instantly assume the lead in determining the direction of moral and intellectual advancement, and a large share in the political government of the world. The power of the doctrinal scheme of the Christians very soon became apparent. Since the apostolic age that scheme had undergone changes which smoothed down the abruptness of the contrasts which it presented to the ethnical religions, without losing anything of its own sturdy dogmatic character. Those changes will, in the course of the ensuing observations and references, become sufficiently apparent to all who are acquainted in any degree with the well-defined and uncompromising character of apostolical Christianity.

We are told by Gregory of Tours, that when Chlodwig was baptized, more than three thousand of his followers were baptized with him. It cannot be supposed that these persons were converts in any genuine

The ancient religion of the Franks consists in superstitious observances only.

Power of the Christian creed in the conversion of the heathen.

That conversion amounts to no more than an acknowledgment

¹ See chap. x. sec. 2. p. 506. It would be merely fanciful to call by the name of "creed" those symbolical allusions which modern curiosity and ingenuity have extracted from the wild mythologies of the north. Such are occult and mystical glimpses of a distant yet certain redemption from the dominion of sin and death; of the creation; of the existence of an evil

principle (Loki); of an atonement for sin by the shedding of innocent blood; purification of the soul by a fiery probation; the transmigration of souls; the resurrection of the dead, and the final destruction of the world by fire. See *Monê*, *Gesch. des Heidenth. im nördl. Europa*, vol. ii. p. 252—257, and vol. i. p. 421.

that the God of the Christian was a more powerful God than their own.

They do not renounce their superstitious practices.

They continue their "gilds" or associations for sacrifices, with all the practices connected with them.

They transfer to the saints the honours formerly paid to their gods and heroes.

They adopt the Christian processions.

sense; the change amounted to little more than an acknowledgment that the God of the Christians was a more powerful God than their own.² Though constructively they may have engaged to abandon the worship of their false gods, there is good reason to believe that they did not wholly desert the altars of Wodan, or Thor, or Saxnote; and it is certain that they did not discontinue those forms and practices with which all their notions of religion and religious worship were habitually connected. It had always been the practice of the northern Germanic tribes to deify their heroic ancestors, and to pay a kind of religious homage to their deceased relatives and friends. For the purposes of this kind of worship they were accustomed to enter into associations known by the name of "Gilds." They appointed priests for the occasion to conduct the ceremonies; the brethren of the gild flocked to the sacred grove, or to the hallowed oak, or the hill-top where stood the massive altar-stone; each worshipper provided himself with food enough to last till the close of the festival, and especially with a supply of strong ale for libations to the gods, and ample bowls³ for the carousals which succeeded each day's sacrifice. The flesh of the victims was consumed upon the spot amid rude revelry, dancing and singing, histrionic processions, exhibitions of jugglers and mimics,⁴ and other observances, combining social enjoyment with the due performance of the religious duties prescribed by the gild.

After their conversion to Christianity they still adhered to this practice, but transferred to the saints, whom the Christian priesthood had taught them to worship, the honours which, in their pagan state, they had paid to the gods and heroes of the nation. They now performed their sacrifices within the precincts of the churches; they laid the victims upon the altar; feasted upon the sacrificial meats, and emptied the bowl in commemoration of the martyrs and confessors of the faith.⁵ The feasts of the church afforded welcome opportunities for the renewal of the accustomed festivities. The processions which the Christian priesthood had borrowed from the heathen practice of the Romans, fell in well with the predilection for religious shows and pageants handed down by tradition from their own fathers. On such occasions the processions were preceded to the church by buffoons, and dancers, and bards, singing or reciting their ancient heroic lays and sacrificial odes,

² Chap. x. sec. 2. p. 507 of this volume.

³ "Pocula." See the life of St. Columbanus, by Jonas, as quoted by *Canciani*, tom. iii. p. 90. Conf. also *Indiculus Superstitiorum*, *ibid.* pp. 66, 77.

⁴ *Gregorii Magni*, Epp. lib. xi. Ep. 76.—*Ind. Superst.* loc. cit. p. 106.

⁵ *Concil. Germ.* Ann. 742. Can. 5.—*Cap. Reg. Franc.* lib. v. c. 2.; *Canc.* iii. p. 216.—*Indic. Superst.* *ibid.*

and performing their traditional mummeries in the streets, and in private houses, and places of public resort. These ceremonies always concluded with feasting, and the emptying of bowls in honour of the saints.⁶ Yule, or Christmas, St. John's Eve, Easter Eve, and one or two other feasts and saints' days, were observed with the same riotous excesses. Wednesday and Thursday, the days sacred to Wodan and to Thor, were still kept as holidays;⁷ but it was not without much difficulty that the priesthood could prevail upon their flocks to keep the Lord's Day, or the great festival of Easter Sunday, with decent solemnity.⁸

The Franks, like all uncivilized nations, entertained a rooted fear of sorcery and incantations. They believed their witches and enchanterThe Franks entertain a rooted belief in sorcery, incantations, and necromancy.s to be endowed with the power of assuming the forms of wolves and owls,—particularly the latter,⁹—and that they could fascinate their victims, constrain them to become the slaves and accomplices of their malignant practices, to carry the magic cauldron, and to minister at the hour and place of incantation.¹⁰ The power to harm by sorcery was not confined to professed witches and wizards. Shepherds, woodmen, and hunters, frequently resorted to the practice of hiding enchanted herbs, or pieces of bread, common cord, or ribbon,¹¹ among trees and bushes, or burying them where four roads met, to protect their own cattle and property from

⁶ *Capit. Reg. Fr.* lib. vii. c. 405. *Canc.* iii. p. 347. These rites were practised without any general contradiction till the middle of the eighth century. They were, for the first time, specifically condemned at a Gallic council in 742, and by the synod of Lestines in the following year. *Harzheim*, Concil. Germ. ad Ann. 742, 743, vol. i. p. 49, 50. The performance of sacrifice, recitation of lays, profane songs, mummeries, buffooneries, are frequently condemned in the synods of the eighth and ninth centuries, and in the capitularies of the Frankish kings. See particularly *Capit.*, &c. lib. vi. c. 196. *Canc.* iii. 280. *Ibid. Addit.* iii. c. 39; *ibid.* p. 378, and c. 71. p. 382. The principal subjects of prohibition were the lewd and unseemly buffooneries, in which both clergy and laity indulged on these occasions; particularly the exhibitions of Merry-andrews, clowns (histriones), and scenic dances. *Monë* (vol. ii. p. 137, 138) regards the clown of these dramas—for such he believes them truly to have been—as the representative of the demon Loki of the Scandinavian mythology. Loki always played a conspicuous part among the Ases or gods of the northern Olympus.

⁷ *Indic. Superst.* *Canc.* iii. § 20, note, p. 99. —*Lex Frison.* tit. xviii., *ibid.* p. 19.—*Lex Sax.*

tit. xviii. p. 67.—*Capit. &c.*, *ibid.* p. 335.—*Lex Baju.* tit. vi. § 2, *ibid.* ii. p. 371.

⁸ No Wednesday or Thursday throughout the year was passed over without some testimony of religious reverence, especially in the month of May. The people, in many places, obstinately persisted in disregarding the Christian Sabbath till Charles the Great, and his son, Louis the Pious, removed the mallum (district court) from the church and its precinct, and strictly prohibited all secular employment or every-day labour on that day. *Capit. ad Leg. Sal. Reform.* § 14.—*Canc.* ii. p. 174.—*Capit. &c.*, lib. iv. § 28, *ibid.* tom. iii. p. 202.

⁹ Hence the familiar Latin “Strix,” for a witch.

¹⁰ *Capit.*, &c. lib. i. § 62. p. 146; lib. vi. § 374. p. 298. *Lex Sal. Antiq.* tit. 67. p. 107; tit. 22. p. 51. Conf. also the copious notes of Canciani upon these curious laws. The state of the persons above described was called “Strioportium”—literally “owl-ridden;”—Anglicè, “hag-ridden;”—hence the common German phrase for a person bewitched or beside himself, “Der Teufel hat ihn geritten”—“The devil has ridden him.” Conf. also *Monë*, tom. ii. p. 128.

¹¹ Nefaria ligamenta.

injury, or to inflict it upon that of others.¹² The “tempestarii,” or storm conjurors, were objects of peculiar dread. To them was attributed the power of obscuring the sun, raising vapours, blights, storms of hail and thunder, causing the failure of crops, and drying up the milk of the cattle.¹³ The attachment of people of all conditions to the arts of necromancy and divination was, if possible, still more prevalent than any of the foregoing superstitions. The ambitious and the designing frequently consulted the conjurors and diviners as to the term of the king’s life, and the safety of the sovereign might be made to depend upon the doubtful discretion of a common juggler.¹⁴

The church is unable wholly to root out the public worship of the ancient gods.

The great number of ordinances directed against these superstitions affords strong proof of their frequency—we might say—of their universality.¹⁵ There is good reason to believe that all the persuasions and compliances of the Christian priesthood had not even proved sufficient to root out the palpable and public worship of the ancient deities. The passages in the laws prohibiting sacrificial meetings beneath trees, beside rocks and springs, and on the summits of mountains and hills, are too numerous for citation. These prohibitions evince a still existing hold of the old heathenism upon the mind of the people, or of a large portion of them. This class of religious assemblies was not connected with the adoration of the saints or the celebration of any Christian festival; therefore the forbidden acts of worship could have reference to no other objects than the ancient gods, heroes, or deified ancestors of the people.¹⁶

The rural priesthood is strongly infected with the prevalent superstitions.

The conduct of the clergy amid this general contamination is worthy of notice. The rural priests were of necessity taken from the mass of the people, and were themselves strongly infected with the prevalent superstitions.¹⁷ And when we are told that many of the country bishops were so grossly ignorant of their duties as to be unacquainted with the common form of administering baptism,¹⁸ we are led to infer that the forms of ordination were not more accurately observed, and that admission to the priesthood might be obtained without much inquiry into the

¹² *Concil. Rothomag.* can. 4. *Canc.* iii. p. 94.

¹³ *Indic. Superst.* loc. sæp. cit. note 22. p. 101. *Capit.*, &c. lib. i. § 62. loc. cit. p. 147; and lib. vi. § 374. p. 298.

¹⁴ *Monē*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129. *Cancian.* *Indic. Superst.* § 14. p. 96.

¹⁵ At least with reference to the sixth century, of which we are now treating; since they prevailed even in the seventh and eighth centuries to an enormous extent. Indeed all the prohibitory laws are of those centuries and the beginning of the ninth.

¹⁶ For the facts in this paragraph the reader

is referred to Canciani’s very learned and elaborate dissertations upon the *Indiculus Superstitionum* in tom. iii. of his exceedingly valuable edition of the barbaric codes.

¹⁷ Thus we are told that St. Amandus, bishop of Maestricht in 650, resigned his see because the priests and deacons of his diocese (which bordered upon the pagan Frisians) had relapsed into idolatry. *Eckhart*, *Franc. Orient.* tom. i. p. 218.

¹⁸ *Capit. &c.*, § 68. p. 266. *Conf. Capit. &c.*, lib. vii. § 194. p. 325.

learning or the fitness of the candidate for the office,¹⁹—perhaps by means wholly uncanonical and irregular. Such teachers were consequently altogether incapable of checking even the grosser extravagances of popular superstition. The metropolitan bishops and the higher clergy frequently interfered to reform the most offensive clerical abuses. They procured severe prohibitions against the practice, common among the lower priesthood, of mingling with and even conducting heathen festivities, singing lewd and indecent songs, swearing, revelling, addicting themselves to magic arts and foolish or heathenish pastimes.²⁰ But their efforts were confined to these more palpable blemishes in their conduct. At the same time they encouraged the worship of saints, the use of tapers, votive images and tablets, processions, and a great multitude of observances differing little in character or outward form from the accustomed shows of paganism. These it was thought would furnish a sufficient variety of objects and modes of worship to allay the cravings of the popular appetite, and to make some amends to the people for the host of divinities and pageants they were required to abandon.²¹

The metropolitan clergy prohibit rural priests from leading heathen processions and from idolatrous practices; but they encourage saint-worship, the use of tapers, votive images and tablets, processions, and other superstitious observances.

The perusal of the ordinances of the Frankish kings confirms our conviction that the great body of the people during the Merwingian period, and for some years afterwards, were Christians in name only.²² And

But this course is perhaps the best that could have been

¹⁹ It will appear hereafter that complaints against *intrusive* priests were not uncommon. From the language of the laws, capitularies, and synods on these matters, I have been led to suspect that many persons assumed the priesthood without ordination, merely by dint of bold pretension and popular favour.

²⁰ *Capit.*, &c. lib. vi. § 72. p. 267; lib. vii. § 316. p. 338, and § 405. p. 347. Conf. *Capit. Car. Mag.* ad Ann. 789, ap. *Hartzheim*, Concil. &c. tom. i. p. 271. They were instructed to admonish the faithful that *magic arts* and *incantations* were no remedies for the infirmities of men or animals, nor for lamenesses, nor for dying persons; that *amulets* of bones or herbs could be of no use to any one; but that, on the contrary, all these things were but snares and ambushes of that old enemy the devil, in which he strives to catch the souls of men. *Capit.* &c. Add. iii. § 93. p. 393. And with a view to protect or conceal the ignorance of the clergy, laymen were strictly forbidden from disputing with them in public on religious subjects. *Capit.*, &c. vii. § 195. p. 325, and Add. iv. § 32. p. 393. See also the ordinances of the Theodosian code, lib. xvi., “De his qui super religionem contendunt,” tit. iv. *Gothof.* tom. vi. p. 98.

²¹ As to the heathen practices encouraged or

not prohibited by the church, I must refer the reader to a following chapter, in which it is intended to give a sketch of the religious condition of the Transrhenane Germans, prior to the reforms of Gall, Columbanus, Willibrord, and Boniface.

²² With respect to the Transrhenane dependencies of the Frankish realms, it will appear hereafter that they were, for the most part, still sunk in the grossest heathenism. It was among these nations that the form of abjuration at baptism, drawn up by the synod of Lestines in 743 (*Hartzh.* tom. i. p. 51), was most in use. I give the form here, as it is not improbable that it was sometimes used in the Cisrhenane provinces. I quote from *Canciani*, tom. iii., “Ek forsako diabole end allum diabol-gelde, end allum diabol-werkum end wordum, Thunaer end Woden ende Saxnote end allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint. Ek gelobo en Got almechtigen fadaer end in Crist Godes suno, end in halogan Gast.” “I renounce the devil and all devils gilds (associations or fraternities for heathen sacrifices), and all devil’s works and words; Thunaer (Thor) and Woden (Wodan) and Saxnote (Odin of the sword), and all those fiends that are their companions. I believe in God, almighty father, and in Christ the

adopted to promote a general conformity, and prepare the way for a purer Christianity.

yet it may perhaps be doubted whether Christianity would, under any purer and more rigid administration, have made so rapid a progress. Regarding the means made use of by the clergy in a merely human point of view, it is hard to say whether they could have adopted any course better calculated to promote at least a general assent and conformity to Christianity. Chosen, as the priesthood of necessity was, it might be expected that their conduct should exhibit many culpable compliances, much grossness, and neglect of duty. Still a great point was gained by the public renunciation, though it was not followed by the immediate abolition, of the worst abominations of heathenism. Superstition, it is true, maintained her ground; but religion stood beside her mitigating and restraining her excesses, and preparing the way for the great reforms of the seventh and eighth centuries. Those reforms will be found to introduce a new power into the government of the church, and it is necessary to bear in mind the prior state of religion in the countries to which they apply, not only to enable us to estimate the amount and value of the services performed, but to lay bare the foundation upon which the vast edifice of ecclesiastical power was afterwards reared.

The state of the public mind is favourable to the growth of the sacerdotal power.

From this stage of our progress we may survey with advantage the earlier steps by which the authority of the clergy mounted up to the height to which it afterwards soared. It is indeed difficult to conceive any state of the public mind more favourable to the growth of the spiritual power. The religion of the Frank consisted in a belief in the miracles of Jesus Christ, and in those of the innumerable saints whom his teachers had substituted for the ancient deities. He held himself bound to the performance of certain acts outwardly appertaining to the service of God, but having no connexion with that internal purity which is required of the genuine Christian. But the assent of the barbarian to the truths of religion, as he understood them, was not the cold assent of reason or of mere habit; it was the offspring of genuine yet rude and misdirected piety, a compound of all the best and strongest feelings of his heart, fear, hope, gratitude, remorse, striving to escape the conscious guilt of sin, and to propitiate the favour of God and the saints by the performance of a variety of outward acts which, upon the word of his teachers, he believed well-pleasing to them. These mainly consisted in the founding, building, and endowing churches; in liberality to the

The Frank is taught that he may

son of God, and in the Holy Ghost." By the "devil's works" here renounced are meant all observances not adopted into the Christian worship; by "devil's words" are designated all

heathen songs, interludes, sacrificial odes, lays, incantations, &c. &c. Conf. *Monē*, vol. ii. p. 148.

clergy;²³ the performance of penances as an atonement for offences committed against God, but especially for disrespect or contempt of the saints, their churches, and priests. These offences, and a great many more, he was told, might be commuted by gifts to the hierarchy, by liberality to the poor, and by stated penances and mortifications. All this he devoutly believed; yet, with all this, went on offending till the measure was full, and the appointed penalties became due and payable. This moment was seized by the ever watchful churchman, and the debt was exacted with rigour and with success.

The quiet unostentatious piety of a life devoted to the service of God and man was, in this state of feeling, an unintelligible condition of the mind; the piety of the age showed itself in outbursts of sudden remorse, or of unbounded self-devotion, trampling upon all worldly or personal views, and dedicating itself to the single purpose of taking heaven by storm; and sometimes of dragging others aloft with it. Such pious and generous spirits were Senach the priest of Tours,²⁴ Avitus, bishop of Auvergne,²⁵ the recluses Caluppa and Patroclus,²⁶ Hospitius and Hipparchus,²⁷ and a host of other devoted men, who may at least claim the merit of exhibiting to a world sunk in licentiousness and passion an example of self-denial and pious practice, which became, by the force of contrast, advantageous to the general cause of religion, where without it there would have been no standard of religious excellence to appeal to but the Holy Scriptures,—as yet a sealed book to the vast majority both of the clergy and laity.

The advantage of this example however accrued rather to the clergy than to society in general. The church seized upon the merits of martyrs, confessors, saints, and anchorites, as its own property; it enhanced their brightness by the long list of miracles which it appended to each legend; the muster-roll of saints was swelled by names of doubtful tradition or pure invention; and every means was adopted to impart to them the character of local divinities, endowed with ample power to reward friends, favourites, and devotees, and to punish by the most sudden and appalling visitations any disrespect shown to themselves, as well as all injuries to their churches, or to the appointed guardians of their shrines.²⁸ The fear of the saints was substituted for the

atone for his sins by penances, liberality to the clergy, building and endowing churches, &c.

The religious conscience shows itself in violent outbursts of remorse, self-devotion, and ascetic extravagance.

The church appropriates the merits of the saints; and renders the popular veneration subservient to its own defence and aggrandizement.

²³ See the beatification of Chrodinus for his benefactions to the church (*Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. 20. p. 277), and the reprobation of Marcus, the referendary, for his criminal sordidness, even though he did receive the tonsure, and put on the cowl, “in articulo mortis.” *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 28. p. 280.

²⁴ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 7. p. 237.

²⁵ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 35. p. 221.

²⁶ *Ibid.* lib. v. cc. 9, 10. p. 238.

²⁷ *Ibid.* lib. vi. cc. 6, 8. p. 269, 270.

²⁸ See the punishment of Eberulf, whom St. Martin suffered to be put to death within his own sanctuary for his imputed disregard of the

fear of God ; and religion, which was given as a check upon the evil passions of men, was diverted to the temporal profit of her ministers.

The riches of the church are increased by large grants from the royal fiscus, by gifts and offerings, by donations "pro salute animæ," sale of relicks, &c.

Besides the considerable possessions which the Franks found in the hands of the clergy, the endowments of the church had been augmented by an ample share of the Fiscal estates of the crown. Their personal wealth was augmented by gifts and offerings at the shrines of the saints, by donations for the benefit of the souls of the givers, by testamentary bequests, by the sale of relicks, and several other sources of gain arising out of saint-worship and the received doctrines of penance and commutation.²⁹ The universal faith reposed in the miraculous virtues of relicks, opened a gainful source of traffic. The possession of a relick of high reputation attracted a concourse of devout visiters to the church in which it was enshrined ; and if such a treasure accidentally found its way into private hands, it might even prove as dangerous to the possessor as a detected hoard of silver or of gold.³⁰

Chilperich offends the clergy by discontinuing the liberalities of his predecessors, by compelling the clergy to pay tribute, and to

From the age of Chlodwig down to that of Chilperich I., the churches had received large grants of land from the liberality of that prince, his sons and grandsons. Chilperich, however, abstained from further concessions, and, in some instances, rigidly exacted the tributes, and other services due upon the grants of his predecessors. On one occasion he ventured to assess the church lands at one-third of their revenues,³¹

saint. *Greg. Turon. lib. vii. c. 22. p. 300.* Compare the story of Leonastus, the blind archdeacon of Bourges, whom the saint cured of his blindness at the first application ; but he afterwards applied to a Jew doctor to improve his sight, and again became blind ; whereupon he paid a second visit to St. Martin ; but the saint was so indignant at his having tampered with the infidel, that he would not listen to his suit, and he remained blind to the end of his days. *Ibid. lib. v. c. 6. p. 257.* See also *lib. iv. c. 2. p. 204,* and *lib. vii. c. 42. p. 311.* But the saints much more frequently interfere to avenge their own wrongs than for the benefit of others. According to Gregory, St. Martin was the deity of the Franks in his age ; his temples were the most numerous ; the miracles wrought at his tomb the most striking, and his interference on behalf of "those who put their trust in him." The most frequent instances of vengeance upon those who "took his name in vain," or violated his sanctuary, abound throughout the work. See particularly *lib. vii. c. 42. p. 311 ; lib. viii. c. 16. p. 320. Ibid. c. 33. p. 323 ; ibid. c. 34. p. 329.*

²⁹ Thus the notorious Fredegundis was so strongly persuaded that the successive deaths of several children were the consequence of having

levied tribute upon the church lands—though those lands were comprised in the Roman registers, and therefore strictly liable to the impost—that, in a fit of compunction or fear, she burnt the registers of her own lands, and persuaded her husband Chilperich to do the like with those of the crown domains. *Greg. Turon. lib. v. c. 35. p. 253.* Thus also the emissary Claudius made particular inquiry as to the inclination or power of St. Martin to punish a violation of his sanctuary, before he would venture to seize Eberulf, the supposed murderer of Chilperich, within the sacred precincts of Tours. *Ibid. lib. vii. c. 31. p. 305.*

³⁰ See the story of the thumb of St. Sergius, known to be in the hands of a Syrian merchant living at Bordeaux, and which had the property of putting to flight the enemies of the possessor. *Greg. Turon. loc. mod. cit.* Gregory himself, when crossing a river in an overloaded boat, attributes his safety to the circumstance of his having about him some relicks of St. Martin and other saints, without whose aid, he has no doubt, every soul on board must have perished. *Lib. viii. c. 14. p. 305.*

³¹ This is represented by *Gregory* (*lib. iv. c. 2. p. 204*) as a mere act of lawless power. But all

exacted fines from the tenants of the churches,³² and summoned the inferior clergy to attend the Heribann.³³ These offences were not forgiven by the clergy. His death was regarded as a deliverance; the assassin's hand freed them from all restraint, and Gregory of Tours thus writes the epitaph of the enemy of God and his church. "So perished the Nero and the Herod of our days; the man who took delight in wasting whole provinces with fire and sword. In his time, alas! very few of the clergy obtained bishoprics;³⁴ he was a glutton, and one whose God was his belly. He wrote two books, and some hymns and mass-songs, devoid of sense and metre. He hated the cause of the poor, and sedulously blasphemed the priests of the Lord. In private, nothing afforded him so much delight as to indulge in joke and ridicule upon the bishops: some prelates he called giddy fellows; others, braggarts; of others he used to say that they had feathered their nests well; and again of others, that they were drunkards and gormandizers. Nothing he disliked so much as the church: 'Look,' he used to exclaim, 'how poor our Fiscus has become; see how our property has passed away to the churches; the bishops seem to be the rulers of the land!' He often set aside wills made in favour of the church, and annulled the appointments³⁵ of his father.³⁶ He outstripped all men in voluptuousness and luxury. He invented new modes of torture, and often put out the eyes of those that offended him. He never bore sincere affection to any one, and was himself loved by no one; and therefore was he abandoned by all men in the hour of death."³⁷

do the duties
attached to
their lay-lands.

Accordingly
Gregory of
Tours brands
him as the
enemy of God
and man.

The bishop of Tours here takes from the mouth of an enemy a testimony against his order which cannot fail to recur to us in perusing his own account of the moral conduct of the Frankish prelates and of the clergy in general. In this part of his task the bishop has evinced a candour which we cannot help attributing in part at least to that bluntness of moral feeling which results from constantly witnessing the grossest excesses. Throughout his work he visits the vices of the clergy with far less rigour than breaches of canonical discipline; and deploras the evil example rather than the decay of true religion—of which however a

Conduct of the
priesthood.

the bishops submitted except Injuriosus, bishop of Troyes, who, however, so alarmed the king by the "fear of St. Martin," that he abandoned his design; yet, as many of these lands were tributary, and all those which lay in the conquered territory of the Visigoths south of the Loire were actually subject to the Gothic "Tertix," there could be little question of their legal liability. *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 390.

³² *Greg. Turon.* lib. vii. c. 42. p. 311.

³³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 27. p. 250.

³⁴ A great many sees were given to laymen, who were ordained to them at once.

³⁵ Præceptions—of these hereafter.

³⁶ Chlothar I.

³⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. 46. p. 291. It is curious to compare this invective with the lively eulogium upon the cruel and heartless Chlodwig. See ch. x. sec. 2. p. 520, of this volume.

Prelates and superior clergy indulge in the grossest debauchery. They make war upon, rob, plunder, and even murder one another.

Prelates and abbots put on armour and lead their followers to battle. They mix in political broils.

The bishops insist in theory upon the right of free election, but practically they permit the power of appointment to vacant prelacies to drop into the hands of the crown.

The "Consensus."

The "Præceptio."

vicious clergy is the most conclusive proof. Not only nobles and gentry, but prelates and superior priesthood indulged in the lowest debauchery.³⁸ They made war upon, robbed, plundered, insulted, and even murdered one another, without regard to their sacred character. The priesthood of the cathedral churches plotted and intrigued against their bishops;³⁹ while among the inferior clergy there were found miscreants ready to accept the hire, and to do the work of common assassins.⁴⁰ The bishops plunged eagerly into the political broils of the day, and in the pursuits of temporal ambition not only neglected their pastoral duties, but often overlooked the interests of their order. However repugnant to the canon law, prelates, abbots, and dignified churchmen frequently put on armour, and led the tenants and dependents of their estates to battle.⁴¹ A bishop was beheaded, together with other political delinquents, for the share he took in an unsuccessful insurrection.⁴²

In an age in which all rights rested upon uncertain and fluctuating customs, growing out of a very few simple principles of action, we cannot expect to find any precise limits between the rights of the church and those of the monarch. The privilege of appointing to the vacant prelacies is therefore involved in some obscurity. In the earlier ages of the Frankish monarchy the churchmen did not insist upon that absolute independence of election upon which they afterwards took their stand in the great struggle for political power. During the whole period over which the history of Gregory of Tours extends, the nomination to vacant sees rested practically with the kings. In the first instance, the people and the clergy of the orphan church prepared an instrument called a "Consensus," containing the name of the person whom they wished to have for their bishop, and requesting the assent of the king to his consecration. If the nomination was acceptable, the king signified his pleasure by letters-patent called a "Præceptio,"⁴³ in which, without

³⁸ See the private conduct of Cautinus, bishop of Auvergne (*Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 12. p. 208) and of the bishops Sagittarius and Salonius (*ibid.* lib. v. c. 21. p. 247).

³⁹ Thus the clergy of Marseilles conspired to depose their bishop Theodore. *Greg. Turon.* lib. vii. c. 11. p. 272. The deacon Fronto deposed Charterius, bishop of Bigorre, lib. vi. c. 22. p. 277.

⁴⁰ Thus Fredegundis employed two "clerici" to murder her rival Brunehildis, and with her own hand armed them with poisoned daggers for that purpose. *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 29. p. 324. It is not necessary to believe the story as against Fredegundis, to substantiate the testimony as against the clergy to the extent stated in the text.

⁴¹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 43. p. 225; lib. vii. c. 37. p. 309; and *conf.* lib. vii. c. 39. p. 310.

⁴² See the fate of Sagittarius in the last cited passage from Gregory of Tours.

⁴³ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 5. p. 235. The forms of both consensus and præceptio are given in *Marculf* (*Form.* lib. i. cc. 5 and 7; *Canc.* ii. pp. 190, 192). But it is to be observed that the præceptio does not follow the words of the consensus; the latter recites an election popular and clerical, authenticated by the subscription of the electors (*Conf. note of Canciani, loc. cit. p. 193, note 1*). The præceptio, in reply, takes no notice whatever of the election, but simply commands the bishop to whom the instrument is directed, to consecrate the person

noticing the election, he appointed the person designated in the consensus. The regular proceeding seems to have been the following:—*the clergy and the people elected—the king and his council*, composed for that purpose of lay and clerical advisers, *confirmed or rejected*. But though the bishops in various provincial synods strongly insisted upon the right of free election;⁴⁴ yet they always admitted the veto of the king; while the latter, without contesting the right of the churches, practically assumed the whole power of appointment by virtue of this veto.⁴⁵ The clergy knew too well where the effective power of appointment resided, and too many of them derived their own elevation from that power, to be very strenuous for the maintenance of the right of their churches against the royal encroachment. Those who looked forward to bishoprics sought them at court by bribes and solicitations.⁴⁶ The great possessions of the churches rendered the prelacies objects of desire to courtiers and men of influence; and so numerous were the lay appointments during the reign of Chilperich of Soissons, that very few of the ordained clergy could obtain them at all. In all cases where laymen were made bishops we hear nothing of a consensus; and the expressions used by the historian lead us irresistibly to infer that no previous election took place,⁴⁷ and that both nomination and appointment were without contradiction arrogated by the crown.

The kings frequently appoint laymen to episcopal sees to the exclusion of the clergy.

The immunities of the clergy during the Merwingian period are likewise a matter of some uncertainty. As a body they had not yet achieved their exemption from lay jurisdiction, though it is tolerably clear that bishops were not regarded as civilly or criminally amenable to

The immunities of the clergy. Bishops are exempt from the lay tribunals; they claim to be

therein named “Cui una cum pontificibus vel proceribus nostris plenius tractantes decrevimus pontificalem committere dignitatem” to the vacant see. We cannot help suspecting that the previous consensus was not always waited for; and that it was often disregarded we have ample testimony. Conf. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 15. p. 210. Ibid. ch. 26. p. 215.

⁴⁴ See the extracts from the canons passed to that effect, in the councils of Paris, circa A.D. 551, and of Orleans, A.D. 549 (therefore in the reign of Childebert I. the son of Chlodwig) apud *Canciani*, ii. p. 190, 191, note 3.

⁴⁵ It is also noticeable that Gregory of Tours uses the same word to denote a *fiscal grant* to a layman and the royal appointment to a bishopric. Thus: “Godinus cui rex *indulserat* villas a fisco,” &c.: again: “(Mundericus) qui a rege (Guntchramno) *indultus*, &c., episcopus ordinatur.” Conf. lib. v. c. 3. p. 234, and *ibid.* c. 5. p. 236. Conf. likewise *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 390. From this it seems as if the kings were inclined

to place the two kinds of patronage upon the same footing, viz. that of the royal beneficence. And so the episcopal dignity is called “*Regis xenium* or *xenium*”—the “gift of the king.” *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 47. p. 260.

⁴⁶ See the conduct of Cato, the priest of Auvergne. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 11. p. 205. The letters of Pope Gregory the Great (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. pp. 13 to 16) describing the extent to which simony in all clerical departments was carried towards the close of the sixth century, are remarkable.

⁴⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. 38. p. 286. See also c. 46 of the same book. Conf. *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 192. Lay appointments without consensus. *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 39. p. 330; *ibid.* c. 41. p. 331. *Marculf*, in his formula of appointment (lib. i. form. 5) enumerates—besides clergy (*viri reverendi*), *viri illustres* or *ordinis nobilitatis*, lay nobles, as eligible for bishoprics. Conf. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. § 101. p. 272, and *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 253.

tried by the canon law, and to be amenable to canonical punishments only.

Cases of Prætextatus of Rouen :

Prætextatus of Gap :
Salonius of Embrun.

An appeal to Rome unobjected to.

Case of Gregory, bishop of Tours.

The inferior clergy are liable to be tried by their bishops for all ecclesiastical offences ; laymen for immorality and breach of church discipline ; but are amenable only to canonical penalties.

any tribunal but one composed of bishops, and that they claimed to be tried by the canon law, and to be liable to canonical punishments only.⁴⁸ Thus we find Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, tried before a synod of bishops for a treasonable conspiracy ; the prelates found him guilty, and he was banished to an island upon the coast of Normandy.⁴⁹ The same course of proceeding was adopted in the cases of another Prætextatus bishop of Gap, and of a certain Salonius bishop of Embrun, in Provence. They were tried upon several charges of robbery, homicide and adultery. The charges were fully proved, and they were solemnly degraded and deposed from their sees. The culprits complained of a partial trial, and Gunthram of Orleans permitted them to appeal to the bishop of Rome, John IV., the first example on the records of Frankish history of an appeal to Rome from the decision of a national synod. John reversed the sentence of the bishops, and reinstated the delinquents. But they were shortly afterwards again deposed for an aggravated repetition of the same offences.⁵⁰ Bishop Gregory, of Tours, himself was cited to appear before a similar tribunal, to answer to a charge of uttering slanderous words of queen Fredegundis. On that occasion he availed himself of the rule of the canon law, that neither layman nor priest of inferior degree was a competent witness against a bishop, and he was permitted to purify himself from the charge by his own oath upon three altars.⁵¹

From these cases we may be allowed to infer that a court of prelates was the only legally competent tribunal for the trial of a bishop, even for secular offences, and that the only rule of law applicable to his case was the canon law.⁵² With regard to the inferior clergy, there is more uncertainty. According to the canon law, as it stood in the sixth century, the bishops were empowered to visit notorious offences against religion, church discipline, and Christian morals, whether committed by clerk or layman, with various specified canonical punishments. Moreover it happened that under the Roman empire the bishops had been entrusted with a certain very limited jurisdiction in matters not of a spiritual nature. This court was known by the name of the "Episcopalis Audientia." Several

⁴⁸ The sources of the canon law in the Frankish states were : the Cod. Theodos., and an ancient collection of canons which had come into use in the West at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries. To these may be added the canons of various Gallic and Spanish provincial synods, and probably also papal decretals addressed to Gallic and Spanish bishops, and the canons of the synod of Orleans passed in 511. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 260.

⁴⁹ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 19. p. 246.

⁵⁰ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 21. p. 247, and c. 28. p. 250.

⁵¹ See also the trial of Bishop Ægidius of Rheims for high treason. *Greg. Turon.* lib. x. c. 19. p. 376.

⁵² Irregularities no doubt occurred ; witness the summary punishment of Bishop Sagittarius for his support of the pretender Gundovald. *Greg. Turon.* lib. vii. c. 39. p. 310.

emperors, particularly Constantine the Great, Valentinian III., and Theodosius II. had consented to the reference of civil disputes to the bishop without appeal, but only with the consent of both parties.⁵³ But by the ninth canon of the council of Chalcedon, passed in the year 451, the clergy themselves were prohibited from carrying their complaints before the secular tribunals at all. Thus the bishop's court became possessed of all purely ecclesiastical causes, as well as of a considerable class of lay suits. This kind of spiritual judicature maintained its ground in the new Frankish and Visigothic states.⁵⁴ Yet up to this period no secular person could be summoned before the ecclesiastical judge without his own free consent whether his opponent were clerk or layman. In criminal matters both were amenable to the secular tribunals.⁵⁵ Still several crimes, partaking of a spiritual character, such as adultery, sacrilege, the desecration of churches, the shedding of blood within the sacred precincts, breach of sanctuary, and others of a like nature, were sometimes submitted to the exclusive judgment of the bishop's court, yet, as it should seem, without the power to inflict any other than canonical punishments,⁵⁶ namely, penance, seclusion, and excommunication, and in the case of a churchman, suspension, deposition, and degradation.⁵⁷

For civil crimes; such as homicide, theft, or witchcraft, all were amenable to the secular tribunals.

Upon this foundation the church succeeded in erecting the prodigious edifice of its temporal jurisdiction. The machinery for its extension was yet in preparation: tithes were not yet heard of as a general or obligatory tax upon the land: the Frankish churches made a resolute stand against the introduction of images; with regard to the minor clergy celibacy was not insisted upon;⁵⁸ and monachism was still weak both in numbers, organization, and wealth. But a strong foundation was laid in the practices of saint and relick-worship, and in the doctrine of the efficacy of penitential exercises and pious donations to the church. Gifts and devises for the benefit of the souls of the donors had become a favourite mode of compounding for a life of sinful indulgence, and

The church lays the foundation of its temporal power upon saint and relick-worship, the doctrine of penances, and pious gifts "pro salute animæ."

⁵³ *Gothof. ad Cod. Theodos. tom. vi. p. 298.*

⁵⁴ Our authority, *Eichhorn* (vol. i. pp. 277, 278) quotes the council of Toledo, A.D. 589, can. 13; the council of Paris, A.D. 615. can. 3.

⁵⁵ See the jealous prohibitions issued by the councils of Auxerre (A.D. 578, can. 43. ap. *Mansi*, ix. p. 915), and that of Macon (A.D. 581, can. 7 and 8. *ibid.* p. 933) to the clergy against carrying their suits before the secular judge. But the 7th canon of the last-named synod clearly excepts criminal cases. "Quod si quicumque iudex cujuscumque (episcopi) clericum, absque causâ criminali, id est homicidio, furto aut maleficio, hoc facere fortasse præsumpserit;"

viz. "to bring him by force before his own court—quamdiu episcopo loci visum fuerit, ab ecclesiæ liminibus arceatur."

⁵⁶ *Greg Turon. lib. v. c. 33. p. 252.*

⁵⁷ *Eichhorn*, vol. i. § 106. p. 275; and conf. the synods above quoted.

⁵⁸ But Gregory of Tours insists that a bishop ought not to be a married man; and that if, before consecration, he had a wife, he ought to separate himself from her; or that, at all events, they should live together in a virgin state. See the stories of Urbicus, the bishop of Auvergne, and Injuriousus the senator, ap. *Greg. Turon. lib. i. cc. 39 and 42.*

of securing the interest of the saints for a safe passage to paradise.⁵⁹ The governments interfered in vain to check this pernicious practice,⁶⁰ a result which can excite no surprise, when we read that the voice of nature was disregarded, and that families were daily impoverished or beggared to purchase for the selfish sinner unlimited indulgence in this life, and a safe deliverance from the punishment due to his offences in the next.⁶¹

The more strenuous clergy claim exemption for themselves and their property from all taxes, services, and offices.

Though the pretensions of the church did not for the present proceed beyond the jurisdiction over canonical offences, the cognizance of causes purely ecclesiastical, and the determination of civil disputes among its own members, yet the more strenuous churchmen⁶² claimed for themselves, their order and their possessions, the most unlimited exemptions from all taxation, personal services, or burthensome secular offices. They proclaimed the property of the church the "patrimony of the poor,"—a sacred fund, which might not be encroached upon for any temporal purpose, without incurring the highest displeasure of Almighty God, and the certain vengeance of the patron saint.⁶³ These exemptions, though frequently disputed by the worldly Chilperich, and not always respected even by the devout Gunthram, were in the main established; and bearing them in mind, we shall the more easily go along with the current of church-history to the consummation of spiritual despotism six centuries afterwards.⁶⁴

Moral and religious state of society during the Merwingian dynasty.

The clergy and laity are addicted to various kinds of superstitions.

There is scarcely any period of history painted to us in darker colours than that of the Merwingian princes. If we were to take the descriptions of Gregory of Tours without many allowances, we must suppose all the bonds of society to have been rent asunder;—the existence of any kind of political union is in truth almost inconceivable. The clergy practised and inculcated hagiolatry of the grossest kind,⁶⁵ and multiplied signs and miracles for very trivial, sometimes for criminal purposes;⁶⁶ while

⁵⁹ See the formula of a gift to holy uses, ap. *Marculf*. lib. ii. § 6. *Canc.* ii. p. 226.

⁶⁰ Chilperich of Soissons, as we have seen, set aside instruments of this nature, and annulled wills "in remedium animæ," for which he incurred the malediction of the bishop of Tours. See also the capitularies of Charles the Great and his son Louis the Pious upon this subject, ap. *Baluz.* Capit. tom. i. p. 720.

⁶¹ Conf. *Eichhorn*, § 28. p. 90. This learned and ingenious writer thinks that the barbarian Frank believed he might compound with heaven, through the church, for his spiritual offences, as he was in the habit of compounding with his neighbour for temporal injuries.

⁶² Such as Gregory of Tours and Injuriosus.

⁶³ See the remonstrance of Injuriosus, bishop

of Tours, against the levy of the "thirds," upon his church. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. 2. p. 204. Conf. *ibid.* lib. ix. c. 30. p. 350.

⁶⁴ I venture to fix upon the first half of the thirteenth century as the culminating point of the papal power. The pontificates of Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., placed the pretensions of the church upon the broadest basis she was ever able to establish, a principle falling in theory little short of a universal spiritual and temporal dominion, with legates for its viceroys, and kings, princes, and nobles for its ministers and defenders.

⁶⁵ *Greg. Turon.* lib. vii. c. 31. p. 305.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 6. p. 237.

sortilege,⁶⁷ divination,⁶⁸ delusions,⁶⁹ and superstitions⁷⁰ of the most motley character overclouded the brain and seared the hearts of kings, nobles, and people. In the eagerness of gain, or in the heat of passion, very little distinction was made between priest and laymen.⁷¹ To gratify revenge or avarice, bishops and abbots were imprisoned, tortured, beaten, and even put to death; and it may be admitted that the gains of the churches by pious gifts were, in a great degree, balanced by the losses and sufferings to which their riches exposed them.

The laity frequently invade the property of the churches and maltreat the clergy.

During the frequent civil wars between the kings, the innumerable private feuds between rival nobles and inveterate factions, or between the bishops and the laity of their own cities and dioceses,⁷² the contending parties plundered and murdered one another with ruthless ferocity; sanctuaries were violated, churches and convents robbed and desecrated without scruple. Famine accompanied the march of the armies; insubordination and want of command broke up their order, crippled their operations, and rendered their very numbers an encumbrance to themselves.⁷³ The weakness of the governments was in nothing more conspicuous than in the irregular modes adopted for the punishment of great offenders.⁷⁴ Against this class of criminals legal proceedings were not often resorted to.⁷⁵ As long as the several factions continued strong, all attempts to punish individual guilt were vain; when they were weak, it is difficult to discern what legal limit existed to the power of punishment for state offences.

All classes indulge in lawless attacks upon each other's persons, rights, and property. Insubordination in the armies.

Government powerless against great offenders.

The frequency and extravagance of the penances voluntarily endured seem to have kept pace with the exaggerated character of public crime. The sudden compunctions of rich and powerful offenders produced

Religious extravagance keeps pace with public crime.

⁶⁷ *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. 50. p. 262; lib. vi. c. 32. p. 282; lib. vi. c. 35. p. 284.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* lib. vii. c. 44. p. 311.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* lib. vii. cc. 1 and 11. pp. 293, 297.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* lib. v. cc. 21 and 35. pp. 247, 253.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 29. p. 251; and see the conduct of Desiderius and Mummolus towards the bishop Magnulf of Thoulouse. *Ibid.* lib. vii. c. 37. p. 303.

⁷² *Ibid.* lib. v. cc. 21, 25, and 26. pp. 247 to 250; lib. vii. cc. 2, 13, and 21. pp. 294, 297, 300.

⁷³ *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 31. p. 282; lib. viii. c. 30. p. 325.

⁷⁴ See the punishment of duke Magnovald by Childebert II. *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 36. p. 329, also c. 32, p. 328; and lib. x. c. 21. p. 378.

⁷⁵ Thus when Mummolus and his associates Sagittarius (a bishop), Chariulf and Waddo,

after betraying the pretender Gundovald, themselves fell into the hands of Gunthram, they were put to death without any form. *Ibid.* lib. vii. c. 39. p. 310. The punishment of duke Rauching, for a conspiracy against Childebert II., was a mere public assassination. *Ibid.* lib. ix. c. 9. p. 338. In the same way the pious Gunthram did not scruple, in the heat of resentment, to violate the sanctuary of Treves, in order to wreak his vengeance upon his enemy duke Boso. *Ibid.* c. 10. In none of these cases was there any claim of trial; nor does Gregory complain that any injustice was done. The execution of great malefactors was always followed by the resumption of their fiscal estates or benefices; and, in the case of duke Rauching, emissaries were sent before his execution to seize his fiscal lands, lest his family and friends should take any steps to defend them.

a harvest of donations and offerings to the poor, the churches, and the shrines of the saints. It was no unusual occurrence to see laymen as well as priests retiring to caverns, and ruined buildings, and hollow trees, living upon the herbs that grew wild around them, drinking the water of the nearest spring, binding their limbs with heavy chains, wearing coarse hair-shirts next their skin, and exposing themselves to all the vicissitudes of the weather, fully persuaded of the efficacy of these practices to blot out the most heinous sins, and satisfactorily to adjust their accounts with the next world.⁷⁶

The moral character of all classes resembles that of the nobles and gentry.

The government has no power to repress disorders.

Yet the frequency of these penances was in no degree indicative of improvement in the national morals. The vices imputed to the rich and the powerful have an air of romantic enormity which would make us cautious in giving full credit to the report of the witnesses,⁷⁷ if we did not find that the morals of the entire community stood upon no higher level. Thus when the generals of Gunthram and Childebert II. were reproached for the ravages committed by their troops upon friend and foe alike, they excused themselves by alleging the total depravity and dissoluteness of the people. "No one," they said, "feared the king; no one obeyed the duke or honoured the count."⁷⁸ The inhabitants of the towns suffered less than those of the country districts; the power or the influence obtained by the bishops in the greater cities enabled them to defend their flocks against the extortions of the counts and vice-counts; but the agricultural population were exposed to all the calamities of war, and to all the caprices of unbridled pride and insatiable avarice.⁷⁹

This state of anarchy is attributable to the immature and imperfect state of laws and institutions.

It is obvious that these frightful excesses were the effects of the vehement passions of barbarians placed in a condition to indulge them, without any of those matured institutions of law and order which might have tended to counteract their vehemence, or to give them a salutary direction. The Franks seized upon the means of gratification with the

⁷⁶ One of these anchorites, named Wulfila, attempted to re-enact the feat of Simon Stylites. *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 12. p. 317. See the performances of Vinnoclus and Anatolius, lib. viii. c. 34. p. 329.

⁷⁷ See particularly the enormities imputed to the notorious Fredegundis, wife of Chilperich of Soissons, and mother of Chlothar I. Gregory of Tours was her only biographer, and her bitter enemy. See also the questionable stories of the murder of Prætextatus of Ronen (lib. viii. c. 31. p. 327), and the attempt to assassinate Brunehildis and Childebert II. (ibid. c. 29. p. 324.) The murder of the widow Dumnola by Bippolenus, the referendary of Frede-

gundis, to obtain possession of her vineyard, resembles the story of Naboth and Ahab. lib. viii. c. 32. p. 328.

⁷⁸ *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. 30. p. 326.

⁷⁹ The state of society in France during this calamitous period could not be better illustrated than by an account of the bridal progress of the princess Ragunthis, the daughter of Chilperich and Fredegundis, into Spain, to be married to Reccared, the son of king Lewegild. But the story is long, and could not be abridged with advantage. The curious reader is referred to *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. 45. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 289, 290; lib. vii. cc. 9 and 39. pp. 296 and 310; and lib. x. c. 21. p. 378.

cupidity of savages bewildered by the extent of their acquisitions, and ignorant how to make a right use of them: and thus when abandoned to their own discretion, or given over to the control of weak and vicious rulers, the evils which the vigorous hand of Chlodwig had in some degree repressed, burst forth with uncontrolled violence, and brought forth a century of unbridled licentiousness and suffering.

Yet even in this dreadful condition the character of the nation was not of that abject and reprobate cast which had, for ages prior to the dissolution of the empire, marked the western Romans for destruction. And hence, when the inebriation of novelty subsided, there was strength and vigour enough left to keep together the elements of an empire destined to shine like a bright meteor through the darkness of the middle ages,⁸⁰ and to raise hopes which it was the will of Providence should be realized in a yet far distant age.

SECTION III.—A. D. 593 to A. D. 640.

Death of Gunthram—of Childebert II.—Theuderich II., and Theudebert II.—Death of Fredegundis—Encroachments of Theuderich and Theudebert upon Neustria—Brunehildis in Burgundy—Protadius—Treachery of Theudebert—He is defeated and put to death—Austrasia and Burgundy united under Theuderich II.—His death—the Austrasians rebel—the Burgundians conspire against Brunehildis—Her death—Chlothar II. sole King of the Franks—Rise of the Majores Domūs—Popular Assemblies of the Franks—The Bishops are introduced into the National Assemblies—The Statute of Paris, A.D. 615—Grievances—Prohibition of Royal Præcepts—Clerical Immunities granted or secured—Dagobert made King of Austrasia—Chlothar II. dies—Dagobert sole King—Pepin of Landen Major Domūs of Austrasia—Revolutions of Eastern Germany—Sclavi and Avârs—Kingdom of Samo—War with Samo—Defeat of Dagobert—He makes his Son, Sigibert III., King of Austrasia—Radulf, duke of Thuringia, defeats the Sclavi—Dagobert causes his second Son, Chlodwig II., to be recognised King of Neustria—Dagobert dies—Æga—Pepin of Landen—Erchinwald—Floachatus—Grimoald Major Domūs of Austrasia—Radulf rebels—He defeats Grimoald and reigns in Thuringia.

THE particular account of the internal condition of the Frankish kingdoms which we have rendered in the preceding section, dispenses with the necessity of enlarging upon their civil history during the sixth and seventh centuries. A sketch of the principal public events will suffice to keep up the connexion in the mind of the reader, and to introduce to his notice those leading transactions upon which it may be necessary to dwell somewhat more at length.

⁸⁰ The empire of Charles the Great is in view.

Gunthram of Burgundy is succeeded by Childebert II. A.D. 593.

The Neustrians defend their young king A.D. 595. Chlothar II. Childebert II. dies, leaving two sons as minors. A.D. 596. Theudebert II. becomes king of Austrasia; Theuderich II. of Burgundy.

Fredegundis dies; and the kings of Austrasia and Burgundy encroach upon Neustria. A.D. 597. A.D. 600.

Clothar II. falls under the guardianship of Landerich.

The history of Gregory of Tours closes in the thirty-first year of the reign of king Gunthram of Burgundy, and in the nineteenth year of that of his nephew Childebert II. of Austrasia.¹ Gunthram died in the year 593, and, in conformity with the treaty of Andelau, Childebert II. succeeded him in the kingdom of Burgundy without opposition.² Soon after his accession he made an attempt to possess himself of Neustria likewise; but the nobility adhered faithfully to their young king Chlothar II.,³ and disappointed the project of his ambitious cousin. Childebert, however, added the country of the Warni or Werrini to the kingdom of Austrasia, and extended his frontier eastward as far as the river Werra.⁴ In the year 596 he died, leaving behind him two sons, Theudebert and Theuderich, who were then under age. The younger, Theuderich, was put into possession of the dominions of his great-uncle, Gunthram, including the Aquitanian appendages; Theudebert, the elder, succeeded to the kingdom of his father. At first their grandmother Brunehildis took upon herself the guardianship of both, but was soon compelled to relinquish Austrasia, and to take up her residence at the court of her younger son Theuderich.

In Neustria the notorious Fredegundis maintained her power with ability and success. After the death of Gunthram she claimed a share of the Burgundian inheritance for her infant son Chlothar II.,⁵ and, without any declaration of war, suddenly seized the city of Paris and other places in the vicinity. But she did not live to accomplish her project. Soon after her death the armies of Theudebert and Theuderich speedily recovered the districts in question; and reduced the Neustrian kingdom to twelve cantons of small extent, lying between the Seine, the Oise, and the British Channel.⁶ Chlothar was still permitted to reign under the guardianship of Landerich as high-steward or major domûs of his household.

¹ See the closing paragraph of the work, lib. x. c. 31. p. 390. But the readings are very various in the different MSS. See the note of *D. Bouq.* ad loc. The true date seems to be A.D. 591.

² *Fredegar. Continuatio Greg. Turon.* c. 14. ap. *D. Bouq.* ii. p. 419.

³ Chlothar was born in 584, shortly after the murder of his father Chilperich; therefore, in 593 he was about nine years old.

⁴ The entire country lying between the Werra and the Thuringian Saale was no doubt regarded as an appendage of Austrasia. But Thuringia had been much neglected, and the intervening Warni on the Werra and Weser had always been regarded as the allies rather

than the subjects of the Franks. See *Procop.* lib. iv. c. 20. The limits of the Frankish kingdom, in this direction, are hardly ever clearly distinguishable. Conf. *Fredeg. Contin.* c. 15. p. 420.

⁵ It may be here noticed that the treaty of Andelau infringed the family compact between the descendants of Chlodwig. Neustria was not indeed a party to that treaty; but the demand of Fredegundis was strictly justifiable upon every acknowledged principle of partition. Conf. ch. x. sec. 3. p. 526.

⁶ According to the *Chron. Fredeg.* (c. 20. p. 420) Chlothar must have lost more than half his territories.

Meanwhile Brunehildis exercised almost unlimited power over the mind and government of her grandson Theuderich of Burgundy. By her indulgence—and, it is said, at her instigation—the young prince was plunged into the most disgraceful excesses, with a view to divert his attention from public affairs, and to prevent his attaching himself to a legitimate wife, whose influence might overbear her own.⁷ But here, as in Austrasia, Brunehildis had to encounter the jealousy of the great nobles of the court. In resentment of their hostility, she bestowed her confidence wholly upon officers of Roman or Gallic extraction, and threw the principal commands into their hands. She conferred the dukedoms of Ultrajurane Burgundy and of Franche Comté upon her favourite Protadius; and exalted him to the dignity of patrician—chief governor and lieutenant-general⁸—of the kingdom. She was anxious to add to these honours the still more influential office of major domûs; and Berthold, who held that dignity, having been killed in an engagement with the Neustrians under the command of Landerich, the high-stewardship of Burgundy was forthwith conferred upon Protadius.⁹

Brunehildis plunges her grandson Theuderich into dissipation to prevent him from marrying.

The nobility of Burgundy are hostile to her influence.

She raises her favourite Protadius to the Patriciate, and afterwards to the mayoralty of the palace in Burgundy.

As the administrator and dispenser of the crown domains, the favourite incautiously increased the odium which this monopoly of offices necessarily brought along with it, by arbitrary resumptions of crown-grants, and by extending the limits of the fiscus to the prejudice of the fortunes of others, or the increase of his own. Brunehildis could not forgive the loss of her power in Austrasia; she proclaimed her grandson Theudebert a bastard, and marched with the Leudes of Burgundy to depose him. When the armies approached each other, the Burgundian chiefs interposed to prevent the effusion of blood; but the advice of Protadius, which was in accordance with the wild passions of Brunehildis, prevailed. The chiefs secretly came to the resolution that it was better that one man should die than that so much blood should be spilt. They seized the person of the young king, and in his name they issued an order for the death of Protadius. The obnoxious major domûs was despatched in the royal tent itself, and peace was, for the moment, restored between the rival brothers.¹⁰

The Burgundian nobles put Protadius to death to prevent a civil war between the brothers.

The attachment of Theuderich to his ambitious grandmother was con- But a fresh

⁷ She procured the expulsion of the Irish missionary monk Columbanus from his convent at Luxeuil, in the Vosges, for having earnestly admonished Theuderich to abandon the profligate concubinage in which he was living, and to choose a legitimate wife. See Vit. S. Galli, ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 6.

⁸ This, I submit, is the true rendering of the title. Thus Odovaker and Theoderich the Great

were raised by Zeno to the lieutenant-generalship and chief government of Italy. See chap. ix. sec. 3. p. 463, and sec. 4. p. 479. So also Chlodwig by Anastasius, ch. x. sec. 2. p. 519, note 73 of this volume. See a great deal of learning upon the *Patriciate*, ap. *Du Cange*, ad voc. "Patriciatus."

⁹ *Fredeg.* cont. cc. 26, 27. p. 422.

¹⁰ *Fredeg.* c. 27. pp. 422, 423.

quarrel breaking out between them, Theudebert II. extorts by treachery the cession of the disputed provinces.

firmed rather than shaken by this violent proceeding. A new quarrel with Austrasia, respecting the province of Alsace, again threatened a breach of the subsisting peace. Again the principal Leudes interfered, and it was agreed to submit the dispute to the arbitrament of the assembled nations, represented, according to the custom of the Franks, by the military population of the kingdom. Seltz, a town upon the northern limit of the duchy, was the place appointed for the discussion; and thither Theuderich proceeded with ten thousand followers. Theudebert met him with the whole force of Austrasia, and appeared upon the field prepared, not for deliberation, but for battle. The small force of Theuderich was soon enveloped on all sides, and he was compelled to assent to an ignominious treaty, whereby not only the district in dispute, but all the Transjurane dependencies of Burgundy were surrendered to his perfidious brother.¹¹

The Burgundians unite with the government to avenge this insult. Theudebert is defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by Brunehildis. A.D. 612.

This act of treachery severed all the ties which had hitherto tended to preserve the peace between the two kingdoms. We hear no more of interference or mediation to prevent bloodshed. Theuderich and Brunehildis prepared with all their might to avenge the wrong they had sustained; and this time they were heartily supported by their injured and insulted subjects. In the year 612 Theuderich took the field; Theudebert was defeated in two sanguinary battles, the first fought at Toul, in Lorraine, the second at Zülpich, near Cologne. After this last disaster, Theudebert took refuge among his Transrhenane subjects; but thither he was pursued and taken prisoner by the Burgundians. Berthar, the great chamberlain of Theuderich, stripped him of the insignia of royalty, and brought him, bound like a common felon, before his exasperated brother; and the latter sent him off to his capital of Châlons, to glut the vengeance of his relentless grandmother.¹² Here he was shortly afterwards put to death by her command; the kingdom of Austrasia submitted to the victor, and nothing remained to complete her scheme of dominion but the overthrow of the least formidable of her adversaries, the enfeebled and almost defenceless kingdom of the youthful Chlothar of Neustria.

Austrasia submits to Theuderich II.

A.D. 613. Theuderich II. dies, and Brunehildis raises his in-

Theuderich hastened his preparations to overwhelm his trembling relative; but the hand of death brought his career to a sudden close. He died of dysentery at Metz in the year 613; and his infant son, Sigi-

¹¹ *Fredegar*. (c. 37. p. 427) enumerates the ceded districts—"Suggentenses et Turenses et Campanenses." The two former no doubt designate the modern Sundgau and Thurgau: The "Campanenses" most probably the Aar-

gau. See note of *D. Bouq.* ad loc. cit. and also *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 243.

¹² Thus far *Fredegar*. c. 38. p. 418. The author of the *Life of St. Columbanus* (ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 482), adds the catastrophe.

bert II., was proclaimed king of Austrasia and Burgundy. But no one now stood between the Austrasian nobles and their enemy Brunehildis : the army intended for the invasion of Neustria dispersed : Arnulph, bishop of Metz, and his nephew Pippin, set up the standard of revolt, and the majority of the Proceres and Leudes of the kingdom ranged themselves under their banner. They recognized Chlothar II. as their sovereign, and put him in possession of almost the whole of Austrasia as far as the Rhine. Brunehildis prepared to meet the storm with the courage of one born to rule ; but the harshness of her character had rendered her an object of fear and abhorrence. Warnachar, the major domus of Burgundy, had entered into secret correspondence with the Austrasian malcontents. Brunehildis suspected his design, and issued secret instructions to put him to death ; but Warnachar received an accidental intimation of the fate intended for him ; and forthwith applied himself to the maturing of a conspiracy for the destruction of Brunehildis, the absolute exclusion of the family of Childebert II., and the enthronement of Chlothar II. as sole monarch of the Franks.

fant son, Sigibert II., to the throne of both kingdoms. The Austrasian estates rebel ;

Warnachar, maj. dom. of Burgundy, conspires to depose the family of Childebert II., and raise Chlothar II. to the throne.

Yet such was still the ascendancy of the aged queen that the conspirators themselves dared not refuse attendance in the field ; the armies of Burgundy and Austrasia were already drawn up in battle array against each other, when, at a signal given by the conspirators, the Burgundian forces moved off the field ; the young king Sigibert II. and his brother were taken prisoners upon their flight, and soon afterwards put to death ; a third son of Theuderich escaped indeed, but never again appeared ; a fourth was shut up in a convent and survived some years in strict custody. The fate reserved for the aged Brunehildis was as inhuman as the passions which had so often found a place in her own breast—as merciless as that vengeance which the son and heir of her capital enemy Fredegundis could have desired to inflict. For three days she underwent the most severe tortures, after which she was paraded through the camp upon the back of a camel, and was then tied by the hair of her head to the tail of an unbroken colt, and trailed to death.¹³

Brunehildis and Sigibert II. take the field, but are deserted by the Burgundians. Sigibert is put to death ; Brunehildis is taken prisoner, and given up to the vengeance of Chlothar II., who causes her to be tortured and trailed to death.

Chlothar II. was twenty-nine years old when, with the sanction of almost all parties in the state, he mounted the throne of the now united Frankish kingdoms. He is described to us as a man of a mild character, with some knowledge of letters, and a strong disposition to favour the church.¹⁴ He was raised to the supreme dominion, not from any regard to his fitness, or from personal affection, but because his elevation quieted

Chlothar II. is the creature of the aristocracy. A.D. 613.

¹³ Cont. *Fredeg.* cc. 39—42 ; pp. 428—430. See an eloquent and ingenious apology for Brunehildis, ap. *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 247.

¹⁴ *Fredeg.* Cont. c. 42. p. 430.

the fears, and favoured the views of the great nobles and Leudes of the kingdom. The transaction bears something of the character of an aristocratic election, which, by throwing the succession out of the regular hereditary channel, operated to exalt the power of the great officers and Leudes at the expense of the crown; and, in fact, the government of the Franks had become that of an *aristocracy*, not of mere birth or wealth, but of *office*: it appears now to have consisted of the officials and dignitaries of the court, the generals and commanders of the army, and the prelates of the church.¹⁵

Rise of the power of the majores domûs. They are originally stewards of the palace, afterwards dispensers of the Fiscus; subsequently the chiefs of the Leudes; in the end they become the elective presidents of Proceres, Leudes, Antrustions, and all officers of the crown.

At the head of the Leudes there had long stood an officer, called the Major Domûs, whose primitive function appears to have been that of high-steward and administrator of the royal household, and chief of the officers of the palace. To this power was added the management and dispensation of the royal domains, and in time also the chieftainship of the Leudes and beneficiaries of the crown. But as the kings could not venture to place an obnoxious person in command of that all-powerful body, it frequently became necessary, in making the appointment, to consult the wishes of the Leudes themselves. Hence arose a kind of mixed appointment; the Proceres and Leudes elected and the king approved and instituted.¹⁶ Irregularities occurred in the mode of filling up this high office, as in every other department of the state; but in general the Major Domûs was regarded as the elective head of Proceres, Leudes, Antrustions, and officers of the crown. The monarch himself soon began to feel the weight of his overweening influence, and the Leudes the advantage of a chief chosen by themselves, and engrossing the whole patronage of the state. The birth-nobility had suffered itself to merge in the great aristocracy of office and fealty;¹⁷ the principal proprietors, alodial and beneficiary, had eagerly enrolled themselves under the banners of the Major Domûs; and a power was in progress of consolidation to which the throne had nothing to oppose but an empty title, and the still subsisting predilection of the nation for the family of their ancient princes.

Public assemblies of the Franks.

In order to obtain a distinct notion of the changes which took place in the government of the Frankish kingdoms from the age of Chlothar II. downwards, it is necessary to advert shortly to the character of the *public*

¹⁵ The administration of the law was subordinate to these offices, and in a great degree mixed up with them. Conf. see. 1 of this chapter, p. 652.

¹⁶ See principally *Fredeg.* in Chron. c. 27. *Fredeg.* Cont. cc. 54, 101, 105. *Gesta Reg. Franc.* cc. 45, 47: see also many passages in *Aimoin de Gest. Franc.* particularly lib. iv.

c. 15. "Chlotharius (II.) autem potentiores omnes optimatum Burgundiæ Trecas convenire jubens, de successore Warnarii (Warnachar, the major domûs of Burgundy, lately deceased) cum eis agebat sollicitus scrutator quem vellent rectorem Palatii a rege sibi præfici," &c.

¹⁷ See sec. 1. p. 658 of this chapter.

assemblies of the Franks. In so irregular and tumultuary a state of society, it were irrational to look for the legally-defined powers and functions of a civilized polity.¹⁸ All political power depended upon the strength of the mass claiming it. The king consulted such of the Proceres and Leudes as were about his court and person, from habit as much as from necessity; and the latter demanded to be consulted as a body in most matters affecting their interests or their inclinations, from a consciousness of their power. He took counsel with them whenever he doubted of carrying his measures otherwise than with their concurrence, but rarely when he was strong enough to act without it. The custom of holding public assemblies resulted therefore from the nature of the materials of which society was composed, from the Germanic idea of liberty,¹⁹ and from the novel character which the landed property of the kingdom had assumed. But neither the periods of meeting, nor the subjects of discussion, nor the precise description of persons qualified to take a share in them,²⁰ had been hitherto fixed by any law or settled custom. On some occasions the kings consulted with the Proceres only; at others with the Proceres and the Prelates jointly; at others again, with bishops, princes, Leudes, and freemen in one assembly. There is some ground for believing that the kings were guided in the selection of their great council by the nature of the demand to be made upon the assembled estates; and that it thus happened that their decrees bore upon the face of them the authority of one or more of these estates, according as the subject matter affected this or that class of society.²¹

The kings are in the habit of consulting the officers of their courts. They ask advice of the great body of the Leudes and Proceres, when they doubt of carrying their measures without their concurrence.

But neither the periods of meeting, nor the subjects of discussion, nor the persons entitled to attend them, are fixed by any law.

The bishops, whose temporal influence rested upon the possession of extensive landed property, could not have been excluded from the councils of the state, even if they had put forth no higher claims than their alodial and domainial possessions. But the kings had good reasons

The prelates are introduced into the national councils.

¹⁸ It strikes me that this is the common rock upon which many modern (particularly French) inquirers have split.

¹⁹ See sec. I. p. 663 of this chapter.

²⁰ Always remembering, that none but persons of free condition could exercise any political franchise whatever; and therefore that none but freemen could be permitted to attend the national assemblies.

²¹ Sometimes the statutes of the Frankish kings assume the form of simple decrees: thus the statutes of Childebert and Chlothar of the year 593, and that of Chlothar in the year 595, are mere royal ordinances. *Cancian*. iii. pp. 114, 119. *Eichhorn* (vol. i. p. 298) thinks that the

mass of the freemen were never consulted in matters affecting the kingdom at large; and *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 248) seems to concur. But it is difficult to assent to this proposition in the teeth of the preamble to the general statute of Childebert II. passed in the year 595. The words are: "*Childebertus Rex Francorum in Dei nomine nos omnes de quibuscunque conditionibus, unà cum nostris optimatibus pertractavimus*," &c. This statute therefore passed with the assent of freemen of *all conditions*. The edict of Chlothar II., passed at Paris in a mixed assembly of estates, in the year 615, mentions only bishops, leudes, and optimates. See *Baluz*. Capitul. tom. i. p. 18.

for preferring them to any other class of advisers. They were the natural allies of that throne to which they were indebted for their elevation,²² and to which they were in a great degree beholden for their protection against the encroachments of the laity. The kings therefore very soon began to introduce the prelates into the assemblies of the state; or, more frequently, they took the opportunity of the meeting of a clerical synod to bring secular matters under discussion. On these occasions they appeared with their Proceres and Leudes in the assemblies of the churchmen; and thus the latter became of course at once the temporal and the spiritual counsellors of the crown; and—when time had given sanction and uniformity to the practice—a legally-constituted estate of the kingdom. The statute passed at the synodal assembly held at Paris in the year 615, affords one of the earliest instances of this kind of mixed legislation; and to this remarkable statute our attention must be now directed.

A.D. 615.
*The statute of
Paris.*

The objects of
the statute
are:
1. To obviate
the grievance
of the arbitrary
resumption of
fiscal lands.

2. To confirm
the title to be-
nefices.

3. To prevent
the king from
diverting the
course of legal
inheritance or
distribution.
4. To remedy
the oppressive
treatment of
widows and
marriageable
women.

The exaltation of Chlothar II. upon the ruins of the house of Childebert II. was the joint work of the prelates, nobles, and Leudes of Austrasia and Burgundy;²³ and they did not neglect the opportunity to establish their own power, and to acquire a firmer hold upon the estates they held of the crown. Hitherto the tenure of fiscal lands had been exceedingly precarious. They were often irregularly or arbitrarily resumed at the solicitations of greedy courtiers.²⁴ On such occasions the kings rarely inquired whether the estate was already given away or not; and royal *præceptiones*, or writs of possession, were frequently granted, which had the effect of expelling legitimate tenants from their lands.²⁵ Another inconvenience attached to these vague grants was that when the notion of a salary or retainer wore away, as in the course of time it was sure to do, the estate remained unprotected by any settled or acknowledged title. This was a source of great uneasiness to the possessors of all lands which might at any time have formed a part of the royal domain.

The laity had further to complain of the arbitrary manner in which the property of the deceased, and the persons as well as the estates of marriageable women, were dealt with. The kings were in the habit of issuing precepts to divert the course of legal inheritance, and to marry rich widows and virgins to courtiers and favourites. The nation therefore resolved to obtain the abolition of this oppressive practice; and to demand, at the same time, a legal definition of those arbitrary im-

²² See sec. 2. p. 685 of this chapter.

²³ The "*Burgundiæ Farones*," or "*Barones*" of *Fredegar*. Contin. c. 94. p. 431.

²⁴ See sec. 1. p. 673 of this chapter.

²⁵ See *Schmidt*, *Gesch. der Deutsch.* vol. i. p. 267.

posts and tolls which had survived the decay of the Roman fiscal system.²⁶

The clergy, at the same time, complained loudly of the irregular interference of the kings with the course of canonical elections, and the frequent citations of spiritual persons for civil causes before the lay judge.²⁷ The views of the clergy were now turned more decisively to the acquisition of that independent interest in the state to which every close order of priesthood naturally aspires, and which, to a certain extent, every sacerdotal class must possess to answer the purpose of its institution.²⁸

In this temper, and with these views, the clergy and laity of the Frankish kingdoms prepared to deal with the sovereign of their choice. Warnachar, the high-steward of Burgundy, was immediately declared perpetual Major Domûs of that division of the realm. In the year 615 a synod of clergy and laity was convoked at Paris. The estates present consisted of princes or optimates, prelates, and fideles, or lieges²⁹ of the crown, without mention of any inferior order. At this assembly a statute was passed whereby all precepts for the disinherison of legitimate heirs, or for marrying widows, heiresses, or professed nuns, were strictly prohibited. And though the king did not renounce the right to issue precepts of this nature, yet all writs having such objects as these were declared null and void.³⁰ For the protection of the Leudes and beneficiaries it was enacted that all grants of lands made by preceding kings, or by Chlothar himself, should be deemed valid and inviolable; and that if any one should have been theretofore unjustly ejected from his

5. To abolish arbitrary imposts, tolls, and exactions. The clergy complain of lay appointments to prelacies; and of lay jurisdiction in the causes, and over the persons of the clergy.

The statute of Paris therefore prohibits all precepts for the disinherison of legitimate heirs, as well as for marrying widows, heiresses, and professed nuns. A.D. 615.

It enacts that all grants of land theretofore made should be deemed valid.

²⁶ *Montesquieu* (Esp. des Lois, lib. 31. c. 2) describes the practice of the Frankish kings with his usual smartness. "Il y avoit bien des lois établies; mais les rois les rendoient inutiles par de certaines lettres appellées *præceptions* qui renversoient les mêmes loix. . ils donnoient des *præceptions* pour faire des mariages illicites; ils en donnoient pour transporter les successions; ils en donnoient pour ôter les droits des parents; ils en donnoient pour épouser des religieuses. Ils ne faisoient point à la vérité les loix de leur seul mouvement, mais ils suspendoient la pratique de celles qui étoient faites."

²⁷ Conf. sec. 2. p. 688 of this chapter.

²⁸ See the remarks, sec. 2. pp. 685 and 686 of this chapter. The promotion of uniformity and orthodoxy of religious opinion is the proper purpose of all sacerdotal institutions, without distinction of religions. Without a close priesthood, no religious profession can long maintain itself against the attacks of an adverse creed

possessing the advantage of such a body of champions. If we Protestants discard our priesthood, Romanism will inevitably triumph—or all regard for religion must have previously become extinct. Conf. the principle assumed in ch. x. sec. 2. p. 506, with regard to the causes of the triumph of Christianity over the Teutonic superstitions.

²⁹ The lieges of this age must not be confounded with those of a later period. The allegiance of those times was a special contract between the king and the individual. By the fideles here mentioned are meant the Leudes and Antrustious, and all persons attached to the crown by benefice or office, or other special engagement. What we now call "natural allegiance" was not acknowledged in this age.

³⁰ See the decree ap. *Baluz.* tom. i. p. 8. § 18. But Baluzius has erroneously ascribed this edict to *Chlothar I.* (A.D. 560).

All new imposts and tolls are prohibited. All judges and civil officers are to be chosen from the residents of the district.

benefice, he should be forthwith reinstated in possession.³¹ The people were at the same time prospectively exempted from any new census;³² and it was decreed that thenceforward no tolls for transit upon the highways should be levied but those which had been customary in the reigns of Gunthram, Sigibert, and Childebert. It was further enacted that all judges and local officers should be chosen from among the residents within the district, in order that, in case of wilful misconduct, the party aggrieved might not be deprived of his remedy against the goods of the magistrate.³³ Some additional securities were given to freedmen; and all intercourse or dealing with Jews was strictly prohibited.

The clergy procure an enactment that no spiritual person shall appeal to the king against the bishop.

It may be here remarked that the laity did not press for any definition of the *legal nature* of the beneficiary estate; all they desired was security for present possession; and that security they consented to leave dependent upon the life of the reigning sovereign. The clergy evinced the superiority of their views in a striking manner. Though they were not yet united, or strong enough to extort the renunciation of the royal prerogative of appointment to vacant bishoprics,³⁴ they procured a provision that no spiritual person should appeal to the king, his judges, or officers, to the prejudice of the episcopal jurisdiction,³⁵ or to protect himself against spiritual censures.³⁶ In the *civil* suits of spiritual persons, all jurisdiction of the secular courts was expressly taken away. In criminal matters the clergy were still deemed amenable to the lay tribunals; but even when accused of crimes the presence of the bishop was made necessary to form a competent court; and the criminal was to be tried not by the common, but by the canon law.³⁷

That the secular courts shall not interfere in the civil suits of the clergy; that criminal prosecutions of clergymen shall be had in the presence of the bishop; and that they shall be tried by the canon law. Chlothar II. declares his son Dagobert king of Austrasia, A.D. 522.

It is doubtful whether the synod of Paris was attended by the estates of Austrasia.³⁸ In that division a tendency towards a separation from the other portions of the monarchy is already observable. Seven years after the statute of Paris Chlothar found it expedient to declare his youthful son Dagobert king of Austrasia, under the guardianship of a council of regency. Upon this occasion he settled the boundaries between Neustria and Austrasia, annexing to the former all the districts which lay to the westward of the Ardennes and the Vosges, and thus materially contracting

³¹ See § 16, and § 17, of this edict ap. *Baluz.* i. p. 8.

³² That is, from all burthens or taxes but those specified in the Roman tax registers wherever they were still in use. The bishops, it has been observed, had already succeeded in emancipating themselves and their estates from the operation of the old system of taxation.

³³ See this remarkable provision in § 12. of the edict, loc. cit.

³⁴ The clause upon this subject seems almost nugatory. See § 1 of the edict. "Et si persona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem principis ordinetur. Si *de Palatio*, (if a lay courtier) eligitur per meritum personæ et doctrinæ ordinetur."

³⁵ Conf. sect. 2. pp. 686 & 687 of this chapter.

³⁶ So I understood § 3. and § 4. of the edict.

³⁷ Edict § 4. loc. cit. Conf. *Schmidt.* vol. i. p. 271, 272.

³⁸ *Luden*, vol. iii. p. 566.

the ancient limits of the latter kingdom.³⁹ The bishop Arnulf of Metz, and the powerful Pippin, the lord of Landen,⁴⁰ had been the chief movers of the late revolution in Austrasia, as Warnachar had been in that of Burgundy; and they now obtained a like reward. The entire administration of the kingdom had been placed in their hands, and by the marriage of Begga, the daughter of Pippin, with Ansigisus, the son of Arnulf,⁴¹ the family interests of both became united. To Arnulf the custody of the person of the minor king was committed, while Pippin as major domûs of Austrasia took upon himself the civil and military government of the kingdom. The influence of Chlothar seems to have been entirely excluded; the regents and the estates were dissatisfied with the late dismemberment of the kingdom,—for such they deemed the settlement of boundary,—and an opportunity soon occurred for claiming the restoration of the severed districts.⁴² Dagobert, attended by the regents and the principal nobility of Austrasia, proceeded to Paris to solemnize his marriage with Gomatrudis the sister of Sichilda, the wife of his father Chlothar. After the nuptial ceremony, doubtless at the suggestion of his guardians, he abruptly demanded the restitution of the territories which had been lately annexed to Neustria. At first Chlothar vehemently resented the insolent request; but consented at length to refer the question to the determination of twelve umpires, to be chosen impartially from among the prelates and lay lords of both kingdoms. Arnulf was chosen one of the arbitrators; and his ability and reputation for sanctity carried with it the suffrages of all the bishops upon the commission. The award naturally fell out in favour of Austrasia; and all the dependencies claimed, with the exception of the distant Aquitanian districts, were given back to Austrasia.⁴³ On the other hand the Burgundians entered into a closer connexion with Neustria; the jealous spirit of independence which actuated the estates of Austrasia had no place among them; and when, after the death of Warnachar, the great office of major domûs became vacant, they declined to elect a successor, assuring the

but contracts the limits of that kingdom. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, and Pippin of Landen, are made regents of Austrasia.

The regents and the estates of Austrasia take offence at the dismemberment of the kingdom.

A.D. 624. Dagobert demands restitution of the severed districts. Arbitrators are appointed to determine the dispute.

They make their award in favour of Austrasia, and the litigated territory is restored.

³⁹ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 47. p. 432. Conf. *Pagi Crit.* ad *Baron. Ann.* 622. § 11. Yet these were the natural boundaries between the pure Teutonic and the Gallic Franks. Conf. c. x. sec. 3. p. 527, of this volume.

⁴⁰ The vast, alodial and beneficiary property of the family of Pippin lay in the district of Landen, between the Meuse and the Scheldt. Thus the *Annales Mettenses* (ap. *Pertz. Mou. Germ.* tom. i. p. 316. 20.) (Pippinus) qui populum inter Carbonariam Sylvam et Mosam

flumen, et usque ad Frisonum fines vastis limitibus habitantem, justis legibus gubernabat.

⁴¹ *Gest. Dagob. Reg.* § 2. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 580.

⁴² Probably they consisted of a portion of Champagne, the provinces of Auvergne, Quercy, and Rouergue, and a few districts on the Garonne, and Dordôgne.

⁴³ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 53. p. 434. *Gest. Dagob.* § 13. p. 582. The *Gesta Dagob.* transcribe from *Fredegar*.

king that it was more agreeable to them to communicate with him personally, than through the intervention of any official channel.⁴⁴

A. D. 628.
Chlothar II.
dies Dagobert
succeeds to the
entire king-
dom, and re-
sides in
Neustria.
Pippin of
Landen
governs
Austrasia as
major domus.

Chlothar II. died in the year 628 in the forty-fifth year of his reign and of his life; for both dated within a few months of each other. The whole Frankish monarchy, with the exception of a few districts in Aquitaine, which were assigned as an independent sovereignty to a younger brother named Charibert, was united under the sceptre of Dagobert. The new king took up his residence in Neustria, leaving the government of Austrasia in the hands of Pippin of Landen.⁴⁵ He rarely afterwards visited the eastern division of his kingdom. The Austrasians already differed too much in language, habits, and disposition, for a cordial union with the other portions of the realm. While the government of Pippin was disturbed by the factious and turbulent spirit of the nobility, the rest of the kingdom was enjoying the advantages of an improved administration of justice, and of a vigorous repression of those disorders under which the prosperity of the nation had hitherto languished.

The turbulence
of the Austrasians inclines
Pippin to desire a resident
sovereign.

The haughty nobles of Austrasia were not as yet prepared to bow beneath the rod of a major domus, as to the sceptre of a sovereign; and the recognition of an equal as their ruler was never farther from their thoughts, than even now that the decline of the royal authority opened a boundless prospect to individual ambition.

Pippin and his party therefore became anxious to possess the advantage of a resident king to impart strength to the government, and a vigour for the suppression of faction. Some years however elapsed before this wish was fulfilled; the intervening events carry us once more into the interior of Germany, and afford some interesting glimpses of the state of that dark and wild region.

State of Trans-
rhene German-
y at the
close of the
sixth century.

It may be proper in this place to look back for a moment upon that series of revolutions by which the vast tract extending from the mouths of the Oder and Vistula, to the shores of the Adriatic, had been transferred from one class of occupants to another, till it finally rested in the possession of the several off-sets of the great Sclavic family by whom it is, even to this day, partially inhabited.

Summary of
the revolutions
of eastern
Germany from

About the middle of the third century began the great conflict between the Gothic and Vandalic races, by which the latter were gradually driven back from the shores of the Baltic upon the Suevic nations of central

⁴⁴ "Regis gratiam obnixè petentes cum rege transigere" — Earnestly entreating the king's grace that they might (thenceforward) transact (the affairs of the kingdom) with the king (in

person.) *Fredég.* Cont. c. 54. p. 435.

⁴⁵ Arnulf of Metz, the lineal male ancestor of the Carlovingian line of kings, died in the same year with Chlothar II.

Germany;⁴⁶ and subsequently, in the reigns of Aurelian and Valentinian I., impelled upon the Roman empire. This first revolution transferred the whole of northern Germany to the hands of the Goths; and extended the empire of Hermanarich from the shores of the Palus Mæotis and the Euxine to those of the Baltic.⁴⁷ Again the advance of the Huns overthrew the order into which the nations of northern Germany appear for a time to have subsided. The substance of the Gothic power was contracted to the regions of Pannonia and Hungary; the whole of Sarmatia and eastern Germany having fallen a prey to their conquerors. While the Hunnic thralldom lasted, the movement of the subject Teutonic races was directed by those of the dominant people: but when the empire of Attila was dissolved, a totally different disposition of the elements of his vast empire became apparent. The Vandalic nations had long since disappeared from the regions of the Elbe, the Oder and the Vistula. The Huns became scattered, and the Goths are found in a contracted position between the Danube and the Save. Meanwhile the extensive regions stretching from the Carpathian mountains to the Baltic had become, by successive migrations and conquests, too much disturbed to afford any hold for national settlement; and thence, at the close of that eventful period, the inhabitants who still clung to them were altogether incapable of offering resistance to any military intruder for whom they might still possess attractions.⁴⁸

the middle of the third century to the year 568.

The Huns expel the Goths.

The revolutions of the fourth and fifth centuries expose the North-eastern region of Germany to desolating invasions.

Into this wide chasm in the chain of nations, the poor, but numerous and warlike Sclavi of Sarmatia, as we have already remarked,⁴⁹ had

This region is at length occupied by the Sclavi.

⁴⁶ Conf. chap. vi. sec. 3. pp. 227, 232, 233, of this volume.

⁴⁷ Chap. vi. sec. 3. p. 233, and chap. viii. sec. 1. p. 318 of this volume.

⁴⁸ Conf. chap. ix. sec. 2. p. 437, of this volume.

⁴⁹ I think it not out of place to insert here an extract from Böttiger's lately published Hist. of Saxony, relative to the immigration of the great North-western branch of the Sclavic family of nations; it is the most concise, and as far as I am able to judge, the most correct account of that event. "The ancestors of the two hundred thousand Sorbic-Wenden (who still dwell in the eastern regions of modern Germany) emigrated from Poland in the fifth and sixth centuries, and took possession of the (deserted) settlements of the Lygians, Vandals, and Hermunduri. Their proper name is Serbi (not Sorbi), from the word "Serb," a sickle; and to this the name of Wenedi Bifulci, given to them by Fredegar, is a remote allusion. Though these Serbi divided themselves into several branches,

such as Lusitzes (Lusatians, from "Luza," a morass), Daleminzes, Miltzes, Siustes; yet they may all be regarded as members of the great Wenedico-Sclavic chain of nations which extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic. In the north, we meet with Wilzes, Liutizes, Leubuzi, Havelles, Bzejani; to the east of these, Slezawi and Poleni, or Poles; in the south of all, Chrowats (Croats), and Escheches (the "Foremost"). Favoured by the fall of the great Thuringian kingdom, in the middle of the sixth century, (A.D. 531: see chap. x. sec. 3. p. 535, of this volume,) they advanced to the Elbe, and the Mulda (in Bohemia), and shortly afterwards to the Saale likewise; from Bohemia they threatened the Mayne and the Lower Elbe, and thus menaced the western nations of Germany with extermination or expulsion. The Sclavic tribes brought with them agriculture, and a greater inclination for gregarious inhabitancy (residence in cities and towns) into the regions they had overrun; hence the reputation they en-

obtruded themselves. The period of their immigration cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty ; but in the year 558 they are found in the occupation of the entire territory between the Elbe and the Vistula ; and of the regions to the southward, comprising the whole of the modern kingdom of Bohemia, and probably a great portion of the extensive provinces of Moravia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. The western limit of their occupation may be defined by a line, commencing at the head of the Adriatic, following the crest of the Carinthian Alps to the Danube ; thence along the range of the Bohemian mountains, and the course of the Elbe, and terminating upon the coasts of the Baltic, near Travemünde. To these nations the generic name of " Venedi," or " Wenden," has been at all times applied.⁵⁰ It is a mere matter of conjecture how long prior to the year 558 they had held peaceable possession of these regions ; but in that year the Hunnic Avârs appeared in prodigious swarms upon the Danubian frontier of the Byzantine empire ; the numerous Sclavic tribes settled in those countries receded before them, and fixed themselves in Poland and Prussia, under the names of Poleni, or Polani, and Mas-sovians.⁵¹ At the same time the Bulgarians yielded to their supremacy, and the Byzantines hastened to purchase their forbearance or friendship by rich gifts, and flattering compliments.⁵² Finally in the year 568 the Longobardi of Pannonia ceded to them the entire settlements of the vanquished Gepidæ, in lower Hungary, together with their own recent possessions in Paunonia,⁵³ and thus laid open the settled Sclavi of Carinthia, Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, to their attacks.

About the year 558 the Danubian Sclavi are expelled by the Avârs, and driven into Poland and Prussia.

In 568 the Avârs occupy Pannonia.

They attack the Franks, and subjugate the Sclavi of the Upper Danube, the Saale, and the Elbe.

In the course of the season succeeding this important cession, Avaric hordes penetrated into the heart of Germany, and were with much difficulty repressed by Sigibert I.⁵⁴ But from this period they commenced a series of attacks upon the Sclavi of the Upper Danube, the Saale, and the Elbe, which terminated in the subjugation of the latter, and the establishment of a relation between them and their conquerors, resembling that which Attila had introduced among the subject nations of his vast empire.⁵⁵ That relation was a strict military vassalage. The vanquished people was constrained to attend upon the Khân of the Avârs with all their forces : in battle they formed the van of the combined army ; they were the first to be impelled upon the enemy, with a view to exhaust his strength, or to slacken his ardour. The Avârs placed themselves in

joyed at an early period for sociability, hospitality, and cheerfulness, and even for political and musical talent." *Böttiger*, Hist. of Saxony, vol. i. p. 17.

⁵⁰ See chap. xi. sect. 3. p. 600. Conf. also *Luden*, vol. iii. p. 575.

⁵¹ Chap. xi. sect. 3. p. 602, of this volume.

⁵² Ibid. p. 604, of this volume.

⁵³ Ibid. sec. 4. p. 615, of this volume.

⁵⁴ Ibid. sec. 5. p. 631, of this volume.

⁵⁵ Conf. chap. ix. sec. i. p. 422, of this volume.

reserve, ready to succour their allies if defeated, or to complete the destruction of the enemy, and collect the booty, if victorious. "The Huns," says the continuator of Fredegar,⁵⁶ "wintered every year among the Wenidi, making concubines of their wives and daughters, and compelling them to pay tribute. But in process of time the offspring of this intercourse, determined no longer to bear oppression, took up arms against the Huns. In their difficulties, a Frankish merchant named Samo became their friend and adviser; and made himself in the end so useful, that they elected him their king."⁵⁷ Under his command the nation gained several victories over their oppressors; and Samo reigned thirty years with uninterrupted success. He had eleven Wenedic wives, who bore him twenty-two sons, and fifteen daughters."

A. D. 624.
The Sclavi
under Samo
emancipate
themselves
from the yoke
of the Avârs.

In the year 631 some Frankish merchants had been plundered and murdered by the subjects of Samo. Dagobert sent his envoy Sichar to demand the restitution of the property, and satisfaction for the outrage committed. Samo avoided giving public audience to the envoy; but the latter assumed the dress of a native; and entered the royal presence without exciting suspicion of his quality. Samo being thus compelled to listen to his message, replied to it by alleging many grievances against the Franks on his own part, and by proposing to discuss both together.⁵⁸ The ambassador haughtily replied, that his sovereign was the only judge, and that Samo and his subjects were but servants and dependents. To this insolent intimation Samo answered cautiously, that "as long as Dagobert was disposed to maintain a friendly intercourse, he and his subjects would be glad to consider themselves as his friends and servants." "How!" exclaimed the ambassador; "May Christians, the servants of the true God, keep friendship with heathen dogs?" "What though we be but the dogs," retorted Samo, "and you the servants of God, yet if you set Him at defiance, his dogs may fall upon you and worry you!"⁵⁹ And with this reply the Frankish envoy was thrust with ignominy out of the king's presence.

A. D. 631.
The subjects of
Samo plunder
some Frankish
merchants.
Dagobert de-
mands satis-
faction.

The insolence
of the Frankish
ambassador
frustrates the
negociation.

To avenge the wrongs of his subjects, and the insult upon his ambassador, Dagobert called out the heribann of his realms. He prevailed upon the Lombards, in conjunction with the Bavarians,⁶⁰ to invade the

The Franks,
in conjunction
with the Ba-
varians and
Lombards, in-
vade the Scla-
vic kingdom.

⁵⁶ Chap. 48. p. 432. The name of "Huns" was applied to this nation indifferently with that of Avârs, both by the eastern and western Annalists. I cannot doubt their common descent.

⁵⁷ Mannert (vol. i. p. 266.) places his elevation in the year 624. So also Kruse, tab. xi.

⁵⁸ *Placita* vellens instituere, ut de his et aliis contentiōibus quæ inter has partes ortæ fuerant,

justitia redderetur in invicem. *Fred. Cont. c. 58. p. 439.*

⁵⁹ *Cont. Fredeg. loc. mod. cit.* The Latin is singular — "Si vos estis Dei servi, et nos sumus Dei canes, dum vos assidue contra ipsum agitis, nos permissum accepimus vos morsibus lacerare."

⁶⁰ I think with *Luden* (vol. iii. p. 580, 581),

Dagobert
suffers a re-
pulse before
the Wagastis-
burg,

and the Slavi
ravage Ger-
many for a
period of two
years.

A. D. 632.
The Saxons
undertake to
defend Thuringia,
but forfeit their
engagement.

southern districts of the Slavic kingdom. Duke Chrodobert (Robert) of Alemannia was directed to assail the more central portion—probably along the line of the Danube—while the Austrasian forces, under the command of Dagobert himself, marched against the great fortress or fortified camp of Wagastisburg on the confines of the modern Bohemia.⁶¹ For three days the Franks continued their assaults upon the bulwarks of the Slavi, with great loss, and without success. On the third their courage failed; the whole army broke up and dispersed, leaving its tents and baggage a prey to the enemy. Though the Lombards and Alemanni were more successful in the south,⁶² the issue of the siege of Wagastisburg became as disastrous to the Thuringian province, as it was discreditable to the arms of the Franks. The Serbic Slavi, who had hitherto professed dependence upon Austrasia,⁶³ attached themselves to the victorious Wenidi, and for the space of two years the Slavic tribes were permitted to ravage central Germany without check or resistance.

In the year following the defeat of the Wagastisburg, indeed, Dagobert once more assembled an army at Mayntz, to avenge the honour of his arms; “but”—says the annalist—“the Saxons sent messengers to the king, promising to clear Thuringia of the invaders, provided Dagobert would remit the tribute of five hundred cows which had been imposed upon them by Chlothar the elder. By the advice of the Neustrians Dagobert granted their request, and the envoys, on the behalf of the whole Saxon people, took an oath upon their swords, according to the custom of the country, for the fulfilment of this engagement.”⁶⁴ After obtaining

that, though the Bavarians are not named by the annalist, they could not have been inactive in this war. In order to account for the calling in of the Lombards, we must suppose the dominions of Samo to have extended very far to the southward of the Danube—no doubt along the line of the Carinthian Alps, and even into the modern Carniola, a province still inhabited by a race of Slavic descent. Yet if the fortress of Wagastisburg was situated in Bohemia, the Slavic kingdom must have extended at least from the confines of the modern Saxony very nearly to the head of the Adriatic. Now as the Lombards and Bavarians stood at this period in close connexion with each other, it is very probable that the annalist, in naming the Lombards only, may have intended to include the less important member of the league which acted with them. But *Conf. Mannert*, vol. i. p. 267, and *Böttiger*, *Hist. of Sax.* vol. i. p. 20. Much pains has been bestowed upon the question of the extent of Samo's king-

dom, and the omission of all mention of the Bavarians. I take the matter as it stands in *Fredegar*.

⁶¹ But upon this point opinions are very much divided. Yet, in my judgment, the subsequent events render it next to demonstrable that Bohemia was the centre of Samo's power. See *Böttiger*, loc. cit., and the adverse opinion of *Pfister*.

⁶² They returned home, it is said, laden with booty, and carrying away many captives.

⁶³ They inhabited the modern markgraviate of Meissen, between the Elbe and the Saale. The continuator of *Fredegar* (c. 48. p. 439) calls them Urbii, and their prince Derwan. It is on all hands agreed that we ought to read “Serbi,” or “Sorbi,” for “Urbii.” No other Slavic tribe ever inhabited this region. *Luden*, iii. p. 581.—*Mannert*, vol. i. p. 266. So also *Böttiger* and *Pfister*.

⁶⁴ *Cont. Fredeg.* c. 74. pp. 441, 442.

the remission of the tribute, the Saxons, it seems, thought no more of the obligation. But the Austrasian forces had dispersed, and no further steps were taken for the defence of Thuringia.

The disgraces sustained in the field, as well as the weakness and irresolution of Dagobert upon this occasion, are ascribed, by the historian whom we follow, to the disaffection of the Austrasian Leudes, and the jealous enmity subsisting between them and the Neustrians. It now appeared that there remained but one mode of satisfying the former, and thereby of providing for the defence of the kingdom. In the year 633, Dagobert assembled a synod of the prelates and procures of Austrasia at Metz, and solemnly placed his son Sigibert III., then a child three years of age, upon the throne of that kingdom, under the guardianship of two popular nobles, the duke Adalgisel and Cunibert bishop of Cologne. Pippin of Landen had been for a time compelled to yield up the government of Austrasia into other hands;⁶⁵ and he continued in attendance upon the Neustrian court as the confidential servant and minister of Dagobert during the remainder of that prince's life.⁶⁶ Radulf, a soldier of ability, was appointed duke of Thuringia; the martial spirit of the Austrasians was once more roused; the Serbic and Wenidic Sclavi were defeated in several engagements, and Thuringia was cleared of the merciless invaders to whom it had been so long and so wantonly sacrificed.⁶⁷

In order to satisfy the Austrasians and induce them to make exertions for the defence of the kingdom, Dagobert proclaims his son Sigibert III. king of Austrasia, under two guardians.

Radulf is appointed duke of Thuringia. He defeats and expels the Sclavi, and clears Thuringia of its invaders.

The symptoms of alienation between the two great divisions of the Frankish realm at this point of time are so evident, that there can be little doubt that if the Merwingian family had continued in the exercise of the royal authority, a final separation must ere long have taken place. The Austrasians had now obtained a king of their own; and the Neustrians, it appears, were equally prepossessed against a non-resident sovereign. In order to obviate such a contingency, they willingly accepted and recognized as their future ruler, Chlodwig, the infant son of Dagobert and Nantechildis; and the election was ratified by an express compact entered into with the regents of Austrasia in the name of their young king. By this treaty Neustria and Burgundy were definitively united under the future sceptre of Chlodwig, while the boundaries of Austrasia remained as defined by the award which terminated the differences between Dagobert himself and his father Chlothar II.⁶⁸ It is

The Austrasians and Neustrians desire to have resident kings. To gratify the latter, Dagobert causes his son Chlodwig II. to be recognized as future king of Neustria and Burgundy.

⁶⁵ *Fredeg. Cont.* cc. 58, 61. pp. 436, 437.

⁶⁶ *Aimoin. D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 136. The *Gesta Reg. Franc. D. Bouq.* ii. (c. ii. 42, p. 568) the *Vita S. Sigiberti* (ibid. p. 599) and the *Vit. Pippini Ducis* (ibid. p. 604), nevertheless affirm that Pippin was sent into Austrasia as guardian

of Sigibert III. But their authority, when placed against that of the contemporary continuator of Fredegar, is of no great weight. Conf. note *D. Bouq.* ad *Vit. St. Sigib.* p. 599.

⁶⁷ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 75. p. 442.

⁶⁸ "Quicquid ad regnum Austrasiorum jam

manifest from the narrative of Fredegar that this partition was rather the act of the estates of the two kingdoms than of Dagobert himself. The elevation of Sigibert III. wore a strong appearance of compulsion; and though in that of his infant brother Chlodwig II., Dagobert may have followed the dictates of his own inclinations, yet the alacrity of the Neustrians, and the prompt assent of the Austrasians, strongly mark that national estrangement which rendered the separation both natural and expedient. That the final dismemberment of the Frankish empire should yet have been delayed for so many ages, must be attributed to a singular revolution in the character of the government to which our attention must soon be particularly directed.

Dagobert dies and is succeeded by Chlodwig II. in Neustria and Burgundy.

A. D. 635.

The latter years of the reign of Dagobert were occupied in the suppression of a formidable rebellion of the Basque nations who dwelt to the northward of the Pyrenees. The insurrection had followed immediately upon the demise of their king Charibert, the brother of Dagobert, and was not finally suppressed till the year 635, nor until the whole strength of the Burgundian kingdom had been brought into the field.⁶⁹ Soon after the reduction of the rebels, Dagobert was seized with dysentery; and feeling the approach of death, he appointed his wife Nantechildis, and Æga the major domûs of Neustria, regents of the kingdom during the minority of his son Chlodwig II. A few days after this act Dagobert expired in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.⁷⁰ His body was deposited in the abbey of St. Denis, which he had built and richly endowed. Immediately after his interment the Proceres and Leudes of the two kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy, assembled at Paris, raised the youthful Chlodwig upon the shield, and saluted him king of the united realms. The government was left in the hands of Nantechildis and Æga; and the treasures of the state, whether collected by Dagobert himself, or bequeathed to him by his predecessors, were amicably and equally divided between the three kingdoms of the Frankish empire.⁷¹

The government falls into the hands of Nantechildis, his mother, and the major domûs Æga;

Dagobert is the last upon the list of the Merwingian princes to

olim pertinuerat," are the words of *Fredeg.* c. 76. p. 442. There can hardly be a doubt that the words "*jam olim*" here refer to the transaction adverted to in the text, as it is told by *Fredeg.* himself. c. 53. p. 434. "*Jam olim*" must, therefore be rendered "*lately*," or "*recently*."

⁶⁹ *Fredeg.* cc. 78, 79. pp. 442, 443.

⁷⁰ Fredegar commences his year at Easter, and not according to the Roman method, on the 1st of January. According to the latter computation, the death of Dagobert, which occurred

on the 19th of January, would fall within the year 638. According to that of the annalist it took place in 637. The *Art de vér.* &c. adopts the Roman style, tom. i. p. 541.

⁷¹ Burgundy is not mentioned as a sharer. But Austrasia could not, upon the old principle of division, "*æquâ lance*," pretend to more than its third; and it is not to be presumed that Neustria would thus abandon the interests of its associate kingdom, in favour of the unfriendly Austrasians. Conf. *Fredeg.* c. 85. p. 445.

whom any kind of personal interest attaches.⁷² In Neustria, the wise forbearance and temperate character of Æga maintained the public tranquillity for a time. In Austrasia, Pippin once more appears as major domûs at the head of affairs.⁷³ But the death of these able men, which occurred about the same time, let loose those stormy passions which the weight of their personal character had kept in check. Grimoald, the son of Pippin, aspired to the dignity of major domûs of Austrasia. He was opposed by Otto, the son of Uro, the tutor to the young king Sigibert. Leutharis, the powerful duke of the Alemanni, took part with Grimoald: Otto fell by his hand; and the high-stewardship of the kingdom, which now carried with it all the powers of government, was conferred upon Grimoald without further opposition.⁷⁴

who maintains the public tranquillity in Neustria. Pippin again becomes Major Domûs of Austrasia.

A. D. 640. After his death Grimoald his son is made major domûs by his party.

In Neustria, meanwhile, Erchinwald succeeded Æga in the mayoralty of the palace. The queen-mother, Nantechildis, procured the elevation of her favourite Floachatus to the like dignity in Burgundy. The result of this transaction is remarkable, as it marks very distinctly that course of public policy by which the offices of the crown, and probably also the estates and emoluments attached to them, were gradually permitted to assume an hereditary character. Willibad, the patrician or lieutenant-general of Burgundy, had hitherto governed that kingdom without a rival. The appointment of Floachatus, as major domûs, placed that officer over his head, and kindled the bitterest animosity in his bosom. Willibad, it appears, was equally obnoxious to Erchinwald, the major domûs of Neustria. Floachatus addressed himself for support to the great nobles, prelates and officers of state; and succeeded in gaining them over to his party by pledging himself upon oath not to remove any one of them from his present estate, place or dignity. The numerous adherents, and the prudent conduct of Willibad, enabled him for a time to set his enemies at defiance; but he was at length surprised and killed in a skirmish near Autun. His enemy Floachatus survived him only eleven days, and all the powers of government were united in the hands of Erchinwald of Neustria.⁷⁵

Æga is succeeded by Erchinwald in Neustria.

Floachatus, a favourite of the queen-mother, is made major domûs of Burgundy.

He dies, and all power falls into the hands of Erchinwald.

While these events were passing in France and Burgundy, the tranquillity of Thuringia had been thoroughly restored by the activity and talents of duke Radulf. His successes against the Wenidic and Serbic Sclavi strengthened his influence within his own province, and procured him many admirers and adherents at the Austrasian court. He formed

Radulf, duke of Thuringia, rebels.

⁷² And so the *Ann. Mettenses*, ad Ann. 687, ap. *Pertz. Monumenta Germanica*, tom. i. p. 317.

⁷³ *Fredegar*. c. 85. p. 445.

⁷⁴ *Fredegar*. c. 88. p. 447.

⁷⁵ *Fredegar*. cc. 89, 90. pp. 147, 148.

The major domus Grimoald calls out the Heribann of Austrasia to reduce him to obedience.

He marches against Radulf, now strongly posted on the river Unstrutt.

Radulf is attacked by the vanguard of the Franks, whom he defeats. Grimoald, suspecting treason in his camp, retires from the field.

numerous connexions among the discontented nobility of that kingdom, and conducted himself with so little reserve towards the head of the government, that Grimoald thought it necessary to call out the whole strength of the kingdom to reduce the refractory officer to obedience. Though the frequent minorities of the Frankish kings, and the growing power of the majores domûs, had by this time divested the crown of almost all real authority, yet the royal name continued to be the rallying point of loyalty and patriotism. Grimoald, and his Patricius Adalgisel,⁷⁶ therefore determined to place the young king Sigibert III., though then only ten years of age, at the head of the army. The Heribann of Austrasia promptly obeyed the king's summons, passed the Rhine, and speedily dispersed the forces of the rebel Farus, a friend and confederate of Radulf. But the Austrasian leaders soon became alarmed by the discovery of an extensive and secret influence of the Thuringian duke in their own camp. In this state of things they deemed it necessary to put the sincerity and fidelity of the army to the test. The nobles and their followers were required to pledge themselves individually and collectively not to spare the life of the public enemy Radulf.⁷⁷ The promise was given, but without any sincere intention to perform it.

Radulf wisely avoided a battle, and concentrated all his forces in a strongly entrenched position upon the river Unstrutt in the heart of his duchy, not far from the modern town of Memleben.⁷⁸ When the Austrasians arrived in front of his encampment, they found him prepared for battle, but under such advantageous circumstances as to put the steadiness even of a united and loyal army to a severe trial. The leaders of the royal host differed in opinion as to the proper mode of operations: some were for an immediate attack; others counselled delay. At this juncture, the rashness of duke Bobo of Auvergne, and of Ænovald, earl of the Sundgau, had nearly proved fatal to the whole army. Without awaiting the commands of the general, they led their troops against the nearest defences of Radulf's position. Grimoald and Adalgisel, apprehensive of treachery, withheld their own followers, and jealously collected them around the person of the young king. The secret adherents of Radulf, who, it seems, were neither few nor contemptible, thought they could not better serve his cause than by imitating the con-

⁷⁶ He is called "Duke of Austrasia" by Fredeg. The term, as here used, is obviously equivalent to that of Patricius, or lieutenant-general of the kingdom. See note 8 of this section.

⁷⁷ "Prinati et exercitus dextra invicem dantes

ut nullus Radulfo vitam concederet." *Fredeg.* c. 87. p. 446.

⁷⁸ So *Böttiger* (*Hist. of Saxony*, vol. i. p. 9), upon the authority of a paper in the Transactions of a Saxo-Thuringian antiquarian society.

duct of the generals. The quick eye of the Thuringian duke perceived his advantage; his troops poured down from the heights upon their unsupported assailants; Bobo and Ænovald were slain, and the young king witnessed with tears of grief and rage the slaughter of many thousands of his noblest and bravest warriors without an effort to save them from destruction. His guardians withdrew from the field in time to avoid involving their division of the army in the defeat of the advanced guard. Radulf, satisfied with the advantage already gained, retired to his entrenchments; but the Austrasian leaders, not knowing whom to trust, and much reduced in numbers by their defeat, were glad to compound with the victorious rebel for a safe retreat to the Rhine. After his deliverance from this imminent danger, Radulf strengthened himself by alliances with the neighbouring Sclavic nations; and, without renouncing his nominal allegiance to Sigibert III., conducted himself in all respects as an independent sovereign.⁷⁹

Grimoald
treats with
Radulf, and
withdraws.

Radulf con-
ducts himself
as an indepen-
dent prince.

SECTION IV.—A.D. 640 to A.D. 724.

Connexion of the History of France and Germany—Grimoald and Wulfoald—Majores Domūs in Austrasia—Ebruin Major Domūs in Neustria—He defeats Martin and Pippin of Heristal at Loixi—Murder of Martin—Ebruin assassinated—Berchar Major Domūs of Neustria—He is defeated by Pippin at Textri—Pippin governs the whole Frankish Empire—He repels an invasion of the Frisians—Radbod—State of Germany—Power of Pippin—His Death—Pippin's descendants—His Son Charles, afterwards called Martel—Theudoald, Grandson of Pippin, recognized as Major Domūs—Plectrudis at Cologne—The Neustrians choose Raganfred for their Major Domūs—Charles escapes from Prison—Civil War—Defeat of Raganfred at Vincy—Plectrudis retires into Bavaria—Power of Charles Martel—Titular Kings—State of Society.

HITHERTO the nature of our subject has compelled us to take races and nations, rather than natural or territorial divisions, as our guides. It has been our task to show the resulting distribution of the migratory stock over the whole continent of Europe. But at the period at which we have arrived, the conflicting torrents have already found their level, and are fast subsiding into more regular channels. We may now, without impropriety, describe these nations by the names assigned to them in modern geography. The Gallo-Franks of Neustria and Burgundy may be properly identified with the modern French: the Longobardi had become the settled population of that magnificent

The barbaric
nations of Eu-
rope assume
definite boun-
daries—
French, Ger-
mans, and
Lombards.

⁷⁹ *Fredeg.* c. 87. p. 446.

Goths of
Spain.

region which to this day bears their name: the Goths of Spain did not, it is true, assume their modern appellation till several centuries later; but they never after this overstepped the limits of that patrimony for the maintenance of which they were destined to struggle through so many ages of depression and peril: the partition between Dagobert and his father Chlothar II. had assumed the natural boundaries of language as the limit between the Gallic and the pure Germanic Franks; and though Austrasia subsequently obtained a political possession of certain districts which trespassed upon the natural line of separation, and Neustria was still permitted to retain certain provinces, in which the German language had never been superseded or corrupted by the Roman dialects of Gaul,¹ yet these anomalies subsequently corrected themselves, and nature and social convenience asserted that ascendancy which individual ambition, or temporary schemes of policy, are rarely strong enough to set aside. In general it may be said that, at this point of time, the migratory nations of the Teutonic family had assumed each a character and a language of its own; each had adopted its own separate laws, customs, and forms of government; and each had become settled within definite geographical limits coinciding, without material discrepance, with the boundaries prescribed by nature, by language, and by particular descent.

The histories
of France and
Germany can-
not yet be se-
vered.

But the *political* connexion which still subsisted between the French and German divisions of the Frankish realm bind up together the histories of France and Germany for several ages to come. We shall not therefore affect to separate them. Yet we may without impropriety or risk of obscurity confine our attention—as far as it may be called to the history of France—to those facts and events which arise out of that connexion, or serve to indicate its influence over the fortunes of both nations. This course will, we trust, enable us to avoid unnecessary diffuseness and irrelevant detail, without injury to the fulness and perspicuity of the narrative. It were a hopeless task to divest the history of the latter reigns of the Merwingian family of its inherent dulness. Yet in order to keep up the connexion of events in the reader's mind, it is necessary that we should furnish a sketch of the revolutions of the eighth century, which prepared the way for a total change of dynasty, and settled the foundations upon which the throne of the Carlovingian princes was to be reared.

¹ The first division between Dagobert and Chlothar II. was the more natural; the addition of Champagne, Auvergne, and other Burgundian districts introduced the anomaly noticed in the text. The earlier partition took the line of the Ardennes and Vosges, which had from all

times constituted the boundary between the Gallic and Teutonic races (Conf. chap. i. sec. 3. p. 35, and sec. 4. p. 65, of this volume). Neustria still held the pure Teutonic districts of Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant to the south of the Rhine. Conf. *Kruse*, Compar. Atlas ad Ann. 600 and 700.

In the year 656 Chlodwig II., the son of Dagobert and Nantechildis, died,² leaving a son, who ascended the throne under the name of Chlothar III. Erchinwald, the major domûs of Neustria, died about the same time; and the crown vassals elected Ebruin to the vacant dignity.

A.D. 655.
Chlodwig II.
dies; Chlo-
thar III. as-
cends the
throne;
Ebruin is made
Major Domûs.

The same year is likewise marked by the death of Sigibert III., of Austrasia, in the twenty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth of his nominal reign. He left a son named Dagobert, whom the major domûs Grimoald caused to be shorn, and privately conveyed away to a monastery in Ireland. He then proclaimed his own son Childebert, king of Austrasia. But the independent nobles, though not unwilling to yield obedience to an officer chosen by themselves, were not prepared to accept a king at his hands. Their measures for the repression of this rash usurpation were taken with so much promptitude, that Grimoald was surprised, and shut up in a prison without noise or resistance. The major domûs died in confinement shortly afterwards; the fate of his son Childebert is unknown.³

Sigibert III.
of Austrasia
dies.
Grimoald sets
aside the suc-
cessor Dago-
bert and pro-
claims his own
son. Both fa-
ther and son
are deposed.

In this emergency the estates of Austrasia resorted to the royal family of Neustria for a sovereign, and chose Childebert III., the second son of Chlodwig II., for their king, under the guardianship of Duke Wulfoald, whom they created regent, and probably also major domûs, of Austrasia.⁴

The Austra-
sians choose
Childebert III.
brother of
Chlothar III.

In the year 660 the pageant king Chlothar III. passed from the scene, and Theuderich III., the youngest son of Chlodwig II., was raised to the throne of Neustria by the procurement of the major domûs Ebruin. But some unexplained discontent prompted the Neustrian procures to set their faces against the puppet king of Ebruin. Both he and his helpless ward were seized and shut up as professed monks, in the monastery of Luxeuil in Burgundy; and Childebert III. became the representative of royalty in all the three divisions of the Frankish kingdom. Duke Wulfoald himself conducted him from Metz to Paris, to receive the homage of his new subjects. But the perverse and profligate habits of the young king, and, probably, the arrogant conduct of Wulfoald himself, disgusted the Neustrians. Badilo, a nobleman whom Childebert had wantonly insulted,⁵ headed the malcontents; the conspirators surprised the king at a villa near St. Denis, and killed him, together with his pregnant consort. Wulfoald made his escape into Austrasia; and

A.D. 660.
Chlothar III.
dies. Ebruin
raises Theude-
rich III.,
youngest son
of Chlothwig
II., to the
throne. The
Neustrian no-
bles depose
Ebruin and
Theuderich,
and choose
Childebert of
Austrasia for
their king.

He is mur-
dered.

² Aged 21 years. Chlothar III. was five years old at his accession (?). *Kruse ad Ann.* 600—700.

³ *Gest. Franc.* c. 43. p. 568.

⁴ But it is not stated that Wulfoald was

major domûs. *Fredeg.* c. 93. p. 449.

⁵ He had, upon some trifling offence, caused him to be bound to a stake and scourged like a common slave. *Fredeg.* Cont. prim. c. 95. p. 450.

the Neustrians, by the advice of the bishop Leodegar of Autun,⁶ chose Leudesius, the son of Erchinwald, as their major domûs.

Ebruin escapes from confinement, and replaces Theuderich III. upon the throne of Neustria.

But in the confusion to which these events gave rise, Ebruin found an opportunity to escape from his prison at Luxeuil. His numerous partizans flocked to his standard, and once more placed him at the head of affairs. The major domûs Leudesius, and his friend the saintly Leodegar,⁷ were seized and put to death, and Theuderich III. was reseatd upon the throne of Neustria.

Duke Martin and Pippin of Heristal govern Austrasia.

The Austrasians deeply resented the murder of Childerich III., and refused to recognize Theuderich III. for their king. Wulfoald died shortly after his flight from Neustria, and the government then fell into the hands of duke Martin and his cousin Pippin of Heristal, the son of Ansigisus and Begga, the daughter of Pippin of Landen. The animosity

War with Austrasia. Martin and Pippin are defeated by Ebruin.

between the two kingdoms vented itself in a civil war. Martin and Pippin marched into Neustria, and encountered Ebruin at Loixi.⁸ The Austrasians sustained a severe defeat; Martin threw himself into the fortress of Laon, and Pippin retired to recruit his shattered forces. But it did not suit the plans of Ebruin to waste his time and strength upon a place so well fortified both by nature and art as Laon. He therefore deputed his friend Ægilbert, together with Reul, bishop of Rheims, to invite Martin and his party to a conference for the amicable adjustment of their differences at a village hard by the city, where he had pitched his camp. The envoys readily consented to take the most binding oath that could be imposed upon them for the safety of Martin and his attendants in going to and returning from this conference; for that purpose they produced a case containing, as it was supposed, an approved assortment of relics, and took the required oath upon it. But it turned out that the sacred contents had been previously removed by a slight of hand, and the oath now passed for empty words. Martin and his friends appeared without suspicion at the place of meeting, and were instantly put to death.⁹

Martin is decoyed and murdered by Ebruin.

Ebruin is put to death. Warado Major Domûs

In the year following this atrocious act, Ebruin fell by the hand of a private enemy. The vassals of Neustria chose Warado for their major domûs; but that nobleman, dying after a stormy government of four

⁶ St. Leger in French—St. Ledger in English.

⁷ *Fredeg. Cont. prim. c. 96. p. 450.* St. Leodegar has obtained a place in the Roman calendar. It is difficult to say what entitled him to that honour, except it be that he was a bishop, and that he was put to death for meddling with secular affairs. See the note (g) of *D. Bouq. ad loc. mod. cit.* He is however venerated as a

martyr. His feast falls upon the 2nd of October. *Art de vér. &c. tom. i. p. 72.*

⁸ *Fredeg. Cont. secunda, c. 97. p. 451. Ann. Mett. ap. Pertz, tom. i. p. 288.* Both annalists call the place *Lucofao*, which D. Bouquet believes to be identical with the modern Loixi.

⁹ *Fred. Cont. sec. c. 97. p. 451.*

years, was succeeded by Berchar, a man whose mean abilities and restless character wholly disqualified him for the task of ruling so turbulent a body as the Leudes of Neustria. Meanwhile Pippin of Heristal had obtained the suffrages of all parties in Austrasia; he had suffered little in reputation by the defeat at Loixi, and the death of Ebruin left him without a competitor whose weight or talents could balance his influence, or eclipse his renown. He had thought proper—with a view to avoid the odium of autocracy—to recognize Theuderich III. as king of Austrasia, and affected to govern in his name.¹⁰ But the foundation of his power lay in his position and personal character. He was successful against the external enemies of the kingdom, strong in his family connexions, resolute in action, and generally upright in his public conduct. The malcontent faction in Neustria found a ready asylum at his court; the eyes of all parties were turned towards him as their natural leader, and as the only man of his age capable of healing the manifold disorders under which the prosperity of all classes was drooping.

So favourable an occasion for extending his authority was not to be neglected. He invaded Neustria with a powerful army; the feeble Berchar encountered him at Textri in the vicinity of St. Quentin; and here the battle was fought which established the ascendancy of the family of Pippin. The major domûs of Neustria sustained a total defeat, and was soon afterwards put to death by his own disappointed and enraged adherents. The pageant king Theuderich III. fell into the hands of Pippin, and with him the entire treasure and the whole power of the state. He did not however think fit to assume the title of major domûs in Neustria; he contented himself with the reality of sovereign power; and it was not till eight years after the victory at Textri that he deemed it expedient to revive the dormant dignity; and not even then in his own person.¹¹

After a nominal reign of seventeen years king Theuderich III. died in the year 690. He was succeeded by his son Chlodwig III.; but this

is succeeded by Berchar.

Pippin of Heristal governs Austrasia and obtains influence in Neustria.

He attacks the feeble Berchar and defeats him at Textri,

A.D. 687.

and governs the three kingdoms of the Franks.

A.D. 690. Theuderich III. dies; is

¹⁰ "Theudericum quoque, ne tyrannidem videretur exercere sævitiam, nomen sibi regis inæstimabili pietate reservavit. Ipse vero totius regni gubernacula, thesaurosque regios, et universi exercitûs dominationem propriæ facultati suæ disponenda retinuit." *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 690. ap. *Pertz.* tom. i. p. 320.

¹¹ For the transactions in Neustria and Austrasia subsequent to the death of Ebruin, see *Fredég.* Cont. sec. cc. 98—100. pp. 451, 452.

Annal. Mett. ad ann. 693—697. *Pertz*, tom. i. pp. 318—321. These annals place the battle of Textri, by manifest error, in the year 690. The gross partiality and adulatory tone of the writer renders them liable to suspicion. He does not notice the battle of Loixi in which his hero Pippin was beaten, while that of Textri, in which he was victorious, is described minutely, and in a high strain of panegyric.

A D. 694. prince soon followed his father to the grave, and a younger brother, succeeded by named Childebert IV., was placed upon the throne. Pippin now Chlodwig III. who dies soon, ventured to propose his second son Grimoald to the Neustrians and and is followed by Childe- Burgundians, as their major domûs ; and the states submitted to the no- bert IV. mination. At the same time he conferred the great duchy, or military Pippin makes his younger son, Grimoald, division, of Champagne, upon his eldest son Drogo, that he might be at Major Domûs of Neustria ; and his elder son, Drogo, Duke of hand to succour his brother, in case the authority of the latter should be Champagne. endangers. After this precaution Pippin turned his attention to the external affairs of the kingdom : he repressed the inroads of the Pagan Saxons and Frisians in the north, as well as those of the Vascons in the south ; and prepared to assert the claims of the Frankish monarchy to the obedience of the Alemanni, Thuringians, and Bavarians of central Germany.¹²

The Frisians, under Radbod, ravage Flanders and Brabant.

The Frisians were at this time governed by a duke named Radbod. The dominion of this prince extended over the swampy flats which stretched along the coasts of the North Sea from the Rhine to the Eyder. The light of Christianity had dawned faintly in the most southern districts of this extensive region. About the year 695 an Anglo-Saxon monk, named Willibrord, founded a church amid the ruins of the old Roman city of Ultrajectum.¹⁴ The frequent inroads of the pagan Frisians had completed the destruction of what remained of its ancient prosperity, and in the year 697 Pippin made over the worthless ruins with the adjacent lands to the courageous adventurer and his devoted followers, in full property, as the first endowment of their infant church. But the history of the apostle of the Frisians must be reserved for a future occasion : in this place it need only be noticed that Willibrord's influence was soon felt from one end of Radbod's principality to the other. The duke of the Frisians himself might have been won over to the gospel, if the hatred he bore to the Franks had not engendered an invincible prejudice against their creed. The patron of Willibrord was the enemy of the Frisian prince, and Christianity appeared to him in the light of a political engine for the erection of a hostile interest within his dominions. The missionaries were therefore driven from their settlements, and the Frisian swarm ravaged the rich plains of Flanders and Brabant.¹⁵

Pippin defeats them.

Pippin marched to the relief of the invaded provinces ; he crossed the Rhine at Wyk-by-Deurstede,¹⁶ and defeated Radbod in a general battle

¹² *Fredeg.* Cont. sec. c. 101. p. 452. *Ann. Mett.* ad ann. 693. *Pertz*, i. p. 321. *Conf. Mannert*, vol. i. p. 282.

¹³ *Ann. Mett.* ad ann. 637. *Pertz*, i. p. 317, and ann. 691. p. 320.

¹⁴ The modern Utrecht, as the name indicates.

¹⁵ *Eckhart*, *Franc. Orient.* tom. i. p. 263. *Ubbo Emmius*, *Hist. Res. Fris. Decad.* I. lib. iv. pp. 51—53. *Luden*, vol. iv. p. 30.

¹⁶ *Lat.* Dorestatë.

near that place. The Frisian duke became more peaceably inclined,¹⁷ and in the sequel an amicable intercourse took place; the missionaries were reinstated, and Grimoald, the major domus of Neustria, married Theodesinda, the daughter of Radbod, whom Willibrord had converted to Christianity.¹⁸ The Frisians, however, for the present, maintained their independence; and religion had a long and painful struggle to undergo before she could overcome that attachment to ancient usages and rites which distinguished the tribes of northern Germany.¹⁹

Circa
A. D. 699.

During the latter years of his active life, Pippin of Heristal exerted himself to repress the incursions of the Saxons, and to reduce the Alemanni, Thuringians, and Bavarians, to that dependence which they had formerly acknowledged.²⁰ The late pernicious contests for power between the mayors of the palace and the various factions which divided the kingdom, had diverted the attention of all parties from the more remote dependencies, and had afforded to those nations a welcome opportunity for throwing off their irksome connexion with the dominant people. Under Frankish patronage, Christianity, it is true, had made some progress in the great duchies of Alemannia, Bavaria and Thuringia. But when that influence ceased to uphold them, the newly established churches were either dispersed or fell into disrepute;²¹ and the aid which the clergy had at all times extended to the promotion of the Frankish interests was withdrawn. Besides these causes of alienation, the princes of Germany objected to yield obedience to the usurped authority of the majores domus; they refused to recognize the voice of their hereditary sovereign in the delusive commands issued by another in his name; and when the power in whose favour they had renounced the

During the domestic wars of the Franks the Transrhenane Germans throw off their dependence.

¹⁷ The *Ann. Mett.* (ann. 692. p. 320) affirm that he sent a supplicating embassy to Pippin, and that he acknowledged the supremacy of the Franks by the payment of tribute. So also the *Gest. Reg. Franc.* c. 49. p. 570. The contemporary continuator of Fredeg. says nothing either of peace or truce. But the subsequent events prove that a cessation of hostilities actually took place.

¹⁸ But this incident is involved in obscurity. Both the annalists and their commentators leave it in doubt whether the Frisian princess married with or without the consent of her father, whose dislike of the Christian religion and hostility to the prince of the Franks continued unabated to the end of his days. See *Fredeg. Cont.* sec. c. 102. p. 453. *Ann. Mett.* ann. 697. p. 321. *Ubbo Emm.* loc. cit.

¹⁹ A reason for this difficulty may perhaps

appear hereafter, when an account is given of the Frisian and Saxon superstitions.

²⁰ These exertions continued to be made at intervals between the years 695 and 711. *Gest. Franc.* c. 49. p. 571.—*Ann. Mett.* Ann. 691. p. 320, and Ann. 708, 709. p. 321.

²¹ So St. Boniface, in 740, tells Pope Zachary that the religious establishments in Germany had been trodden under foot or dissipated for a period of not less than sixty or seventy years. *Hartzheim*, Concil. Germ. tom. i. p. 43. Taking the longer period, the decay of the churches is carried back to the year 670—if we assume the shorter, to 680; and, in fact, the civil wars of the Franks began about the year 673, with the struggle between Ebruin and Pippin, which led to the battle of Loixi and the murder of Martin. Conf. *Eckhart*, Fr. Orient. tom. i. p. 250.

rights of self-government was manifestly extinct, they naturally reverted to their ancient independence, and acted without reference to any self-constituted superior.²²

Pippin is only partially successful in reducing them to obedience.

The numerous campaigns of Pippin of Heristal against the German dependencies do not appear to have been crowned with very brilliant success. "Some of these nations," it is vaguely affirmed, "were brought back to their allegiance," while others, it is confessed, still bade defiance to the arms of the Franks. The Alemanni, under their duke Godefred, manfully stood up for the liberties of their country; Cisrehenane Alemannia was indeed unable to maintain its independence; but the territory on the right bank of the Rhine was less accessible, and here the strength and endurance of the nation found a more favourable stage.²³ There is in fact reason to believe that the attempts of Pippin met with no better success than those of the Romans against the same people three centuries before.²⁴

Pippin maintains his ascendancy by talent and military skill.

The nature of the power exercised by the major domûs was such that it could be supported only by great talent for government, aided by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances. And both these qualifications concurred in advancing the family of Pippin to the exalted station it afterwards occupied. The position of Pippin of Heristal was surrounded with difficulties. He was as yet unable to dispense with the puppet-king Childebert IV.; the Neustrians adhered pertinaciously to the shadow of royalty, because it served to soothe the national vanity, and to veil the real dependence of that division of the kingdom upon Austrasia; a dependence, which no one who peruses the annalists of the age with attention can doubt, was exceedingly mortifying to their pride. Ever since the battle of Textri, which proved so fatal to the enemies of the Austrasian connexion, the kings had been allowed to reside, under the most severe seclusion and superintendence,²⁵ at Paris, or in some neighbouring villa. Such a tie however could not but have been

²² See the remarkable testimony of *Erchambert*, a writer contemporary with Charles Martel; ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 690. "Ex hinc (from the age of Pippin the elder) reges Francorum nomen, non honorem, habere cœperunt. Illis namque temporibus, et deinceps, Godefredus dux Alemannorum, cæterique circumquaque duces (i. e. Transrhenani) noluerunt obtemperare ducibus Francorum, eo quod non potuerunt regibus Meroveis servire, sicut antea soliti fuerant. Ideo se unusquisque secum tennit," &c. Conf. *Luden's* remarks, vol. iv. pp. 26, 27.

²³ *Pfister*, vol. i. p. 148, infers that the Helvetian Alemanni still remained subject to the

Franks, from the fact that about the year 724 (according to *Hermannus Contractus*, Chron. ad Ann. 724. ap. *Pistorium*, tom. i. p. 213), Charles Martel granted the island of Reichenau (Augia), in the lake of Constance, to St. Perminius, for a cœnobium, which, he thinks, implies that the Thurgau had either never asserted its independence, or that it had been reduced to submission some time before this.

²⁴ Under Julian and Valentinian I. See ch. vii. sec. 2 and 3 of this volume.

²⁵ "Custodiaque jugis erga illos (reges) habebatur ne aliquid juris potestate agere possint," says *Erchambert*, loc. nup. cit.

frail, and the bonds which held together the discordant interests of the two kingdoms must be sought in the superior military strength and vigour of Pippin's government. In Austrasia he not only dispensed the favours and administered the treasures of the crown, but was regarded as the sole prince of the Franks.²⁶ Yet even in that division of the kingdom he could consider himself in no other light than as the favoured representative of a military constituency. The prospect of perpetuating the power of his family was not flattering, and the events of the latter years of his life seemed to foreshadow the storms which were to follow its close.

In the year 710 his eldest son Drogo, duke of Champagne, died. In the following year Childebert IV. was succeeded by his son, Dagobert III., as nominal king of the Franks. Two years later the health of Pippin himself began to decline. While labouring under a severe disease he was visited at a villa near Liege by his second son Grimoald. The attendance of the latter upon his sick parent enabled him to pay his adorations at the shrine of St. Lambert, the martyr of Liege, and here he was murdered at the foot of the altar by a gentile Frisian named Rantgar, a satellite of his pagan father-in-law, Radbod; but whether by his procurement or not cannot be ascertained from the vague language of the annalists.²⁷ In order to perpetuate the power of his family, Pippin immediately procured the elevation of his infant grandson Theudoald, the son of Grimoald by a concubine, to the mayoralty of the palace in Neustria. Meanwhile his own health continued to decline rapidly, and on the sixteenth of December, in the year 714, he breathed his last, after an active and generally beneficial government of twenty-seven years and seven months.²⁸

Of the male descendants of Pippin only two survived him, and both of them were, in the opinion of the churchmen, illegitimate. The mother of

A. D. 710.
Drogo dies.
Dagobert III.
king.
A. D. 713.

Grimoald is
murdered at
Liege.

Pippin of He-
ristal dies.

A. D. 714.
He leaves an
only son,

²⁶ "Igitur Pippinus *singularem* Francorum (Austrasiæ) obtinuit principatum." *Ann. Mett.* ann. 690. *Pertz*, i. p. 320. These annals are very much confined to matters relating to Austrasia. *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 282) thinks that neither of the three phantom kings, Theuderich, Chlodwig, and Childebert was acknowledged in Austrasia, and that their names were used *solely* out of compliance with the whim of the Neustrians. But it is obvious that the name of royalty still carried with it a far greater weight than this writer is willing to allow. Had the case been otherwise, the all-powerful *maiores domus* would not have sustained it so long, nor would Pippin the Short have proceeded at last with so much caution in

setting it aside.

²⁷ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 104. p. 452. *Gest. Franc.* c. 50. p. 571. *Ann. Moissiacenses*, ad ann. 713, *Pertz*, i. p. 290. *Ann. Mett.* ann. 714, *ibid.* p. 323. *Chron. Adonis*, Vienn. ap. *D. Bouq.* ii. p. 670. See also the treatise "*De Majoribus Domus Regiæ*," ap. *Bouq.* ii. p. 700. All agree that he was a Frisian heathen. *Ubbø Emmius* believes that the murderer acted at the instigation of Radbod, because he (Radbod) "always showed himself the willing slave of the devil and a fierce persecutor of Christianity and its preachers." *Hist. Fris.* p. 54.

²⁸ *Ann. Mett.* ad ann. 714, loc. mod. cit. *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 104, loc. cit.

Karl, or Charles, by a noble lady named Al-phida.

Pippin passes over the claims of this son in favour of his infant grandson Theudoald; who is recognized as Major Domus under the guardianship of Plectrudis, widow of Pippin. Charles is imprisoned.

The Neustrians make Raganfred their Major Domus. Dagobert III. dies. Daniel, or Chilperich, succeeds him.

Theudoald is unknown, but the birth of Karl, or,—as the name is pronounced in the softer Frankish dialect,²⁹—Charal or Charol, was at least as illustrious as mere parentage could make it. He was the son of Pippin, by Alphais or Alphaida, the sister of Dodo, his master of the household, a nobleman of great influence and extensive possessions. But the legitimacy of Karl, or—as in conformity with the usage of our language, we shall call him—Charles, has probably been disparaged by the churchmen, for a reason which has always had much weight in their estimate of character. Lambert, bishop of Maastricht, and his party, had put to death two relatives of Dodo, the uncle of Charles, for alleged tyranny. In revenge for this injury, that nobleman slew the bishop with his own hand, and procured for him the crown of martyrdom from his admiring brethren; an honour subsequently confirmed by the award of the Roman church.³⁰ Charles, therefore, sprung from a family of persecutors, and from his birth fell under the reprobation of the priesthood. Pippin himself had, it appears, passed over the claims of this son in favour of his infant grandson. His widow, Plectrudis, a woman of a masculine spirit, took possession of the city of Cologne, where the treasure of the kingdom was deposited. The states of Austrasia supported her pretensions, and placed the minor prince Theudoald under her guardianship. Charles, who at the death of his father was in the flower of manhood, had found numerous adherents ready to support his claims; but Plectrudis caused him to be seized and closely confined, and thus, for the present, prevented him from throwing any impediment in the way of her government.

But the Neustrians paid little respect to the last disposition of Pippin. Setting aside the pretensions of Theudoald, they chose one Raganfred for their major domus; and after the death of the phantom king, Dagobert III., exalted Daniel, a scion of the Merwingian family, to their throne, under the name of Chilperich II.³¹ The opportunity seemed favourable to shake off the supremacy of Austrasia, and Raganfred, with the vassals of Neustria, hastened to improve it. Plectrudis was not ignorant of her danger; she collected the adherents of her house, and

²⁹ Grimm, Deutsch. Rechts Alterth. p. 282.

³⁰ But the martyrologist, anxious to find out a "*dignorem passionis causam*," affirms that Lambert was put to death by Dodo and Pippin because he had severely reprehended the father for permitting his daughter to live in a state of concubinage with Pippin; and because Pippin resented his reproaches for continuing the illicit intercourse with the lady. See *Vita S. Lamb.* by *Godescalcus*, a deacon of Liège, who lived in the eighth century, ap. *D. Bouq.* iii.

p. 527. The story of the reproof and revenge is the invention of one Nicholas, a priest of Liège, who was dissatisfied (as well he might be) with the older version, and therefore substituted a "*dignorem passionis causam*" from his own workshop. The feast of St. Lambert, of Maastricht, the patron of the church of Liège, is fixed on the 17th September. *Art de vér.* &c. tom. i. p. 72.

³¹ Daniel had been shorn and shut up in a convent for some political reason.

marched into Neustria, but was defeated by Raganfred near Compiègne.³² Shortly after this mishap, her party was further weakened by the death of Theudoald. The Neustrians followed up their success with alacrity; they entered into an alliance with Radbod, the ancient enemy of the house of Pippin; they even solicited the remoter Saxons to invade the north-eastern frontier, while they themselves, in conjunction with their pagan allies, spread desolation and slaughter over the richest provinces of Austrasia.³³

Plectrudis attacks Raganfred, but is defeated. The Neustrians ravage Austrasia in conjunction with the Frisians under Radbod.

But in the interim Charles had, by the aid of his friends, succeeded in escaping from his prison at Cologne,³⁴ and immediately found himself at the head of a respectable body of followers. As the party of Plectrudis declined, the numbers of his adherents increased; the dispirited fugitives from the field of Compiègne acknowledged him as their chief, and the nation joyfully ratified their choice. The great body of the Austrasian people had all along looked up to him as the representative of his father's virtues and talents. Charles inherited that personal beauty for which his mother Alphaida had been renowned; his manner was bold and popular, and well fitted to attach a body of martial followers to his standard. But with all these qualities his forces were unequal to the present emergency. The greater part of them consisted of the troops lately defeated at Compiègne. Nevertheless with these he boldly marched to encounter the superior army of Radbod; but suffered a severe defeat. Meanwhile the Neustrians advanced through the forest of the Ardennes into the heart of Austrasia, and forming a junction with their Frisian allies, laid siege to Cologne. Plectrudis, who had shut herself up in the city, spared neither promises nor treasure to prevail upon her enemies to retire; and the confederates, laden as they were with booty, and anxious to secure the produce of their toils, accepted the large sums offered, and withdrew from the neighbourhood.

Charles escapes from prison;

collects an army,

but is defeated by Radbod.

Plectrudis persuades the Neustrians to retire.

The spirit of Charles rose with the urgency of his affairs. Though defeated, he did not quit the field; and soon re-assembled a body of troops numerous enough to inflict a severe chastisement upon the retreating confederates. During the ensuing winter the suffering Austrasians flocked to his standard from all quarters; and in the spring he opened the campaign in Neustria itself with an army greatly improved both in numbers and in spirit. The armies of Neustria and Austrasia met at Vincy, not far from Crevecœur in Artois. The forces of Raganfred

Charles raises another army; he attacks and defeats the retreating Neustrians.

A. D. 717 to

A. D. 718.

His forces increase; he encounters and defeats.

³² The spot is called by the continuator of Fredegar "Coatia Sylva," which *D. Bouq.* identifies with the "Forêt de Cuise," near Compiègne. *Fredeg.* Cont. c. 104.

³³ *Ann. Petaviani* ad ann. 715, ap. *Pertz.* i.

p. 323.

³⁴ The flattering annalists affirm that an angel from heaven assisted at his liberation. *Ann. Mett.* ad ann. 714. p. 522.

Raganfred at
Vincy.

vastly outnumbered those of his adversary; but their vain confidence and neglect of discipline more than compensated this advantage, and Charles obtained an easy and decisive victory. The city of Paris surrendered to him; the Neustrians abandoned all thought of resistance; and Raganfred, with the king Chilperich, took refuge at the court of Eudo duke of Aquitaine.³⁵

A. D. 719.
After his victory Charles turns his arms against his step-mother Plectrudis, and compels her to retire into Bavaria.

A. D. 720.

He forces Eudo duke of Aquitaine, to surrender the king Chilperich into his hands.

A. D. 724.
Chlothar IV. nominal king.
Theuderich IV.

Charles was for the present prevented from pursuing his enemy to his last retreat by danger in an opposite quarter. Plectrudis still retained Cologne, and the treasures of her late husband deposited there. The prince of the Franks therefore hastened to deprive her of the dangerous power which the possession of so much wealth afforded. The princess, unprepared for such rapidity of movement, surrendered the city and treasure, and retired with her daughter into her native country Bavaria. In the following spring Charles invaded Aquitaine, and by the mere terror of his arms compelled Eudo to deliver up the phantom king Chilperich into his hands, that his name might no longer serve the views of the hostile party. The captive prince was treated with humanity, if not with respect, and consigned to retirement and obscurity under the superintendence of persons of approved attachment and fidelity. Such was the neglect into which the titular kings³⁶ had by this time fallen, that the historians of the period think it scarcely necessary to waste a word upon them; and even the order of succession is not always very clearly pointed out. Chilperich II. soon made room for another phantom king, named Chlothar IV.;³⁷ this prince occupied the throne only two years, and was succeeded by a child whom the annalists call Theuderich IV.

Though it is not possible, without a fuller acquaintance with the temper of the age and the state of political parties than that which we possess, to give a satisfactory reason for the continuance of this succession of titular kings, yet a few very simple considerations will, we think, tend to clear the question of its chief difficulties, and to show whereabouts the impediment lay which prevented the new dynasty from adding the crown and title to the prerogatives of royalty which it had already engrossed.

³⁵ *Fredeg. Cont.* cc. 105—107. pp. 453, 454. *Ann. Mett.* ad ann. 714—718. pp. 323, 324. *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 286) sees reason to believe that this Eudo was a descendant of Charibert the younger brother of Dagobert, who had received a principality in Aquitaine as a compensation for his share of the inheritance of Chlothar II. He thinks that this Eudo, or his predecessors, had taken advantage of the late distractions in the Frankish kingdoms, not only to make himself independent, but to extend his dominion over the whole of Aquitaine. This is at

least a plausible mode of accounting for the unexpected appearance of an independent power in a region which had been hitherto guarded with so much jealousy by the Frankish rulers. *Conf. Luden*, vol. iii. p. 582; and vol. iv. p. 57.

³⁶ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 107. p. 454. *Ann. Mett.* loc. cit.

³⁷ Chlothar was set up by Charles against Raganfred's king Chilperich, immediately after the submission of Plectrudis; so that it is improbable that the latter should ever have been acknowledged by Charles. *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 107. p. 454.

Charles, surnamed the Hammer,³⁸ from the power of his arm and his martial prowess, had procured for himself the title of major domûs. This office comprehended all the powers of sovereignty in itself; the title of "Prince and duke of the Franks" is indeed added by historians, but more with a view to express the plenitude of his civil and military authority, than to indicate any powers different from those which, as mayor of the palace, he was entitled to exercise. Most of the reasons which had deterred his father Pippin from assuming the royal title, still existed. The Neustrians were not yet reconciled to the connexion with Austrasia; and however great his interest in the latter kingdom may have been, it is by no means clear that the haughty Leudes and nobles there were inclined to exchange an elective monarch,—for such in reality the major domûs of the Franks had become,—for an independent hereditary sovereign. Under the title of major domûs he was, "de jure," the creature of their choice; and though, "de facto," the son had hitherto been in most instances permitted to succeed to the father, yet the estates and vassals cannot be supposed to have forgotten that the *right* of election still rested with them. Time therefore was necessary to habituate them to the idea of an hereditary major domûs, before they would allow the reigning prince to exchange his elective for an hereditary title. As long therefore as it remained expedient to retain the inferior dignity, a titular king was essential as a support to the title of "mayor of the palace." Without a king there would have been something preposterous both in the name and office of major domûs. Old forms, though admitted to be useless and insignificant in themselves, often serve to hold together that which is efficacious and serviceable in political institutions. The obsolete form frequently operates as the sanction and the guide to the principle of the new practice founded upon it; and when that charm is dissolved, both share the same disrespect. From the time of the abortive attempt of Grimoald, the son of the first Pippin, to supplant the dynasty of Chlodwig, down to the successful experiment of Pippin the Short, the caution of the majores domûs upon this delicate matter is conspicuous. We think it will appear that some such feeling as that just described had dictated this caution; and, that it was not superfluous, is fully proved by the circumspection with which the son of Charles Martel placed his foot upon the first step of the Merovingian throne.

But notwithstanding the doubts which might still hang over the title and position of Charles, it is obvious that in fact a new dynasty, though

The titular kings retained in consequence of the reluctance of the Franks to exchange an elective Major Domûs for an hereditary monarch.

A new dynasty, though as yet without

³⁸ "Martellus," "a smith's hammer." He is sometimes called "tudes," and "tudites," "a hammer," or "beetle," because "Sicut malleo universa tunduntur ferramenta, ita omnia sibi

contrivit regna sibi vicina." *Hugo Flaviniacensis* ap. *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad verb. "Martus," and "Martellus."

the royal title, reigns in France and Germany.

New forms of society favour the feudal, at the expense of the old hereditary nobility, and of the rest of the community.

All other classes sink in importance.

The power of the church increases.

A state of things is in progress which tends to draw the sovereign, the new aristocracy, and the church, into closer union; and to impart a new aspect to society.

not yet decorated with the royal title, reigned over the most powerful people of Europe,—a people whose original vigour of character had borne them unenfeebled through two centuries of vice, calamity, and crime. A new form of society had been gradually unfolding itself; the beneficiary system had assumed a more decided and characteristic shape; the stipendiary vassals of the crown outnumbered and overbore the ancient independent nobility—the old principes or procures of the realm: the beneficiary property had lost much of its dependent and precarious character: the fierce struggles of parties, during which each faction appealed to and supported itself upon the crown vassals, necessarily tended to the aggrandizement of this body at the expense of the rest of the community. Hence every other class of subjects, from the free proprietor down to the serf, had sunk in importance: as the storm of war and faction passed over them, some one or more of the infirmer portions of the social system were swept away by the blast, until almost every bulwark which protected the weak against the encroachments of the powerful was thrown down, and only those who were strong enough to take away the property of their neighbours were in a condition to keep their own.

Meanwhile the power of the church had grown up in a ratio at least equal to that of the vassals. The support of the rich and aspiring priesthood had become of no trifling importance to the candidates for imperial power. Indeed, the foundations of the new dynasty were in a great degree laid upon holy ground. The house of Pippin proclaimed itself the firm ally of the church; and this holy league became the first step in the progress of the hierarchy to that eminence to which, in an ignorant and superstitious age,—perhaps in every age,—perseverance, and immutable principles of action, whether for good or for evil, invariably conduct. A state of things, in short, was in progress, which was to draw the new aristocracy, the church, and the sovereign, into a closer combination, and to throw the other elements of society to a greater distance. The rude equality of the primitive Franks had been transplanted into an ungenial soil. Every circumstance was adverse to its durability. The mitigating influence of Roman luxury and convenience; the change from a life of roving military adventure to that of a settled people dwelling in cities and towns; a new religion; a variety of differing laws and customs; an organized priesthood; a vast extent of conquests; a state of agriculture, incipient commerce, and rude literature, all tended to bring about a total revolution in the habits of the nation. The direction which that revolution was to take was given by the development of feudalism and the growth of the ecclesiastical power.

C H A P. XIII.

STATE OF GERMANY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

AT the close of the sixth century Germany resembled the crater of a volcano, which, after many ages of vehement activity, had at length sunk into the repose of exhaustion. The silence which prevails in its history during the seventh, and a great part of the eighth century, has been mistaken for the stillness of the desert: but it must be considered that the Germans were ignorant of every kind of literature, and had not yet learned to be the heralds of their own deeds. Still we have ample assurance that their love of independence, their attachment to their chiefs, their ancient laws, and national customs, remained unaltered; and that though the spirit of adventure and conquest had declined with the opportunities for the gratification of those once predominant habits, yet the temporary oblivion into which they had fallen is to be ascribed, not to the dearth of memorable events in their internal history, but to the absence of historians to record them.

Notwithstanding this scarcity of events and documents, there are records extant which show that since the ages of Cæsar and of Tacitus the Germans had made some advances in civilization. The barbaric law-codes bear witness to a certain power of political adaptation, and a capacity for legislative improvement. In history, as in speculation, we resort to the practice in order to discover the reason of every *customary* law. The first step therefore which a nation, having none other than customary laws, must take towards arriving at more comprehensive notions of legislation is to collect, arrange, and digest that practice. There is reason to believe that the Germans had made some progress in this preliminary process. In the first section of this chapter we shall endeavour to trace out these symptoms of improvement, and to describe the condition of that residuary population which, after the multitudinous and exhausting migrations of the fifth and sixth centuries, still clung to the land of their ancestors. For more than a century they had yielded a

Internal state of Germany at the commencement of the eighth century.

The Germanic codes of law supply evidence of the condition of the people.

Subjects of this chapter.
I. Civil and political state of the Trans-rhenane Germans,

and history of
their struggles
to maintain
their independ-
ence against
the power of
the Franks.

II. The Arab
invasion of
France.

III. Alliance
between the
papacy and
the Frankish
kingdom.

The papacy
becomes the
instrument for
the extension
of the king-
dom, and in
return ob-
tains the pro-
tection of the
Franks
against its
enemies the
Lombards.

The progress
of Christianity
in Germany
cements the
power of the
Franks in that
country.

nominal, sometimes a real, obedience to the kings of the Franks. But at this period the decay of the royal authority had dissolved the tie; and at his accession to power, Charles Martel found them in a state of independence, or, as he would construe it, of revolt: he reduced them to recognize in him the representative of the Merwingian throne; and we shall connect in the same section the internal history of these nations with that which is known to us regarding the struggle for independence against their mighty neighbour.

The Arab invasion of France in the middle of the seventh century, and its momentous result to the cause of Christianity and civilization, must not be wholly passed over. The concluding transactions of the reign of the heroic Charles Martel; the accession of his sons Carlman and Pippin the Short, and the final annexation of Transrhene German to the empire of the Franks, will be the subjects of the second section of this chapter.

The third section will comprehend matter of more than ordinary interest in the history of Europe. It has been observed that the power of the new dynasty which reigned *de facto* in France reposed in a great degree upon holy ground: it is indispensable to our narrative to examine the nature of that foundation. By an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, the interests of the Roman hierarchy and of the Frankish rulers became almost identified with each other. The papacy lent itself to the consolidation and extension of the kingdom of the Franks; and by the aid of the sacerdotal power Pippin succeeded in setting aside the ancient title of the Merwingian princes, and seating himself upon the vacant throne. The popes, unable to withstand the ruthless attacks of the Lombards, threw themselves into the arms of their mighty ally, and cast all their influence into the balance of the Franks in every part of Christendom. We must succinctly trace the steps by which that influence was acquired: we must do justice to the indefatigable industry, the indomitable zeal, the exemplary obedience, the severe spirit of discipline, the cordial concord and systematic perseverance by which the struggle with the ancient paganism was sustained, and by which the missionaries of the Roman church in Germany merited the success which crowned their exertions. All the power thus acquired was exerted in favour of Pippin, the champion of the church, in return for the protection afforded by him. Thus far the designs of the spiritual and temporal rulers were in strict accordance; and thus far the connexion was unalloyed by suspicion, and uncontaminated by deceit or artifice on either side. The overthrow of the pagan altars in Germany not only enfeebled the power of resistance, but, when the

contest was decided, supplied a bond of union between the Franks and their German dependencies, of a far more enduring texture than the unsettled political institutions, the feeble powers of government, and the anarchical temper of the age could afford. In reflecting upon the annals of the Franks we imbibe the strongest conviction that society in that country was indebted to religion, in a far greater measure than to government, for the degree of stability which it acquired. Without the aid of religion and religious institutions, the kingdom must very soon have been rent into a hundred fragments by the explosive elements of which it was compounded. The consolidation of the hierarchy and of political government proceeded almost *pari passu* ; and we feel that in devoting the third section of this chapter to the progress of the Christian missions in Germany, we are pursuing a course best calculated to dispel the clouds still lingering over the origin of that great spiritual monarchy which must form so prominent an object in our future narrative.

The papal missions in Germany.

In the *fourth section* it will be our duty to elucidate the several results of the Roman scheme of spiritual conquest in the life and conduct of the Anglo-Saxon monk Winfrid. Under the religious name of Boniface, that extraordinary man became the active agent of the great political revolution of the age—the elevation of Pippin to the throne of the Franks. In the course of this inquiry something may transpire to indicate the nature and necessary tendency of the newly-founded spiritual power ; and in the consummation of the alliance between the church and the state to which that revolution affixed the seal, we may perhaps detect the principles upon which the government of Christendom was to rest for many ages to come.

IV. Life and character, religious and political influence of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany.

SECTION I. A. D. 554 to A. D. 725.

Nations of Ancient Germany—Aspect of the Country—Social Condition—I. Ranks and Conditions: 1. Adeline; 2. Freemen; 3. Serfs; 4. Freedmen and Liti—II. Laws of the Germans affecting Property: 1. Landed Property: Alodium; Its probable Origin; Rule of Inheritance; 2. Personal Property: Descends to Females—III. Laws against Crimes: 1. Germanic notion of Criminal Legislation; Wehrgelds; 2. Criminal Laws of the Northern and Southern Germanic Nations compared; The Faida, or Death-Feud; 3. Compositions for Injuries to the Person: Homicide; Maiming; Rape; Assaults; Minor Injuries to the Person; Kidnapping; Abduction; 4. Injuries to Property: State of Property; Dwellings and Household Establishments; Open and clandestine Attacks; Fire raising; Theft; Dogs; Robbers deprived of Wehrgeld—IV. Constitution, Process, and Forms of the Courts of Law: Territorial Divisions; Teutonic idea of a Court of Justice; The Mallum; Gau-Graff; Zend-Graff; 1. Process; Conjuratores; Fredum; Trial with Adjournments; Judgment and Execution—I. The Alemanni: 1. Their Dukes; 2. Rule of Succession; 3. Government—II. Bavarians: Fragmentary History; Wars with the Avârs; Connexion with the Lombards; Tassilo; Garibald; St. Emmeram; Archbishopric of Ratisbon; Theodo; St. Rupert; Archbishopric of Salzburg; Duke Theodo's connexion with the Lombards; Division of the Duchy; Grimoald and St. Corbinian; Metropolitan See of Frisingen; Innovations of Corbinian; His Quarrel with Grimoald: 2. Government of the Bavarians; Rule of Succession; Power of the Duke.—III. Reduction of the Alemanni and Bavarians by Charles Martel; Hugibert Duke of Bavaria.

Charles Martel projects the reconquest of Germany.

As soon as Charles Martel had accomplished the overthrow of the enemies who had obstructed his elevation to power, he determined to re-establish the dominion of the Frankish kingdom in its fullest extent; and, if possible, to combine the reduction of the rebellious Alemanni and Bavarians with the humiliation of the troublesome Frisians, and the more formidable Saxons. It is not improbable that his military designs extended to the expulsion of the intrusive Sclavi of the Saale and the Elbe, and of the dangerous Avârs upon the Bavarian frontier.

Geographical limits of the Germanic nations at the beginning of the eighth century. Saxons. Thuringians.

At the beginning of the eighth century we find five principal tribes or nations of Teutonic race—Frisians, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Alemanni,—in possession of the largest portion of ancient Germany. The territory of the Frisians has been already described.¹ The Saxons bordered upon them to the eastward, and occupied the country between the Ems and the Elbe. Beyond the latter river dwelt the Sclavic nations of the Lutizes, Haveles, and Wenedi, or Wenden. To the southward of the Saxons we find the Thuringians settled, but without any known line of separation. The exact limits of Thuringia at this period are very

¹ Chap. xii. sect. 4. p. 716 of this volume.

doubtful; yet it is generally assumed to have been divided from the Sorabic or Serbic Sclavi of the modern Markgraviate of Meissen, by the river Saale: the Danube is believed to have formed the southern boundary. With regard to the extent and geographical limits of the Bavarian territory, no change of importance appears to have taken place since the dissolution of the kingdom of Attila.² The Lech, the Danube, and the Alps, enclosed the duchy on three sides. On the fourth it stood in dangerous contact with the Avâric hordes of Pannonia, without any fixed or conventional boundary. The Alemanni continued to occupy the beautiful and fertile tract of country which, till lately, constituted the circles of Swabia and Alsace, together with a smaller territory along the southern shores of the lake of Constance, comprehending the Helvetic cantons of Thurgau, St. Gall, and Appenzel.

The general aspect of the Germanic region at this period does not seem to have differed materially from its appearance as described by Tacitus six centuries before. The surface was still intersected with marshes and covered with those primeval forests in which the primitive German sought his sustenance, or indulged his appetite for the chase.³ The country was thinly inhabited by a poor and hardy race, living in voluntary obedience to hereditary princes. Ever since the first Frankish conquest these princes had acknowledged dependence upon the Austrasian kingdom, whenever that government was at leisure to enforce it, or when they themselves required aid against external enemies. At other times they conducted themselves without regard to any superior, and rarely submitted without compulsion,—always with extreme reluctance,—to the revived claims of their powerful neighbour, however mitigated by respect for their national customs, laws, and institutions. Prior to the complete triumph of Christianity, the country of the Thuringians, Saxons, and Frisians exhibited no trace of city or of town; unless indeed we should perceive the germs of these civic communities in the numerous frontier forts and castles erected about this period for protection against the incursions of hostile neighbours.⁴ Though this view may have some probabilities in its favour, we cannot trace the rudiments of corporate towns with any degree of certainty

Bavarians.

Alemanni.

Aspect of the country—covered with forests—intersected by marshes—

thinly inhabited. They acknowledge a nominal dependence upon the Frankish kingdom; but in general conduct themselves as independent nations.

The Thuringians, Saxons, and Frisians, have neither cities nor towns.

² Chap. ix. sect. 2. p. 445 of this volume.

³ Thus the Thuringians set snares and pitfalls in the forests for their game, frequently to the serious injury of the cattle of the community. *Lex Angl. et Warn. &c.*, tit. xviii.; ap. *Canc.* tom. iii. p. 36.

⁴ Especially the Sclavi *Gaupp*, *Deutsche*

Städte-gründung, &c., im Mittelalter, § iii. pp. 27, 28. The Thuringians built several forts against the incursions both of Sclavi and of Saxons. Magdeburg and Halle are regarded as anterior to the reign of Charles the Great. *Böhtiger*, *Gesch. v. Sachsen*, vol. i. p. 12, note (1).

to a period anterior to the religious establishments, the abbeys, and monasteries of the eighth century.

The social condition of these nations.

1. Ranks and conditions in society.

11. Laws relative to property in land.

111. Laws against crime.

In considering the social state of a nation, the principal topics of inquiry seem to be; *first*, the ranks and conditions among the people; *next*, the laws relative to property in land and moveables, and their transmission; and, *lastly*, the state of crime, and the laws for its repression and punishment. In the earlier stages of civilization these considerations of themselves suffice to point out and define the ruling powers. Domestic wants, and the necessary regulations for supplying them, always precede the institution of government, and most frequently determine its character.—Organic laws and principles of polity are unknown to barbarous nations. They are governed, not by abstractions of reason, but by a sense of immediate expediency, by custom and common feelings; and to these the attention of their historian must be confined.⁵

1. Ranks and conditions of the people.

1. *Adelinge*.

2. *Freemen*.

3. *Serfs*.

4. *Freedmen*, *Liti*, &c.

I. Through all the stages of Germanic history, from the age of Tacitus down to that of Charles the Great, we clearly distinguish four ranks or conditions in society: 1. *Adelinge*, likewise called *Nobiles* and *Proceres*, families of noble descent: 2. *Freemen*,—*Liberi*,—*Ingenui*: 3. *Serfs*,—*Servi*, a class wholly destitute of civil rights;⁶ and, 4. *Freedmen*, or *Liberti*. Among this class we are disposed to number the *Litus*,⁷ an obscure condition intermediate between the state of perfect freedom and that of absolute servitude.

1. *Adelinge*, a birth-nobility.

1. Like the Gothic and Vandalic nations of the preceding age, so in that now under review, the Thuringians, Saxons, Anglo-Saxons, Frisians, Bavarians, and Lombards, unequivocally acknowledged a *birth-nobility*. The evidence of this acknowledgment pervades their several codes of law. The dignity of an Adeling is throughout strictly *personal*, and destitute of any original relation to the service of the prince, or to office in the state.⁸ In the scale of composition for personal injuries the life of an Adeling is always valued at some multiple of the Wehrgeld for the death of an ordinary freeman;⁹ a fact which affords as satisfactory a testimony to the

⁵ A departure from this principle is always dangerous, and has led to much learned but unprofitable research; and, which is worse, to many errors, and some gross political delusions.

⁶ Chap. xii. sect. 1. p. 660 of this volume.

⁷ *Litus*, *Litus*, *Aldio*. Conf. chap. xii. sect. 1. p. 661 of this volume.

⁸ It is to the complicated connexion of the Frankish *Proceres* and *Leudes* with the service of the king and of the state that we must ascribe

the degree of obscurity which still hangs over the question whether the Franks possessed an hereditary nobility. See chap. xii. sect. 1. p. 657. Conf. *Grimm*, p. 266.

⁹ Thus among the Bavarians the Wehrgeld of a member of the noble race of the Agilolfingians was fourfold that of a freeman. *Lex Baju.* tit. ii. c. 20, § 1, 2, 3. *Canc.* ii. p. 363. The lives of those of the other five noble races enumerated in their laws was only the double. The Thuringians estimated the life of an Adeling at

national prepossession in favour of exalted birth, as if we were enabled to enumerate the political privileges attached to it with the utmost exactness.¹⁰

2. The *freeman* stood next in public estimation. The Wehrgeld of the freeman was generally the half that of the Adeling, and about four times that of the libertus. We have not the means of comparing it with the compensations claimed for the murder of a serf. Indeed the latter was estimated at little more than the average value of his labour, which must have varied greatly in different places. As compared with the superior classes, the slave was rated at a very low price; and the gradations of composition decisively mark the decline of popular regard as the several conditions approached to that of servitude.

2. *Freemen.*
His Wehrgeld generally the half of that of the Adeling, and four times that of the Freedman.

3. But perhaps the state of the freeman in society may be best illustrated by contrasting it with that of the servile classes. As among the Franks, so also in the older Germanic communities the right of carrying arms, attending the national or cantonal assemblies, deciding civil and criminal suits, commencing and prosecuting actions at law, giving evidence in courts of justice, tendering the oath of purification on their own behalf, or vouching the innocence of others, were privileges exclusively reserved to the free classes.¹¹ All ranks of non-freemen were excluded from military service; the name of "Soldier," (*Miles*), was synonymous with "freeman;" and the freemen alone arrogated the national appellation.¹² The non-freemen were, for the most part, beings without *name* or station in society; and if to this description of persons some degree of protection was extended, and, in process of time, some political rights were conceded, the improvement here, as among the Greeks and Romans of old, and the Americans of our own age, necessarily proceeded rather from a sense of interest, than from any feeling of justice or apprehension of right;—in short, from causes independent of the will of the free classes; such as the advance of Christianity, the rise of corporate towns, the increasing demand for the products

3. *The serf—*
Servus.

The non-freemen are excluded from military service.

The pure Serf, a being without name or station in society.

600 solidi. *Lex Anglor.*, &c., tit. i. § 1—4. *Canc.* tom. iii. p. 31—that of an ordinary freeman at 300 solidi. *Ibid.* tit. i. § 2.

¹⁰ *Canciani* (tom. ii. p. 366; note 3) directs our attention to the analogous ranks among the older Germanic races—to the *Amali*, among the Ostrogoths, the *Balthi* of the Visigoths, the *Asdingi* of the Vandalic races. (See *Jornandes*, cc. 5. 22. 29. 38.) In the prologue to the laws of the Lombard king Rothari, we meet with an enumeration of six or seven families, of which it is impossible to question the superiority of rank. From these families we are expressly told their kings had been chosen; and to all of them we

apply without hesitation the observation of Tacitus, (*Germ. c. 7.*) "*Reges ex nobilitate sumunt.*" The controversy whether the Germanic nations acknowledged a birth-nobility has never been maintained with spirit, with respect to any other than the Frankish race.

¹¹ Conf. chap. xii. sect. 1. p. 658—660. The remarks there offered with reference to the Franks are, with trifling limitations, applicable to the Transrhenane Germans.

¹² *Francus*—without the addition of *ingenuus*—sufficiently designates a *free* Frank. So also among the Alemanni. *Lex Alem.* tit. ix. p. 326; tit. xxxvi. p. 331, 332.

of ingenuity, and mechanical industry, the disdain of handicraft by the freemen, the cravings of war, and the resulting introduction of the lowest class into the armies of the state.

Composition for the homicide of a serf; generally one-eighth and one-ninth the Wehrgeld of a freeman; so in proportion for other injuries to the persons of non-freemen.

Serfs liable to the torture.

Have no property; can neither buy, sell, nor exchange; may be bought, sold, and exchanged at the will of the lord. A higher composition is paid for injuries to persons of skilful artisans, farm-servants, and handicraftsmen.

In the Saxon, Frisian, Alemannic, and Lombard laws, the condition of absolute servitude appears under the same aspect as that to which we have already adverted at some length in treating of the state of Frankish society. For the life of a serf the Bavarian law gives a composition of one-eighth that of the freeman;¹³ the Alemannic law awards only a ninth.¹⁴ A similar proportion is observed in the composition for minor injuries to non-freemen. If a serf abused the person of a freewoman, with or without consent, he was to be delivered up to the relatives of the woman, to be put to death, or punished at their discretion.¹⁵ The freewoman who married a serf forfeited her land.¹⁶ The chastity of an unmarried female of servile condition was protected by a composition of four solidi; that of a free virgin, by forty, besides a payment of forty more by way of fine or *fredum* to the duke or the king.¹⁷ Among the Bavarians a serf accused of a crime might be put to the torture to extort confession; but lest he should be maimed or permanently disabled, and so the lord should lose his services, the accuser was liable to make compensation if he preferred a wrongful charge.¹⁸ Throughout all the barbaric codes the bondsman was, in short, treated as a mere chattel; his property was the property of the lord; he could neither buy, sell, nor exchange; he himself might be bought, sold, pledged, or exchanged, at the pleasure of his owner.¹⁹

But though it cannot be questioned that the lord in general possessed, and might exercise, these extensive powers over the person of his bondsman, yet in practice the alienation of the serfs of the estate does not seem to have been very common. The laws do not contemplate any market-price for predial or domestic slaves, but only the value of their services to the owner himself. The compensation for killing, kidnapping, or maiming them rose or fell according to the estimation in which the several occupations or handicrafts they practised were held.²⁰ This unintentional testimony to the importance of the industrious classes of

¹³ *Lex Baju.* tit. v. § 18. *Canc.* ii. p. 371, and tit. iii. § 13, p. 369.

¹⁴ *Lex Alem.* tit. viii., as 135 sol. to 15 sol.

¹⁵ *Lex Baju.* tit. vii. c. 9. *Canc.* ii. p. 373.

¹⁶ *Lex Alemann.* tit. lvii. p. 337. If the ancestor died without male heirs, the land went to the daughters. If one of the daughters (parceners) married a predial villain (colonus) and the other, or others, men of equal condition with themselves, the whole inheritance went to the latter. The personalty ("res aliæ," contrasted with "terra,") was however equally divided.

¹⁷ *Lex Baju.* tit. vii. § 6—13. *Ibid.* p. 372, 373.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* tit. viii. § 18, p. 376.

¹⁹ *Lex Alem.* tit. lxxxvi. p. 343.—*Lex Baju.* tit. x. § 7; and tit. xv. § 3, p. 384.

²⁰ Among the Alemanni the composition of a shepherd or swineherd was 40 solidi; of a groom (Mareschalcus), an expert cook or fisherman, an approved goldsmith or swordsmith, likewise 40 solidi. *Lex Alem.* tit. lxxix. *Canc.* ii. p. 341.

bondsmen indicates the genuine source from which their gradual and healthy emancipation was to spring. It points out to us the germ of that middle class which contributed so nobly to temper and to check the despotism of feudality throughout the middle ages ; a class which, it may be apprehended, is destined in its turn, perhaps at no very distant period, to trample upon all other ranks and conditions in society, without reference to any law, either of justice or social expediency, but its own strength and numbers.²¹

4. The first symptoms of this gradual amelioration in the condition of the non-freemen are observable at a very early period of Germanic history. In the Frankish, Saxon, Frisian, Alemannic and Lombard laws we meet with a class of favoured serfs under the names of *Liti*, *Lidi*, and *Aldiones*.²² The nature and limits of their services is a question of great obscurity. It is probable that the term “*Litus*” was used to designate a great variety of customary deviations from the principle of absolute servitude, resembling perhaps those we meet with in the laws of England shortly after the conquest.²³ Though the “*Litus*” does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon laws, it is hardly to be doubted that a class of tributary non-freemen was known to our Saxon ancestors. There is evidence that the fixation of villain services took place, partially at least, at the earliest periods of Teutonic society, and that there existed from all times a description of persons, who, though attached to the service of some lord, and therefore not entitled to the privileges of freemen, were liable only to certain fixed renders and services in respect of the duties they performed, or of the land they occupied.²⁴ It is obvious that the very existence of such an exception to the

4. Condition of *Liti*—*Lidi*—*Aldiones*—a mitigated form of servitude,

(probably) exempt from all services and renders, but such as were fixed and de-

²¹ If modern society be destined to relapse into barbarism, there is no more probable cause than the levelling temper of this age. A gradation of ranks is natural, and, to a highly polished and civilized state of society, absolutely essential. The despotism of any one of these ranks is as much to be deprecated as that of any other—excepting that of the *lowest*,—the most desperate, but the most short-lived disease under which the commonwealth can labour.

²² I find no mention of this class in the laws of the Bavarians, Burgundians, and Thuringians. See chap. xii. sect. 1. p. 661.

²³ Prior to the conquest, the serfs of the land appear to have lived in a state of absolute slavery. They occupied what was called the *folk-land*, or plot of ground set apart for the maintenance of the serfs of the estate, from which they

were removable at the lord's pleasure. *Blackstone* (Comment. book ii.) thinks that the conquest ameliorated their condition by raising it to the level of the Norman *villénage*. They were divided into villains *regardant* (ascriptitii or glebæ addicti) and villains *in gross*, the former attached to the land, and transferable only with it ; the latter annexed to the person of the lord and transferable from one owner to another. But why does Blackstone ascribe this distinction to the conquest ? The earliest mention of *villains* occurs in the republication of the Laws of Edward the Confessor by William the Conqueror, § xxxiii. *Canc.* tom. iv. p. 355. The *coloni* and glebæ ascriptitii there noticed are surely no *new condition*.

²⁴ The evidence is collected with his ordinary perspicuity and simplicity by that eminent anti-

fined by
custom.

general principle of servitude must have contributed to promote the gradual emancipation of the slave population. The brand of absolute incapacity was thereby removed; the spell of slavery was broken by the acknowledgment of some civil rights, and by admission to a limited and conditional property in the land.

11. *Laws of the Germans as they affect property and its transmission.*
Barbaric codes.

II. In considering the laws of the Germans as they affected property and its transmission, we shall offer a few previous remarks upon the collections we possess of them. Childebert and Chlothar II., and still later, Dagobert I., had made a beginning for a general collection of the customary laws of all the nations subject to their sceptre.²⁵ Those of the Alemanni and Bavarians are enumerated in the list of codes collected and published by the Merovingian kings. The law of the Thuringians is not found among them; and though it is not unreasonable to presume that Theuderich I. felt at least the same solicitude for the interests of this his earliest conquest, as he did for those of the Alemanni and Bavarians; yet we have not sufficient evidence to affirm that the laws of the Thuringians were published in the form in which we now possess them before the reign of Charles the Great.²⁶

The laws of the Frisians, the most ancient of the codes,

The code of the Frisians is of greater importance to us at this period of our history than either of the three codes just adverted to. The body of laws it contains is of ancient date, and very little adulterated by Christian or feudal matter. The collection, moreover, is one of the first which was drawn up in the German language, and from unquestionably authentic sources. And in this original and genuine form we still possess it,²⁷ under the name of the "common law of Hunsigow;" an antique code, written in rhymed couplets, this being an ordinary mode to which rude nations resort to impress their customary laws upon the memory of the people before the introduction of writing.²⁸ There remains, therefore, no

quary and grammarian, *Jacob Grimm*, *Deutsche Rechts Alterth.* p. 305 to 311. The term *Litus* and the numerous equivalent denominations seem to have had strict reference to the land; hence the *Liti* are likewise called *Tributarii* and *Censitici*, *i.e.* persons liable to fixed rents and payments in money or in kind. A bondsman without land must have sunk to the state of a *villain in gross*. It strikes me that the old German *Litus* answers to our *villain regardant*—the state of *appurtenance*, or *hörigkait*, as it is now usually, and very aptly called by the German writers. See note 47. p. 661.

²⁵ *Præfat. ad Pact. Leg. Sal. Antiq.* ap. *Canc.* tom. ii. p. 13. -15.

²⁶ *Böttiger* (*Hist. of Sax.* vol. i. p. 10) thinks that the code entitled "*Lex Anglorum et Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum*," was the work of Dagobert I. *Eichhorn* (*Deutsch. Staats und Rechts Geschich.* vol. i. p. 338) gives solid reasons for believing that this collection was not completed before the reign of Charles the Great.

²⁷ "Hunsigoer Landrecht,"—Hunsigow is a district in the modern province of Gröningen. *Chron. Gotwic.* p. 640.

²⁸ The later collection was probably translated from this primitive code. The old German text however has undergone some changes, but fortunately not of a character to obscure or to disfigure the original matter. The couplets have indeed

doubt that this code is of a date prior to the triumph of Christianity, or the rise of any of those customs and institutions by which the original frame of Germanic society is now so much obscured. Yet even with the assistance of this venerable document, Tacitus still continues a very important guide. In comparing his work on Germany with the barbaric codes and earlier records, his intimate acquaintance with the most ancient forms of Germanic society becomes more and more conspicuous. The difficulty is to discriminate what was not known to him, or what time had superadded between his age and that of which we are now treating, from that which was subsequently engrafted upon the old Teutonic customs by the silent influence of the Roman and canon law, the innovations of the Christian priesthood, and the capitulary law of the Frankish kings.

In adverting to the operation of these laws upon property and its transmission, our attention must be chiefly directed to property in land. The wealth of every settled but rude and martial community consists almost wholly in land. And in this place we are constrained to notice a difference between the state of the nations settled upon the soil of ancient Germany, and of those who had now fixed themselves permanently upon the late territory of the Roman empire. The Frisians and Saxons in the north, the Thuringians in the centre, and the Alemanni and Bavarians in the south of Germany had indeed become a proprietary people about the same period that their expatriated kinsfolk completed their conquests, and possessed themselves of the lands of the vanquished. But under very different circumstances. In the older communities the title of every man to his land arose from pre-occupation, ancient possession, superior power, credit, or influence among the people. We have no intimation that the Frankish kings possessed any wide domain within the limits of ancient Germany, as in Gaul and the Cisrhenane provinces. This circumstance naturally operated to retard the introduction of the beneficiary tenure; and indeed the only species of property alluded to in any of the older barbaric codes is the *alodium*,²⁹ or absolute freehold, a term which in after-times came to be used in contradistinction

anterior to the introduction of Christianity.

Property in Land.

State of landed property among the Frisians, Saxons, Thuringians, Alemanni, and Bavarians.

The absence of fiscal or domain lands retards the introduction of the beneficiary tenure: all property in land is *Alodium*.

become intermingled with the glosses of later expositors; and by writing the couplet at length, and transferring the gloss to the text, it has assumed the shape of an ordinary digest. But in consequence of the rhyme and metre, it is no difficult matter to make out whole passages in the original rhythmical form. *Monë*, vol. ii. p. 73, note (68). See also the examples from "the decrees (Willküren) of the Brokmans;" *ibid.*, notes 69

and 70. The catalogue of crimes and offences is throughout these latter ordinances written in the ancient rhymed couplet.

²⁹ Modern research appears to have placed the true derivation and signification of this term beyond reasonable doubt. It is derived from the old Goth. *Aud* or *Od*, denoting property or possession, and *Al*, total, absolute, unrestricted: thus *Al-od* signifies absolute property, and in

to the more recent benefice or *feh* of the Franks, the original of the feudum or fief of the subsequent ages.

Gradual rise of
landed prop-
erty in Ger-
many,

to be ascribed
to the subsi-
dence of the
migratory
spirit.

They become
proprietary na-
tions about the
same period
that their ex-
patriated kins-

But though this element of feudality had not as yet found its way into the bosom of the older Germanic societies, yet property in land, which among the Germans of Cæsar and Tacitus was, upon the most liberal construction we can put upon the words of those writers, confined to the enclosed spaces around the rude hovels of the people,³⁰ was already fully established among the Thuringians, Alemanni, and Bavarians; and probably also among the Frisians and Saxons. The epoch of its introduction is not discernible; and from the nature of the subject it was not to be expected that it should be so. It was, in fact, an inevitable, but a very gradual, consequence of the subsidence of the migratory spirit. When the opportunity or the temptation to roving adventure was taken away by the full occupation of those happier lands to which the hopes and expectations of the Germans had been pointed for centuries, or towards which they had been propelled by external pressure, each individual who remained behind of necessity connected himself with some particular plot of ground which he might call his own, and regard as his home.³¹ The nations themselves were soon occupied in defending their respective territories against foreign enemies, and the combination requisite to defensive war was found altogether inconsistent with the free roving habits of their ancestors. Hence they became, though from a different cause, yet about the same period of time as the emigrant Teutonic races, settled proprietary nations. But in their hands this great interest retained its original and simplest form; there was no partition of conquered lands,

another form *Od-Al*, a man possessing property, a rich man; hence obliquely, a *nobleman*. Again, in the old high German we have *Uodil*, *Uodal*, prædium avitum. Ang. Sax. *æðel*. Old Northern *øðal*, perhaps obliquely, the estate or inheritance of a noble. *Grimm*, p. 492. *Meidinger*, in his Dictionary of Comparative Etymology, &c., observes that the terms *Ode*, *Öede*, *Ed*, are still found appended to particular properties or family-estates. Thus the hereditary estate of the family of Holzhausen near Frankfurlh on the Mayne is called to this day the *Oed* or *Oede*. The word *Allodium*, or *Alodium*, is used as antithetical to *Feudum*. *Canciani* (tom. iii. p. 33. note 2.) notices this. *Allod* (*Alod*), he observes, indicates the absolute or total, as *Feudum* (*Fehod*) does the stipendiary (or conditional) proprietorship; the meaning of the word *Feh* being *pay* or *stipend*. And this, he adds, was the original character of those benefi-

ciary estates, which in after-times were called *Feuds*, to indicate that they were given, as it were, as a fee or stipend for fealty and services. So also *Meidinger* in voce "*Feh*;" Old Germ. *Fee*, *Fehe*, *Fehu*, &c., Ang. Sax. *Feho*, *Fee*. Mod. Engl. *Fee*; all denoting reward or stipend.

³⁰ See the acute commentary of *Canciani* (tom. iii. p. 33, note 3.) upon the passage in *Cæsar* here alluded to, (*Comm. De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 22.*) and of *Tacitus* (*Germ. c. 22.*). He regards the *Allodia* as identical with the *Terra Salica*—the land appertaining to the *Sala*, dwelling, hall, mansion—of the Franks. It ought to be noticed that "*Salica*" here has no reference to the ancient name of the *Salian* Franks, which was derived from the river *Isala* or *Yssel*, upon which lay their earlier settlements. See also *Grimm*, pp. 492, 493.

³¹ Conf. chap. viii. sec. 3. p. 387 of this vol.

no appropriation of derelict or forfeited domain to kings and princes, no conditional grants of lands as rewards or retainers for service. The *alodium*, therefore, was the only kind of property with which these nations could ever have been conversant; and the only condition that was ever attached to the possession of land was the universal obligation of attendance upon the banner of the chief, and appearance at the general assemblies of the people, to which, in fact, every freeman was bound by his rank in society.

The *rule of inheritance* adopted by all the Teutonic nations was exceedingly simple. The general purport of the ordinances in all the codes in which the subject is mentioned³² is, "that as long as there are males in a family the females shall not inherit."³³ The law of the *Alemanni* ordains that the sons shall divide the lands of the father equally among them, and prohibits any one of them from alienating or disposing of his share until the division shall have taken place. But though the inheritance is strictly confined to males, wherever there are such, there is not in any of these laws the remotest allusion to primogeniture, or any preference in favour of one son more than another. If, however, a proprietor of land had children by several wives, each of them took, in addition to his equal share of the father's land, also that of his mother. If there were no male heirs the females took the inheritance; and as the barbaric codes are favourable to the direct line of descent,—sons, grandsons, and so forth,—the land must, by the failure of these, have very frequently fallen to daughters³⁴ or their offspring.

But though the land always went, in the first instance, to the male descendants, the entire moveables, money, furniture and domestic slaves,

folk obtained possession of the lands of the vanquished nations.

Rule of succession to the land—favours the males.

Females inherit in default of males,

The females divide the moveables,

³² It is not noticed at all in the short and rude code of the Frisians.

³³ *Lex Sal.* tit. lxii. § 6. *Canc.* ii. p. 105. *Lex Rip.* tit. lvi. § 4. *Ibid.* p. 310. *Lex Sax.* tit. vii. *Canc.* iii. p. 50, and note 1. the author. The law of the *Burgundians* was obviously the same, but there is no ordinance in the code specifically upon the point. *Sed conf.* tit. 62. 65. 74. 75, and particularly tit. 86, ap. *Canc.* tom. iv. p. 31—35. *Lex Alem.* tit. lxxxviii. *Canc.* ii. p. 343. *Lex Baju.* tit. xiv. c. 8. *Ibid.* p. 383.

³⁴ The persons inheriting are most commonly designated by the terms "*Filius*," and "*Filia*." The sixty-second title of the *Pact. Leg. Sal.* takes however a marked distinction between the common *Alodium* and the *Saal-land* (*Terra Salica*), or land appertaining to the principal

mansion—the curtilage around it. The latter appears to have gone to the heirs male exclusively, females being wholly excluded. On the other hand, however, it is clear, from the words of the law just cited, that, in default of sons, the ordinary outlying or detached *Alodia* descended to the daughters. Moreover, if we examine closely the words of the celebrated sixth clause, they seem to import that, after the extinction of the male line, the female could claim even the *Saal-land*. The law of the *Riparian Franks* (tit. lvi. p. 310) plainly implies as much; and our view is further confirmed by the ordinance of the *Angles* and *Werini* (tit. vi. § 8.) which takes the same distinction between the ordinary *Alodium* and the *Saal-land*, and yet directs that the principal mansion and curtilage shall descend in the paternal line to the

money, furniture, domestic slaves, &c.

were shared among the females. The law of the Angles and Werini however excepted the armour of the deceased out of the personalty, and gave it to the heir. For the law cast upon him the obligation of exacting blood-vengeance for the deaths of near relatives, and of discharging the composition for homicides committed by them.³⁵ Indeed the most superficial glance at the state of society in this age accounts sufficiently for the favour shown to male succession. The Thuringians, Frisians and Saxons acknowledged in its full extent the *faida* or right of redressing private injuries by force of arms.³⁶ In cases of homicide, deliberate murder, or assassination, whether committed by the hand, or by the procurement of another, every member of the family of the deceased was entitled to exact vengeance, and to pursue the offender to composition or to death. In such a state of things a female heir must have been wholly dependent upon her male relations for the protection of her person and her rights, and the latter would have been burthened with the defence of a property in which they had no interest, and from which they could derive no reciprocal benefit. Should the female heir be a minor, the case would be still harder; for then she might, when at full age, transfer herself and her lands to a stranger, and thus deprive her guardians and protectors of all equivalent for the expense and solicitude bestowed upon the maintenance of her interests during her non-age.

111. Laws against crimes.

Every man regards himself as the guardian of his own rights, and the redresser of his own wrongs; the law interferes to limit this right only by offering an alternative to the offending party.

III. In considering the state of these nations with respect to *crime* and the means made use of to redress or suppress them, we must offer a few general remarks upon the state of the laws of this period. Forasmuch as every man regarded himself as the guardian of his own rights, and of the rights of those most nearly connected with him by the ties of nature, the laws, so far from taking that right out of his hands, sought only to set some bounds to the unlimited exercise of private vengeance, by affording an alternative to the defendant, and by appealing to the interests of the pursuer against his passions.³⁷ In the next place we must notice that the southern nations of Germany had made greater advances in their attempts to limit this barbarous right, to define degrees of criminality, and apportion the compensations according to principles of natural jus-

fifth generation, "and then at length the inheritance shall pass *from the lance to the distaff*." *Canc.* tom. ii. pp. 105, 106, notes (1) and (2).

³⁵ *Lex Angl. &c.*, tit. vi. § 5. *Canc.* iii. p. 34. "Ad quemcunque hereditas terræ pervenerit, ad illum vestis bellica, id est, *lorica*, et *ultio proximi*, et *solutio leudis* debet pertinere." *Conf. Tac.* Germ. c. 21.

³⁶ *Lex Angl. &c.* loc. cit. *Lex Sax.* tit. ii. § 5. *Canc.* iii. p. 33. *Lex Fris.* tit. ii. § 2, 3, 5, 7, 8. *Ibid.* pp. 6, 7, 8.

³⁷ "Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum et pecorum numero, *quia periculosiores sunt inimicitie juxta libertatem*." *Tacit.* Germ. c. 21.

tice, than their northern fellow-countrymen. Lastly, we must remark, that the codes from which all our information is derived were promulgated in a much later age than that of which we are now treating;³⁸ and that they are here to be used only as evidence of a state of society antecedent to the triumph of Christianity, and prior to the final reduction of Germany by the Frankish princes of the Carlovingian family. It is productive of error to ascribe to one age a character and institutions belonging to another. This however it is in the present case difficult wholly to avoid, owing to the adulterations and mutilations which the primitive laws have obviously undergone in passing through the hands of later lawyers and compilers. Our attention will soon be turned to the important changes in the aspect of Germanic affairs, which the progress of conquest, and the republication of Christianity gave rise to during the course of the eighth century. And with this prospect before us we feel the importance of carefully avoiding to forestall the times, and to produce to view effects and results before the causes and occasions for them have as yet fully disclosed themselves.

1. It must be borne in mind, that in the early ages of German history the state was no more than an association of free warriors, having little of that abstract corporate character which is ascribed to it in all civilized communities. The state therefore undertook no duty which the individual member was competent to perform for himself.³⁹ When called upon to interfere with the boundless liberty of its members, it went no further than to establish prevalent usages upon the ground of positive precept. In this way the notion that all injuries might be commuted for money or other valuable consideration, became in process of time so familiar to the minds of men, that every head, from the prince down to the meanest serf, obtained its fixed money value. The penalty of death, which we find denounced by the laws of the Bavarians⁴⁰ against the murderer of a duke, is, no doubt, of later origin. Capital punishments were always exceedingly rare, and very few persons were ever punished at all in the name of the state, or by the authority of the body politic.⁴¹ The Alemanni estimated the wehrgeld for the loss of life

1. General notion of criminal legislation among the ancient Germans.

It is the universal principle of their laws that every injury to person and to property might be compensated in money or in goods.

Every person obtains his fixed value in money.

Wehrgeld estimated accord-

³⁸ See the sensible observations of *Pfister*, vol. i. p. 120. note (126) upon the ancient Alemannic and Bavarian laws. It is clear to this author that all which concerns the church, much that is connected with the forms of judicial proceeding, everything which regards the dependent relation of these duchies to the Frankish kingdom, must be set aside in considering the period antecedent to the introduction of Chris-

tianity, and their final union with the Austrasian division of that empire.

³⁹ Conf. chap. ii. sec. 2. p. 87, of this volume. Before money came into use, the compositions were paid in cattle.

⁴⁰ Tit. ii. c. 2. *Canc.* ii. p. 363.

⁴¹ *Pfister*, vol. i. p. 125. Conf. *Tac. Germ.* c. 7—11, and chap. ii. sec. 2. p. 87, of this volume.

ing to the rank of the sufferer. Injuries to property compounded for in the ratio of the rank of the owner and the value of the thing injured.

Injuries to women visited with a double composition.

2. Comparative progress of the northern and southern nations of Germany.

The southern nations less rude than the northern.

The laws of the southern Germans do not mention the Faída.

by the *rank* of the sufferer. Injuries to property were compensated in the compound ratio of the rank of the owner and of the value of the thing injured or destroyed. With respect to the rank of the sufferer the unit of computation seems to have been fixed at fifteen *solidi*. Thus, if a freeman was slain, the offender might compound the injury by the payment of nine *wehrgelds*, or nine times fifteen *solidi*, to the nearest relatives of the deceased.⁴² In all cases the life of a woman was valued at double that of a man.⁴³ "If," says the Bavarian code, "any injury be inflicted upon a woman, let the offender pay a twofold composition. And this composition let the woman accept, for that she is too weak to defend herself. But if by reason of her pride of heart she preferreth to fight, as doth a man, she shall not have the double, but only the single composition, as her brothers would have."⁴⁴

2. Although the list of crimes of ordinary occurrence among the southern Germans is not much less minute or revolting than that of the northern nations, yet it appears that the social habits of the Bavarians and Alemanni were upon the whole less rude than those of the Frisians, Saxons, and Thuringians. The absence of all mention of the *faída*, indicates, that in the southern regions of Germany the power of the law had gained upon the licence of barbarism. Again; the Alemannic law defines with extraordinary precision the great distinction between homicide and murder. Regarding premeditation as the essence of the latter crime, it imposes a single *wehrgeld* in cases of sudden provocation, or pursuit in hot blood. But if time has been taken for the heat of passion to subside; or, if cold-blooded deliberation has intervened between the provocation and the revenge, the offender is condemned to make ninefold composition.⁴⁵ The death-feud however necessarily implied the very species of premeditation and combination which imparted the character of murder to its immediate purpose and result: this ordinance therefore may be regarded as a strong legislative step towards the abrogation of a right which struck at the root of social

⁴² *Lex Alem.* tit. xlviii. *Canc.* ii. p. 334.

⁴³ *Lex Baju.* tit. iii. c. 13. *Ibid.* p. 396.

⁴⁴ The *Saxon law* (tit. ii. § 2. *Canc.* iii. p. 41) likewise imposes the double *Wehrgeld* upon injuries to women, if they be *virgins*; aliter, if they be married or debauched (*enixæ*). See *Canciani's* note ad loc.

⁴⁵ "If in a sudden allray one man slay another, and the slayer fly for it, and the friends (*pares*) of the deceased pursue him to his house,

and there kill him, let them pay a single *Wehrgeld* for him. But if they tarry upon the spot where the death took place, near the body of the deceased, and do not immediately pursue the slayer to his house, but first send round to the vicinage to assemble his friends, and withhold their arms; and afterwards pursue him to his house with force and arms, in hostile array, and there slay him, let the offenders pay nine *Wehrgelds*. *Lex Alem.* tit. lxx. *Ibid.* p. 332.

improvement.⁴⁶ The last difference we shall notice is more decisively in favour of the southern nations. Though the catalogue of offences to the person was not much more concise, yet the ordinances for the protection of property and moveables are both more numerous and more particular among the Bavarians and Alemanni than among the Frisians, the Saxons, and the Thuringians; a circumstance which indicates that there were more interests to protect,—more wealth in the community at large. The civil tribunals, or malli, were better organized; a variety of forms of proceeding occur in the codes of the Alemanni and Bavarians, none of which are to be found in the older laws of the northern Germans. The latter, indeed, appear to have been more indifferent to the public administration of justice; they relied more upon individual strength than upon the power of laws for protection and redress.

They make better provision for the protection of moveable property; from which it may be inferred that they were more wealthy than their northern countrymen.

Having pointed out these distinctions, we proceed to notice the state of crime and the modes of checking it among all these rude communities. We shall advert in the first place to *injuries to the person*; afterwards to those inflicted upon the *property* of the people.

3. The provisions against offences and injuries to the person constitute by far the most numerous class of ordinances in the codes of the northern Germans. We there find that murder, homicides, rapes, and fire-raising were common offences. Besides these, assaults of every kind, from a simple blow to the fracture of a skull, maimings, mutilations, cutting off of ears and noses, cutting out of tongues, striking out of teeth, broken bones, loss of limb—joint by joint,—even mere blemishes to the person are enumerated with pedantic minuteness, and compensation is decreed according to the estimated inconvenience or disability inflicted. Of the seventeen heads or titles of which the very ancient law of the Angles and Werini consists, ten relate solely to injuries by violence to the person. In the law of the Frisians, out of twenty-two original, and twelve additional articles, sixteen relate purely to wounds, blows, and mutilations.⁴⁷ Of the nineteen chapters, of which the old Saxon code consists, six of the longest and most elaborate are wholly, a seventh partially, taken up with the same subject. The proportion of ordinances against this class of offences in the whole Salian law,⁴⁸ as well as in those of the Alemanni

3. *Injuries to the person*: very numerous.

They are enumerated in the codes with great minuteness.

⁴⁶ The distinction between simple homicide and murder was undoubtedly known to the Frisians and Saxons. Among the former (tit. xx. *Canc.* iii. p. 19.) clandestine homicide incurred a ninefold Wehrgeld. So also among the Saxons (Tit. ii. § 6. *Ibid.* p. 43). But these latter ordinances seem to differ from that of the Alemanni, inasmuch as they are applicable only to one species of premeditated homicide, viz.

clandestine assassination. They do not appear to impose any restriction upon the Faida.

⁴⁷ See particularly tit. xxii. (*Canc.* iii. p. 20.) in which no less than eighty-nine kinds of personal injuries, some of them of the most disgusting description, are enumerated, with their appropriate compositions annexed.

⁴⁸ Twenty-one or twenty-two out of eighty articles.

and Bavarians, is undoubtedly large ; but the laws directed against theft, robbery, trespass and violence to property, personal as well as real, are much more numerous ; a circumstance which seems to indicate a more advanced and opulent stage of society.

The most ordinary crimes.

Blows upon the head.

Disfigurations.

Maimings.

Body-wounds.

False imprisonment, &c.

Kidnapping freemen into servitude.

Enticing away or forcible abduction of the serfs of others.

The nature of these injuries would form a curious chapter in the legal history of these primitive nations. We can only notice a few of them, with a view to impart some notion of the crimes of most frequent occurrence. The twenty-second title of the law of the Frisians affords the greatest variety for examination. Of blows inflicted upon the head eight degrees of violence and injury, from a box on the ear to a fracture of the skull, are enumerated each with its appropriate compensation, rising from a single solidus to twenty-four. The following fourteen articles relate to disfigurations of various kinds, such as cutting off noses, ears, eyelids, upper-lip, breaking the jaw, striking out an eye-tooth, a front-tooth, a double-tooth, and wounds of the throat ; the compositions varying from two to twenty-four solidi. Woundings of the arm, from the little finger to the shoulder-joint, are provided against in the twenty-two following articles, with penalties varying from one to forty-five solidi.⁴ These are again followed by a long list of body-wounds, such as emasculation, hurts to the chest, stomach, and belly ; injuries to the legs and feet, broken bones and flesh-wounds are visited with appropriate compositions. So likewise false imprisonment and indecent conduct towards females.⁵⁰

The pride of personal liberty does not seem to have inspired our Germanic ancestors with any very profound respect for that of others. In their settled condition they soon began to set a high price upon the possession of predial and domestic serfs. The value of the land itself depended wholly upon the number of the cultivators : no freeman deigned to put his hand to the plough, to exercise any handicraft, or submit to any kind of manual labour. Agricultural labourers therefore were exclusively taken from the class of non-freemen ; and to acquire them the lords of the soil had recourse to the expedients of trepanning freemen and free-women into servitude ; and of kidnapping, enticing away, or stealing the serfs of others.⁵¹ The apprehension and resentment which these offences excited is attested by the heavy compositions awarded for them.

⁴⁹ The composition for the loss of the little finger was six sol., the ring-finger eight sol., the middle finger six sol. and two tremisses, the index-finger seven sol., the thumb thirteen sol. and one tremissis.

⁵⁰ It ought to be noticed that in all these cases the sufferers as well as the wrongdoers are *freemen*. The composition for the same in-

juries inflicted upon an *Adeling* was one-third higher ; those for a *Litus* one half less. See Epilog. ad tit. xxii. *Canc.* iii. p. 23. Upon the subject of the above paragraph, conf. likewise *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxv. li. lxi. lxii. lxxv. p. 334—339.—*Lex Baju.* tit. iii. c. 1.

⁵¹ The offence of kidnapping a freeman or freewoman, and selling them into servitude, was

In so rude and turbulent a state of society, the chastity of women could not but be frequently exposed to outrage. Violations and abductions of virgins and matrons, committed alike by freemen and bondsmen, are frequently noticed. It is however an honourable feature in the history of our European civilization that its earliest dawn was gilded by some faint rays of the star of gallantry. The laws of the Bavarians and Alemanni exhibit a laudable solicitude in this respect, by extending to the weaker sex all the protection which, in such times, law could afford.⁵² The violation of women was visited with a composition equivalent to one-half the wehrgeld of a freeman; and even indecorous conduct towards females subjected the offender to severe amends. The law of the Frisians awards to the free virgin her whole wehrgeld;⁵³ that of the Angles and Werini gives two hundred solidi to the married freewoman; and if pregnant at the time, six hundred;⁵⁴ and that of the Saxons⁵⁵ gives three hundred solidi for the same injury.

Abduction of virgins and married women.

Rapes and indecorous conduct towards women.

With honourable attention to the claims of hospitality, the Bavarians provided a legal protection for the persons and property of strangers and wayfarers. The offences of selling a stranger into slavery, detaining him in bonds, or putting him to death, were visited by double compensation. Similar favour was shown to persons who exercised ornamental or useful arts. Thus, the laws of the Angles awarded a higher composition⁵⁶ for personal injuries to harpers, goldsmiths, and weavers, than for those inflicted upon other persons of the same condition. When the arts of life once begin to rise in public estimation, the advance affords a pretty good measure of the progress of a people towards civilization.

The Bavarians protect the persons and property of strangers and wayfarers.

The Angles and Werini give a higher composition for injuries to artists and handicraftsmen.

4. The barbaric codes afford throughout many curious glimpses of the mode of life, and the state of property among our Teutonic ancestors. For our present purpose it is sufficient to call to mind a few of the broadest features. Before the rise of cities and towns, every family of landowners resided by itself, and contained within itself all that was needful for its own maintenance, and for its defence against its enemies. We may picture to ourselves the rich valleys of the Danube, the Mayne,

4. Injuries to property.

State of property and inhabitancy.

fixed by the law of the Alemanni (tit. xlvi. *Canc.* ii. p. 334) at sixty sol. But if the robber was unable to restore his victim to liberty, he was adjudged to pay his whole Wehrgeld, or 160 sol. If a freewoman was sold out of the march (extra marcham), and could not be recovered, the composition was 400 sol. *Lex Alem.* tit. xlviii. *Ibid.*

⁵² *Lex Alem.* tit. lviii. *Canc.* ii. p. 337.—*Lex*

Bajuv. tit. vii. § 3 and 17. *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Lex Fris.* tit. ix. § 8.

⁵⁴ *Lex Angl. &c.*, tit. x. § 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.

⁵⁵ *Lex Sax.* tit. vi. § 3, and tit. x. § 1, 2. Specific compensations are also rewarded in all the last quoted codes for the loss of the parental or marital rights.

⁵⁶ "Quarta parte major." *Lex Anglor. &c.*, tit. v. § 20. *Canc.* iii. p. 33.

The Germans dwell in enclosed and fenced farms or villas. The curtis or enclosure; the sala; the scuria; the domus; the granium; the cellarium, &c.

An attack overt to the number of forty-two persons upon a curtis, incurs a penalty of forty solidi; destroying or burning any houses or barns incurs the penalty of rebuilding, and compensation according to the value of the building.

Personal property much exposed. Theft.

the Neckar, the Lech, and the Inn, studded with strong enclosures, fenced around with mounds of earth or sods, and strengthened with stakes and palisades, as an exterior defence against that violence which all were equally prompt to repel and to inflict; the space within occupied by isolated buildings of wood roofed with shingles; the *sala*, great hall,⁵⁷ or usual place of meeting for the whole family; the *domus*, or dwelling-rooms; the *scuria*,⁵⁸ or great barn; the *grania*, or granary; the *cellaria*, or store-rooms; with folds for cattle, hovels for the serfs of the estate, and sheds for the agricultural implements of the inmates; a mode of settling the land which strongly marks the transition-state from the rude huts of the ancient Germans⁵⁹ to the town or feudal castle of a later age. The primitive German, we are told, was in the habit of abandoning his inartificial dwelling, and concealing his effects, at the approach of an enemy stronger than himself. The Bavarian and Swabian of the eighth century was prepared to defend his homestead against any sudden attack, and to throw himself upon the community for the redress of those injuries which he was unable to avenge by the strength of his own arm. Thus an attack overt to the number of forty-two or more armed persons, upon a predial establishment,—or, as it was called in the Latin of the age, “*villa*,”—of this kind, was visited by the Bavarian law with a penalty of forty solidi, if a single hostile arrow only fell within the enclosure.⁶⁰ If upon such occasions any of the buildings were burnt or demolished by the assailants, the wrong-doer was adjudged to restore the premises to their previous condition, and to pay besides a compensation for each separate building, according to its dignity;—for the house or the hall, forty solidi; for the barn, the granary, or the store-house, twelve solidi, and so on in the descending scale of estimation down to the hut, the shed, and the fold.⁶¹

At this stage of civilization property of all kinds was of necessity much exposed, and the poverty and predatory habits of all classes increased the danger. Theft was, in fact, an offence committed alike by all conditions, from the noble to the serf.⁶² Burnings, abductions, kidnapping

⁵⁷ Germ. “*Saale*.”

⁵⁸ Germ. “*Scheuer*.”

⁵⁹ *Tac.* Germ. c. 16.

⁶⁰ *Lex Baju.* tit. iii. c. 8. “*De hostilitate cinctis*.” *Canc.* ii. p. 369. It was probably thought that a less number than forty-two could not seriously endanger a tolerably well secured or defended “*Curtis*.” This might afford some estimate of the strength of these enclosures, and the numerical force the owners could muster for their defence.

⁶¹ *Lex Alem.* tit. lxxxi. p. 341; against nocturnal incendiaries. *Lex Baju.* tit. ix. c. 1. to 4. p. 377, provides for various cases of arson, and wilful destruction of villas, houses, and out-houses.

⁶² Thus among the Frisians: “*Si nobilis dicitur furtum quodlibet perpetrasse, &c.*” *Lex Fris.* tit. iii. § 1. *Si liber furti arguatur, &c.* *Ibid.* tit. iii. § 3. So theft by a *litus*, § 4, by a *serf*, § 5. Again in the *Lex Sax.* tit. iv. § 8, we find the *fredum* for theft assessed at twelve

of freemen into slavery, stealing and carrying away the serfs of another, were common offences.⁶³ The produce of the soil, farming stock, household furniture, and implements of husbandry, constituted the whole wealth of the landholder. Flocks of sheep and goats, herds of horned cattle, horses, and swine, were the most exposed portion of this property; and the herdsman or shepherd who had the charge of them, while they pastured at large beyond the protection of the court, in the common fields, or in the vast forests with which the land was still covered, were required to be persons of approved skill, fidelity, and courage. A strong and sagacious race of dogs was trained to trace the robber to his haunt, and to spread the alarm from court to court at the approach of an enemy. Another powerful and generous breed, accustomed to grapple with the wolf, the wild urus, or the bear, accompanied the shepherd and the herdsman to the field and the forest. A third species was kept to guard the court of the lord and the outlying hovel of the serf, and to warn the inmates against the midnight marauder, the spiteful incendiary, or the skulking thief.⁶⁴ The preservation of these useful and faithful domestics was regarded as a national concern of considerable moment. The destruction of any of the enumerated species incurred a penalty of double the value to the owner; while the murder of a shepherd or herdsman was visited by a twofold composition to the lord.

Flocks and herds.

Dogs.

Dogs protected by heavy compensations.

The laws of the Bavarians withdraw the protection of the wehrgeld from the nocturnal robber, and permit him to be slain with impunity.⁶⁵ They inflict compositions for stealing from the necks of the cattle the bells by which the herd was kept together and the attention of the herdsman directed to the widest rangers.⁶⁶ They make a further step in advance of their contemporaries, by noticing receivers of stolen goods, and prohibiting private compositions for offences, whereby delinquents might be withdrawn from public animadversion.⁶⁷ We might also notice

The law of the Bavarians takes away the protection of wehrgeld from the nocturnal robber; it notices receivers of stolen goods, and prohibits the composition of some kinds of offences.

sol. for a noble, six for an ordinary freeman, and four for a litus. Conf. *Canc.* iii. p. 47, note 3.

⁶³ *Lex Anglor.* tit. vii. viii. x.—*Lex Sax.* tit. v. x.—*Lex Fris.* tit. vii. ix.

⁶⁴ The various breeds of dogs most in repute are enumerated in the laws of the Alemauni. The first is the "Canis pastoralis qui lupum mordet" (tit. lxxxii.); the next in order are the "Canis qui curtem defendit" (*ibid.*); the "Canis porcaritius" (*ibid.*); the "Canis qui hominem sequentem ducit," evidently the bloodhound; the "Canis qui ad clamorem ad aliam vel ad tertiam villam currit" (*ibid.*); the "Canis ursarius," &c. In the Bavarian law, (tit. xix. "De Canibus") we find the breeds designated by the

vernacular names. Thus we have the *Leitehund* (probably the shepherd's dog); the *Treibhund* (the cattle-dog); the *Spürhund* (tracking dog) (bloodhound?); the *Biberhund* (beaver dog); the *Hapikhund* (habichthund, hawking dog); also bear, bison, and urus hounds, trained to pursue the larger kinds of game called "schwartz-wild" or black venison; the *Hauswarth* (house-guard) and shepherd's dogs.

⁶⁵ *Lex Baju.* tit. viii. § 5. p. 375.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* tit. viii. § 11. p. 376. Conf. *Lex Alem.* tit. lxxv. "Taurus qui gregem ducit." The leaders of the herd wore the bells.

⁶⁷ Besides the protections for hounds and sporting dogs already enumerated, we find pro-

here the greater particularity of the Salian and Ripuarian laws against violations of personal property. Enough, however, has been adduced to show the extreme insecurity of every species of property, and the very inartificial character of the means adopted for its protection. The laws, it is obvious, were mere expedients to provide compensations for injuries done, not to punish the wrong-doer, or repress the evil mind which produces crime. And this, we think, will appear still more distinctly in the remarks we now submit to the reader relative to the constitution of the courts, and the forms of administering justice.

IV. *Constitution of the courts of law, and forms of administering justice among the Germanic nations.*

The district is divided into gaus or cantons, these into hundreds, and these again into tythings. The gau-graff the judge of the canton-court; the zend-graff of the hundred-court. Character of these courts.

IV. In this branch of our statement we must still bear in mind that though in the south a few feeble remnants of the old Roman colonies⁶³ may still have subsisted, yet in the whole of northern Germany there was neither city nor town. The great body of the population was dispersed in single families, each living within its own curtilage or enclosure, and containing in itself all that was needful for maintenance and defence. The laws accommodated themselves to this state of inhabitaney. The district occupied by a particular set of families or predial establishments was denominated a pagus or gau.⁶⁹ Each of these gaus was subdivided into hundreds or marches;⁷⁰ and these again into tenths or tythings,⁷¹ names which no doubt originally denoted the precise number of one hundred, and of ten families. Each gau, or as it is frequently called "province," and "comitatus," was superintended by a gau-graff (comes pagensis); each hundred or march by a zend or zehend-graff⁷² (comes centenarius). The first of these officers presided in the court of the canton, the latter in that of the hundred.

In modern times we are accustomed to regard our tribunals as assemblies wholly set apart for the punishment of crime and the authoritative settlement of civil suits. In England and in France these tribunals consist of judges and juries and executive officers, who have no other func-

hibitions against killing or stealing deer, bears, wild cattle; even storks, ravens, crows, cranes, and herons. *Lex Baju.* tit. xx. and *Lex Alem.* tit. xcix. The laws here quoted, confirmed by tit. xlii. of the *Lex Ripuar.*, and tit. xxxvi. of the *Lex Sal. Antiq.*, indicate pretty clearly the origin of forest and game laws. As yet however the prohibitions of venery seem to have been confined to the killing venison or game upon enclosed or appropriated lands—not on commons or in forests.

⁶⁸ Such, for instance, as the ancient Augusta Vindelicorum and Augusta Rauracorum; and a few other inconsiderable places upon the right

bank of the Rhine.

⁶⁹ As in the age of *Tacitus* (Germ. c. 6.).

⁷⁰ "Centini" and "Marchæ." *Grimm*, p. 496.—*Chron. Gotwic.* lib. iv. p. 531.

⁷¹ "Decania," loc. mod. cit. The minor divisions subsisted among the more northern nations, as well as among the Lombards and Visigoths. *Canc.* ii. p. 363. note 1. The Alemanni do not appear to have descended lower than the Hundred. See *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxvi. § 1. p. 331.

⁷² So called from there having been originally ten hundreds in the Gau.

tion, and whose authority is derived from the crown, the court itself, or the law of the land. But among the ancient Germanic nations the prevalent idea of a court of justice was that of a popular deliberative assembly or "concilium." These councils, so far from being restricted to matters merely judicial, deliberated in the first instance upon all the public affairs of the gau, the march, or the vicinage; questions of general interest always took the precedence of mere private disputes or complaints; and it was not till all public matters had been disposed of that the assembly proceeded to hear and determine suits, and to adjudge compensations for injuries. The council of the canton or hundred consisted of the assembled freemen of the district; the freemen formed the body and the substance of the tribunal; the deliberation and the decision proceeded from them; and the graff probably did no more than enforce the process, record the suffrages, and pronounce the judgment.

They are more political than judicial assemblies. Public business takes precedence of private suits.

The freemen of the district form the body of the assembly; the graff is no more than the president.

All legal proceedings before these courts bore the character of civil suits. Where there was no complainant there was no court and no judge. Every man's cause, though it involved the murder of a wife or a child, the most wanton and malicious destruction of his property, or the most sensible injury to his person and honour, was left in his own hands; as in the earliest ages, so now,⁷³ the public took no ex officio notice of crimes; and the law was a mere rule to guide the course of justice when once set in motion by the act of the suitor; and even then the judgment extended only to compensation, and a fine to the graff, or the king,⁷⁴ in certain specified cases of criminality. The court undertook to do nothing that the parties were willing to do for themselves; and thus it happened that it was customary to permit the suitors, whether in civil or criminal charges, to speak to one another in open court, and there to determine their differences by amicable agreement, or to withdraw the cause altogether from the cognizance of the assembly, and refer it to arbitrators for settlement elsewhere.⁷⁵

Justice must be set in motion by the act of the injured party; where there is no complaint there is no court and no judge.

The mallum,⁷⁶ or general assembly of the canton, met at intervals of

The mallum, or general assembly.

Conf. chap. ii. sec. 2. p. 87.

⁷⁴ The "fredum." The *fredum* may be defined to have been a composition paid by the party to the graff, the duke or the king, for his indemnity and protection against further prosecution or disturbance on the part of the plaintiff. The word is the Latin form of the Teutonic "friede," peace or security. This fredum was afterwards claimed by the kings, even in cases of theft, upon the ground that larceny implied a breach of the peace: it was no doubt sometimes a mode of obtaining the favour of the presiding magistrate; and accordingly we find the *Lex Ripuar.* (tit. lxxxix. *Canc.* ii. p. 320) prohibiting the

acceptance of the fredum before compensation made to the plaintiff. This law is indeed of a late date, but it points distinctly enough to the original object of the "fredum."

⁷⁵ *Grimm.* p. 745.

⁷⁶ "Mallum. Goth. *Maþl.* (*ἀγορά*); Ang. Sax. *Meþel* (sermo, concio); Old High Germ. *Madal*; Old Northern, *Mål*. In the Old High Germ. a court was also called a *Sprâhhûs* (Sprach-haus); in Ang. Sax. *Gemote*, from *gemōtan*, accurrere, convenire. So also O. H. G. *Huarap*; O. Sax. *Huarab*, conventus, the place where the people met,—where public business was transacted,—a place through which a high-

bly of the canton or hundred, meets at intervals of fourteen or seven nights.

The graff presides. The graffs are chosen from among the nobility,

and their presence is essential to the validity of the court.

Mode of proceeding. Process to bring the defendant into court by distress and pledges.

seven nights when the district was in a disturbed state, or of fourteen nights⁷⁷ when nothing had occurred to render more frequent meetings necessary. The place chosen was always some public and frequented spot, hallowed by tradition, or marked out by its central or convenient position. The presidency was exercised by the gau-graff or the zend-graff. These dignitaries were of the order of nobility. In their heathen state the priests of the gods possessed great influence in the public assembly.⁷⁸ Under their presidency the gau-graff and zend-graff was elected;⁷⁹ the choice always fell upon Adelings; and to this estate the duty of presiding at the general assemblies and pronouncing its decrees had been delegated from time immemorial. To them likewise the sacerdotal office belonged; they conducted the public sacrifices; and inasmuch as every convention or mallum was opened with a sacrifice, the presence of the adeling and the priest was essential to impart the sanction of law to the meeting.⁸⁰ The zend-graff, or president of the hundred court, was an officer of inferior dignity. In the chartularies he is frequently called Scultetus, or Schultheiss; and he was in general subordinate to the gau-graff.⁸¹

When any freeman believed he had good ground to implead another,⁸² he applied at the first mallum for a process of compulsion to bring his opponent into court⁸³ to answer a particular complaint, or any other suit which might be preferred against him. At the next mallum the defendant appeared; he named his "conjuratores," or purifiers, and gave his

road ran. So likewise the word *Placitum* among the Franks denoted the assembly of the Canton or Hundred, as well as the suit. Thus in the *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxvi. "*Placitum*" is used for "conventus;" and in tit. xxxvii. § 4. we have the words "*Quod complacuit eunctis Alemannis.*" Hence the Fr. word *Plaid*, the Flemish *Pleid*, and our *Plea*. Conf. *Grimm*, p. 746—748.

⁷⁷ The Germans continued still, as in the days of Tacitus, to number intervals of time by nights. "*Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condecunt. Nox ducere diem videtur.*" Germ. c. 11. —*Cæsar* De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 5. See also *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxvi. p. 331, and *Lex Baju.* tit. ii. c. 15. p. 366.

⁷⁸ Tac. Germ. c. 11. "*Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur.*" This has been construed into a species of presidency.

⁷⁹ Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Tac. Germ. c. 12.

⁸⁰ *Grimm*, p. 753. This profound writer observes, that among the Northmen (Swedes and Danes) the president of the Mâl was called "Godi;" a term which answers to the Visigothic "Gudja"; and so in the *Lex Visig.* (tit. ii. 1—23.) "*Si judex vel sacerdos (Gudja) reperti fuerint nequiter judicasse, &c.*" The Pagan Godi of the Northmen exercised the threefold office of guarding the places of worship (Hof-Godi), superintending the service of the Gods, and presiding at the Mâl. He likewise proclaimed the meeting, named the judges, and performed several other public duties.

⁸¹ *Grimm*, p. 755. But I do not find this subordination recognized in the laws of the Bavarians and Alemanni. Schultheiss or Schultz is to this day, or was till very lately, the designation of the petty magistrate of a village or small district; and in the more ancient times the name is sometimes applied to the decani or tything-men (Aug. Sax.) Ibid. 756.

⁸² "*Alium mullare.*" *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxvi. § 3.

⁸³ "*Ut cum distringat.*"

pledge to the missus, or deputy of the gau-graff, or to the zend-graff,—if impleaded in the court of the latter,—to proceed to a hearing at the next mallum, or to swear off with his conjuratores, or to make compensation. If he failed to fulfil his recognizance, his pledges were forfeited, and he was adjudged to pay a fine or “fredum” of sixty solidi to the prince or the king. If a cause could not be fully heard and decided at one mallum, it might be adjourned to the next, and so on from court-day to court-day, till it was ripe for judgment. The president of the mallum was invested with power to compel the attendance of the parties, and probably also of the witnesses, by every means short of personal coercion. The execution of the judgment was the only part of the suit which the public appears to have taken upon itself; all the intermediate steps were carried through by the power, and at the peril of the graff himself, and of those over whom he might have influence enough to prevail upon to assist him.⁸⁴

Causes might be adjourned from one mallum to another.

From the age of Chlodwig to that of Charles Martel the Alemanni and Bavarians are very little noticed by the Frankish annalists. But from the mention which occurs of them, however defective, it appears that both nations had been treated rather as dependencies than as integral portions of the kingdom. A succession of dukes is indicated; but few names are mentioned. Of the nature of the government still less is known; and all that can be collected of their history consists of a few incidental hints in Paul Warnefrid; and in the lives of the canonized missionaries, who devoted themselves to the propagation of Christianity in those countries.

Dukes of the Alemanni and Bavarians from the age of Chlodwig to that of Charles Martel.

I. The first names on record with the title of dukes of the Alemanni attached to them are those of Butelin and Leuthar, the leaders of the ill-fated expedition of Theudebald into Italy. A duke, named Leudefrid, was forcibly deposed by Childebert II.,⁸⁵ and a certain Uncilinus was appointed in his place; but of this person no further notice is taken. In the reign of Dagobert, a duke named Chrodobert, Rotbert, or Robert, occurs as the leader of the Alemannic forces in the unfortunate campaign against the Sclavic king Samo.⁸⁶ A second Leuthar is named in the reign of Sigibert III. as duke of Alemannia. At some distance of time this Leuthar is followed by Gotfried, and the latter immediately by Willichar.⁸⁷ It is

Dukes of the Alemanni, Butelin and Leuthar; A. D. 554. Leudefrid and Uncilinus;

Robert; A. D. 641. A. D. 709. Leuthar II.;

Gotfried; Willichar;

⁸⁴ *Lex Baju.* tit. ii. cc. 15—19. But it is extremely difficult in this part of the subject to distinguish the earlier from the later laws. The primitive form of proceeding in the Germanic “mallum” cannot now be discerned with any

sufficient degree of certainty.

⁸⁵ *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 8. p. 418.

⁸⁶ See chap. xi. sec. 3. p. 706 of this volume.

⁸⁷ *Ann. Nazar.* ap. *Pertz.* vol. i. p. 23.

Theodobald
and Nebus.

known that Gotfried left two sons at least, named Theodobald and Nebus,⁸⁸ both of whom are designated as dukes of the Alemanni;⁸⁹ and though Willichar is not said to have been a son of Gotfried, there is considerable probability that he was so; and thus we should have three reigning dukes of Alemannia at the same period, the issue of the same family.⁹⁰

The ducal dig-
nity among
the Alemanni,
a divisible in-
heritance.

The law of the Alemanni, though the clauses applicable to the ducal dignity⁹¹ are obviously of a later date, favours the opinion that the dukedom was a divisible inheritance in the same sense and form as the Frankish kingdom itself,⁹² and standing in conformity with the general law of succession to land among the Teutonic races. Changes in this particular were no doubt introduced when the relation of dependency upon the Frankish empire was fully established, and when the rights and interests of the superior began to clash with the pretensions of the ruling duke and his heirs.⁹³ But our remark applies to a prior period; a period in which we have nothing to guide us but those strong analogies which are often almost as convincing as direct testimony.

⁸⁸ According to *Theganus*, c. 2., the grandfather of St. Hildegardis, the wife of Charles the Great.

⁸⁹ *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. pp. 316, 334, 356.

⁹⁰ It should also be remembered that Leuthar and Butelin themselves were *brothers*.

⁹¹ *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxv. *Canc.* ii. p. 330. The mention of *the king* (Regis scil. Francorum) is more modern; subsequent at least to the Frankish conquest by Theuderich, if not later.

⁹² In the last quoted law it is enacted that if a son of the duke rebel against his father, and endeavour to oust him of his duchy, he shall lose his share "*de hereditate paternâ*;" and the same "*hereditas paterna*" shall in that case go to the other brothers: in substance, it was to be divided among them as any other inheritance. If however there were no other sons, the rebel was to forfeit the whole "*hereditas*" to the king. (§ 3.) In this passage the word "*hereditas*" must mean the *ducal dignity*; therefore also in the prior paragraph (§ 2.); for it would be a strange supposition that the same word in different paragraphs of the same law were used in different senses; *i.e.* in the former to denote alodium or other heritable property in the possession of the duke, in the latter the ducal office and dignity itself. Besides, alodia could not by any law be forfeited for offences or crimes; at least not in the earlier ages. It may

also be observed that the neighbouring duchy of Bavaria was unquestionably inheritable in a particular family; and, that it was divisible in the same way as the Frankish kingdom is almost equally clear. It has always struck me that there was a strong tendency among the ancient Germans to bring the ruling power and the land under the same rule of legal distribution. The possession of the land in fact alone imparted the power necessary to hold the reins of government; and the two ideas became in time so intimately associated in their minds, that they were unable to make the distinction between the *inheritance of land* and the inheritance of *power*, whenever both had been for any length of time vested in the same hands, or a casual descent of both to the same person had once sanctioned the notion. To this prepossession we might perhaps trace the early tendency of benefices to become hereditary. Power was property, where no property could be held or defended without it. Men could not part with what they had once possessed without endangering all that was left. Hence the eager haste with which the sons proceeded to possess themselves of what their fathers had held; hence likewise the hardship of dispossessing them, and the general prejudice which facilitated the resistance almost always encountered in the attempt.

⁹³ Compare *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxv. with *Lex Baju.* tit. ii. c. ix. x. (*Canc.* ii. p. 365), and the note (1.) and (2.) of the editor.

Of the government of the Alemanni we know little more than that the ruling power was vested in the duke, but that power is very indirectly alluded to in their laws. It appears, however, that the life of the duke was protected by the penalties of banishment and heavy composition.⁹⁴ Subordination and obedience to his lawful commands,⁹⁵ respect for his property,⁹⁶ reverence for his court and person,⁹⁷ are particularly enforced. If any man slew another within the duke's court, or in going to and coming from his presence, or if he merely wounded, ill-treated, or assaulted him, he was compelled to pay a treble composition for the injury done. The same penalty was imposed upon those who slew, wounded, assaulted, or obstructed persons going to or coming from the court of the graff.⁹⁸ A similar protection was provided for those who travelled upon the duke's errand,⁹⁹ as well as for his emissaries, servants, and attendants. The duke was regarded as the fountain of justice; and none but persons appointed by him, and approved of by the freemen, were permitted to hear causes or decide legal controversies.¹⁰⁰ The introduction of a public enemy into the country was visited, in conformity with the ancient practice of the Germans,¹⁰¹ with death or banishment at the option of the duke.¹⁰²

The ruling power is vested in the duke. His person is protected by heavy compositions and penalties. Respect for his lawful authority is ensured by the same means:

so likewise for his servants and emissaries.

II. The position of the Bavarian dukedom, with relation to the dominant realm, differed in some respects from that of the Alemanni. The proximity of the latter to the Frankish frontier exposed them to more frequent interference; the Alemannic nobles frequently visited the court, and their dukes appear to have accepted the honours and the offices of the state. But there is not in the Frankish annalists an instance of any Bavarian in the employ of the Franks, or any mention, even of a single Bavarian name, prior to that of duke Garibald towards the close of the sixth century.¹⁰³ At that epoch Bavaria was subdued by the lieutenants

There is very little connexion between the Franks and Bavarians from the reign of Childebert II. to that of Charles Martel.

A. D. 585
to
A. D. 588.

⁹⁴ The laws (*Lex Alem.* tit. xxiv. p. 329) do not contemplate the actual murder of the duke, but only conspiracy against his life, which is punishable either with death or a composition, the amount of which was to be determined by the duke, and the "principes populi." The capital part I believe to be of later introduction. But if this was the *old* law, I think the option was with the accuser, and not with the court. Thus it was in the laws of our Alfred. *Leg. Elfridi*, § 4. ap. *Canc.* tom. iv. p. 247. "Among the Anglo-Saxons, says *Canciani* (ii. p. 329, note 1.), the head of the king himself had its price; and that not an arbitrary one, but fixed by law, as frequently appears in their laws. From which it seems we may infer that by the most ancient

laws of the Barbarians, crimes against the life of the prince himself might be compounded by a determinate money payment."

⁹⁵ *Lex Alem.* tit. xxviii.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* tit. xxxii. and xxxiv.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* tit. xxix. xxxi.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* tit. xxix.

⁹⁹ The "Missi ducis," his executive officers and representatives.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* tit. xli. § 1.—a provision against intrusive judges, not against voluntary arbitration.

¹⁰¹ *Tac. Germ.* c. 12. "*Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt.*"

¹⁰² *Ibid.* tit. xxv.

¹⁰³ Chap. xi. sec. 5. p. 643 of this volume.

of Childebert II., and Tassilo, another scion of the Agilolfingian stock, was placed upon the ducal throne.¹⁰⁴ After that event the same estrangement continued to subsist. A century and a quarter elapses without any sensible traces of political connexion; and for aught we can perceive, the Bavarians and the Franks might have been ignorant of each other's existence, but for the more frequent communications of religion, which took place in the latter half of the seventh century.¹⁰⁵

A.D. 591.
Bavarian
dukes.

Tassilo I.
is brought into
connexion with
the Lombards.

A.D. 598.
Garibald II.

Under Gari-
bald the con-
nexion with
the Lombards
is cemented by
danger from
common ene-
mies.

Very soon after the conclusion of the treaty of peace which terminated the long and sanguinary contest between the Franks and the Lombards for the possession of Italy, a very few years therefore subsequent to the elevation of Tassilo I. to the dukedom of Bavaria, the Sclavi of Carinthia assailed the duchy, and furnished employment for the arms of Tassilo; while a second horde invaded the Lombard province of Histria, and threatened Friuli, at that time governed by the Lombard duke Gisulf.¹⁰⁶ This common danger tended to bring the Bavarians and Lombards into communication with each other. About the year 598¹⁰⁷ Tassilo was succeeded by his son Garibald II., who married a daughter of duke Gisulf. Not long afterwards Garibald suffered a severe defeat from the chief of the Carinthian Sclavi; and his father-in-law Gisulf was overthrown and slain in battle by the khan of the Pannonian Avárs.¹⁰⁸ Both nations felt the importance of a good understanding for mutual defence against these formidable enemies; and the bonds of amity which were then cemented lasted, with one unimportant exception, unbroken, till the extinction of the national independence of both.

Theodo I. and
Theodo II.
St. Emmeramm
combats pa-
ganism and
labours to era-

The chronology of the ensuing age of the Bavarian history is extremely uncertain. The date of the death of Garibald II. cannot be clearly ascertained.¹⁰⁹ Prior to the year 713 we meet with two dukes named Theodo, who have been arbitrarily designated as Theodo I. and II.¹¹⁰ During the reign of the first of these princes, Emmeramm, a Gallic missionary monk, said to have been a bishop of Poitou,¹¹¹ laboured to eradicate the heresies and superstitions which had almost obliterated every vestige of

¹⁰⁴ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 7. p. 455.

¹⁰⁵ This ignorance of each other is inferred from the almost total silence of Gregory of Tours and Fredegar. Paul Warnefrid lived two centuries later, but even he has only been able to glean a few circumstances arising out of the connexion of the Bavarians with his countrymen the Longobardi.

¹⁰⁶ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 38. p. 465.—*S. Greg. Mag. Ep.* lib. viii. Ep. 36.

¹⁰⁷ *Adlzreiter*, *Ann. Boi. gent.* § 21. p. 141.

¹⁰⁸ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 38. p. 466.

¹⁰⁹ *Adlzreiter*, loc. cit., dates it in 616; but he does so, as it seems to me, only to make way for that long ideal succession of princes with which he adorns the annals of his native country. His chronology is utterly at variance with that of *Eckhart*, *Muratori*, *Pagi*, *Masou*, and the *Art de vér. les Dates*.

¹¹⁰ *Adlzreiter* (*Ann. Boi. gent. Pars I. lib. vii.*) introduces no less than five Theodos.

¹¹¹ *Basnage* ap. *Canis. Lect. Ant. tom. iii.* p. 87.

Christianity from the land.¹¹² But the zeal of the preacher outran his discretion, and he fell a victim to a suspicious interference in the family affairs of the reigning prince.¹¹³ Emmeramm had taken up his abode at Ratisbon, which, under the Roman empire, had been an episcopal see. His successor, Gaubald, is said to have been the first metropolitan bishop of that city. The localizing of the rural bishops was one of the first steps towards the restoration of the decayed towns and cities of Germany; and it is not improbable that this step was taken by Emmeramm, or his fellow-labourer, Gaubald.¹¹⁴ Theodo I. regretted the act which has introduced the name of Emmeramm into the Roman calendar, and piously founded a church at Ratisbon in honour of the martyr.

dicare heresy
in Bavaria.

A.D. 652.

or
A. D. 672.

Gaubald, the
successor of
Emmeramm,
founds the me-
tropolitan see
of Ratisbon.

This prince is supposed to have died about the year 680. His reign must have been long. At one period it was much disturbed by the inroads of the neighbouring Sclavi of Carinthia, and by the Avârs of Pannonia and Austria. The frontier territories had been totally wasted. The banks of the river Ens formed the boundary; and that beautiful district, once abounding with cities and towns, and renowned for its rich and cultivated aspect, had become overspread with imper-vious thickets, the haunt of wild beasts, and the lurking-place of the pre-datory Hun.¹¹⁵

A.D. 680.
The frontier of
Bavaria is laid
desolate by the
inroads of the
Sclavi and
Avars.

This Theodo was succeeded by a prince of the same name.¹¹⁶ The new duke had married a Frankish princess named Reginotrudis. This lady obtained great power over her husband. By her invitation Ruodbert, or Rupert, a zealous Frankish missionary, preached a reformation of doctrine and discipline to the Bavarian churches. He was aided by the monks Vitalis and Eustasius, and a company of twelve missionary priests, whom he had selected for the good work. For his metropolitan see he chose the city of Salzburg, which had lain in ruins since its destruction by the Heruli at the close of the fifth century.¹¹⁷ This city was gradually restored and adorned with sacred buildings. Monasteries, nunneries, and cells sprung up around the mother-church; agriculture once more prospered: the mines of salt and metal with which that rich and varied district abounds were again wrought; and

Theodo II.
A.D. 680.
Rupert, Vita-
lis, and Eusta-
sius, preach a
reformation of
doctrine and
discipline in
the Bavarian
churches.
Rupert founds
the metropo-
litan see of
Salzburg.

¹¹² *Vit. S. Emmeram.* ab Arnolf. *Canis*, loc. cit. p. 105.

¹¹³ In the abundance of his charity he is said to have taken upon himself the paternity of a child, of which a princess of the royal family, and his penitent, was pregnant. No time was allowed for explanation, and with this base coin the pious missionary purchased the crown of martyrdom. He was beaten to death by the brother of the princess. See *Vit. S. Emmeram.*

loc. mod. cit. *Eckhart* (Fr. Orient. tom. i. p. 261) dates the death of Emmeramm in 672; the *Art de vér.*, &c. in 652.

¹¹⁴ The Frankish churches had both metropolitan and rural bishops; the latter without see or cathedral church.

¹¹⁵ *Vit. S. Emm.* loc. cit. p. 95.

¹¹⁶ Not a son.

¹¹⁷ Chap. ix. sect. 3. p. 472 of this volume.

Rupert became the temporal, no less than the spiritual benefactor, of the beautiful land he had selected for his abode.¹¹⁸

The restoration of the ancient city of Salzburg illustrates the name of Rupert.

The restoration of Salzburg, the ancient Juvavum, would cast a lustre upon the name of Rupert, even if his conduct could pretend to no greater praise than that we may award to his predecessor Emmeramm. But his arduous and successful labours in weeding out the pernicious and brutifying superstitions to which the Bavarians were addicted, and in affording asylums and rallying points for all that remained of the purer Christianity of former ages, must strengthen his claim to a grateful remembrance. He lived to see the commencement of the eighth century.¹¹⁹

A. D. 712. Theodo II. interferes in the affairs of the Lombards, and restores Ansprand to the throne of Lombardy.

Theodo II. for many years kept up a friendly intercourse with the Lombards. He entertained the exiled king Ansprand at his court, and in the year 712 assisted to restore him to his throne. Luitprand, the celebrated son and successor of Ansprand, married Gertruda, the daughter of this Theodo.¹²⁰ A short interruption of these amicable relations took place soon afterwards. Luitprand invaded the Tyrol, and took several Bavarian castles in the bordering mountains. Peace was however soon restored; accelerated, perhaps, by the threatening movements of the Sclavi against duke Pemmo of Friuli;¹²¹ and Theodo availed himself of the pacification to pay a visit to the threshold of the apostles at Rome.¹²² This incident is remarkable as the first instance of that religious intercourse between the church of Rome and the princes of Germany, which prepared the way for those mighty innovations whereby the yoke of Rome was once more fixed upon the necks of all the princes of Europe.

Theodo II. makes a pilgrimage to Rome.

He divides the duchy between his three sons, Grimoald, Theudebald, and Hugibert. St. Corbinian arrives in Bavaria, and obtains great influence at the courts of Theodo and Grimoald. He reforms the churches;

Some time before his death the pious and pacific duke divided his duchy into four parts, one of which, including the new episcopal city of Ratisbon, he retained for himself, and assigned the others to his three sons, Grimoald, Theudebald, and Hugibert.¹²³ In the year 718 the Frankish monk Corbinianus obtained extraordinary influence at the court of Theodo; but particularly at that of Grimoald, whose share comprehended the southern districts of Bavaria, and that portion of the Tyrol which lay to the northward of the Alpine crest. The favour enjoyed by Corbinian enabled him to carry through a great variety of reforms in the doctrine and discipline of the Bavarian churches, all of which tended to mould them more and more to the Roman model. By the devout liberality of

¹¹⁸ *Aldreiter*, Part I. lib. vi. § 25, 26. This writer dates the death of Rupert in 629! But see *Eckhart*, Fr. Orient. vol. i. p. 308.

¹¹⁹ He is said to have died in 718.

¹²⁰ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 43. p. 504. Paul the

deacon always calls him "Theodebert."

¹²¹ *Ibid.* c. 45. p. 505.

¹²² *Ibid.* c. 44. p. 505.

¹²³ *Vit. S. Corbiniani Auctore Aribone ap. D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 652.

Theodo and his son he obtained the means of building and endowing several monasteries. Under his auspices the hamlet of Freisingen was erected into a metropolitan see; the new town was adorned with sacred buildings, and the church was endowed with large grants of the richest lands in the vicinity. His unrelenting innovations drew down upon him the enmity of a large party in the country, at the head of which stood Pilitrudis, the widow of Theudebald,—who had died shortly before,—and now the uncanonical wife of his brother Grimoald. The latter, heedless or ignorant of any other law than the custom of the country, perceived no sin in the connexion with his brother's relict: Corbinian acknowledged no rule but the canons of the church, and regarded the incestuous marriage with horror and disgust. He wielded his spiritual weapons with dexterity and success; he brought the guilty pair in humble penitence to his feet; and for some years maintained his ascendancy over the feeble mind of Grimoald, in spite of the lurking resentment of his proud and vindictive consort. Elated by success, and irritated by opposition, the zeal of the reformer degenerated into insolence. Pilitrudis struck at the life of her enemy; but though her blow missed its aim, the power and the malice of her party rendered Bavaria an unsafe abode for the object of her machinations; and Corbinian retired to his favourite hermitage of Mays, situated in a lonely valley upon the southern declivity of the Rhætian mountains, and now within the dominions of the powerful Luitprand of Lombardy.¹²⁴

builds and endows several monasteries, and raises the hamlet of Freisingen to the dignity of a metropolitan see. He impugns the marriage of Grimoald with Pilitrudis the widow of his brother Theudebald.

Pilitrudis attempts to assassinate him.

He retires into the southern Tyrol.

The return of Corbinian to his episcopal chair at Freisingen was prepared by an event which wholly changed the political position of the duchy. It remains now to place the nature of the government in the light in which it must be viewed until the extinction of the Agilolfingian dynasty, and the final union of Bavaria with the Frankish monarchy by Charles the Great¹²⁵ in the year 788.

Government of Bavaria.

The laws of the Bavarians direct that at the death of the father the sons shall divide the *inheritance*, as well as the personalty, equally among them.¹²⁶ It is further ordained that the duke shall be always chosen from the race of the Agilolfingians.¹²⁷ Comparing these enactments with the course of history, as far as it is known to us, the rule of succession

Law of succession to the dukedom,

¹²⁴ The extracts from *Aribo's* life of St. Corbinian in *Adlzreiter* (Pars I. lib. vii. § 18—20. p. 160—162) are very copious. I have compared them with the meagre abstract in *D. Bouq.* (loc. mod. cit.) and with *M. Velser* (Res Boicæ, lib. iv. p. 133—138.) The original life is in the A. Ss. Ord. S. Benedicti of Mabillon.

¹²⁵ By the deposition of Tassilo II.

¹²⁶ *Lex Baju.* tit. xiv. c. 8. § 1. *Canc.* ii. p. 383. The words "Hereditas" and "Res" denote the distinction between the land and the moveables.

¹²⁷ *Lex Baju.* tit. ii. c. 20. § 2, 3. *Canc.* ii. p. 367.

analogous to that observed in the inheritance of land; but confined to the noble race of the Agilolfingians.

seems to have been, that the sons should succeed to the fathers according to the rule of distribution observed in the transmission of land; with this exception, that the ducal dignity could never travel out of the particular family to which it was limited by law. In consequence of this superior dignity a fourfold wehrgeld was assigned to every member of that family.¹²⁸ The general practice of the German nations, first noticed by Tacitus,¹²⁹ of choosing their kings from among the nobility, was therefore observed in the case of the Bavarians with the same qualification as in that of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Vandals,¹³⁰ and probably also as in that of the Franks, till Chlodwig extirpated the royal families, in order to confine the succession to his own branch.¹³¹ It is true, indeed, that in the edition of the Bavarian laws, which has come down to us, the limitation in favour of the family of Agilolf is ascribed to an express ordinance of the king of the Franks.¹³² It seems, however, upon the whole, more probable that the first Frankish conqueror found the Agilolfingians in possession, and that the grant referred to in the later edition of the code, was rather the confirmation of a previous title than the creation of a new one.¹³³

The right of popular election recognized by the law of the Bavarians, probably refers to the possible extinction (total or partial) of the Agilolfingian race.

It is more difficult to account satisfactorily for a *right of election* recognized by the law to have been vested in the Bavarian people.¹³⁴ It is clear, from the whole tenor of the German history, that the custom of hereditary succession had by this time almost wholly superseded the ancient practice described by Tacitus. The Lombards offer the only exception to the general custom of suffering the sons to succeed to the fathers, as in the case of a private inheritance. All, therefore, that this recognition seems to imply is, that as cases might happen in which it would be needful to recur to some elective authority,¹³⁵ the Frankish kings were willing to vest that authority in the assembled people, reserving to themselves a veto upon the choice.

¹²⁸ *Lex Baju.* tit. ii. c. 20.

¹²⁹ *Tac.* Germ. c. 7.

¹³⁰ *Jornandes.* See note 6 of this section.

¹³¹ See chap. x. sect. 2 pp. 522, 523. It seems very probable that the confusion in the earlier period of the Bavarian history arose out of frequent partitions of the dukedom analogous to that of duke Theodo II.; as also, perhaps, from occasional failure of successors in the reigning branch of the race of Agilolf, and the consequent transfer of the ducal dignity to another. Misled by some such causes, *Adlzreiter* has resorted to extraordinary conjectures to rectify his series.

¹³² "Quia sic leges antecessores nostri concesserunt eis." *Lex Baju.* loc. mod. cit.

¹³³ *Adlzreiter*, Ann. Boi. gent. Pars I. lib. vi. p. 127. Conf. *Hormayer*, vol. i. p. 100.

¹³⁴ "Si quis contra ducem suum, quem rex ordinavit in provincia illa, aut populus sibi elegerit ducem," &c. *Lex Baj.* tit. ii. c. 1. § 1.

¹³⁵ These cases were threefold: 1. The extinction of every branch of the Agilolfingian family. 2. A disputed succession among the members of that family provided for by no law. 3. The forfeiture of the reigning duke for contumacy or rebellion. (Conf. *Lex Baj.* cc. ix. and x. loc. mod. cit.) We might perhaps add a fourth, viz. that in which a sole heir commits a forfeiture in the lifetime of the father (c. x.); but in that case the king reserved the right of disposing of the duchy at his pleasure.

We have abstained from adverting, with any degree of particularity, to the theory of the Germanic governments at this early period. The materials are too scanty to afford any certain results ; and, such as they are, they set at naught our modern notions of legislative and executive powers in the body politic. The subsisting laws were a mere list of recognized customs ; and we are much inclined to doubt whether the notion of legislation among the nations of Germany proper during this period embraced anything more than a declaratory recognition of subsisting usages.

The Germanic governments during this period are not reducible to theory.

As among the Alemanni, so among the Bavarians, the duke was the source of justice. He was invested with the power of compelling appearances before his courts by pledges or by distress of goods.¹³⁶ His lawful commands, conveyed through his missi or graffs, might be enforced by fines to the public ;¹³⁷ his court and property were protected by large mulcts and compositions ;¹³⁸ and all contempts of his lawful authority, such as sedition, rebellion, fire-raising, insubordination, and public offences of the like nature, were visited with heavy fines.¹³⁹ All injuries to his person or his relatives entitled him to a higher composition than if the like were inflicted upon persons of any other class in society ;¹⁴⁰ and, if the law as it now stands may be taken as a faithful record of the more ancient custom, every attempt or conspiracy against his life and authority, as also the introduction of a foreign enemy into the country, or plot to betray it into his hands, subjected the offender to capital punishment, and even to the forfeiture of his land.¹⁴¹

Among the Bavarians the duke is recognized by national custom as the supreme judge of his people. His authority and possessions are protected by heavy penalties ;

his person and ducal estate by capital punishment.

Though the Transrhenane Germans had hitherto successfully resisted the assumed authority of the house of Pippin, their political condition was unfavourable to the maintenance of their independence. There was neither national nor federative union among them ; the newly established churches were favourably inclined to the Frankish connexion ; and the territorial division of the duchies of Alemannia and Bavaria was detrimental to the national strength. The Alemanni, under their dukes Godefred and Willichar, had hitherto defended themselves with some degree of success¹⁴² against the arms of Pippin of Heristal. But in the year 722, Charles Martel, now in the zenith of his power, invaded the duchy.

Reduction of the Alemanni by Charles Martel

¹³⁶ So it seems. See *Lex Bajuuv.* tit. ii. c. 5. § 4. The word “distringere,” here used, may however mean simply legal compulsion. The “vadium,” gage or pledge, is mentioned in c. 15. § 3. ejusd. leg.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* c. 14. § 1.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* c. 13.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* cc. 3. 5

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* cc. 11, 12, 13.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* c. 1. § 3. “Ut nullus Bajuvarius *Alodem aut vitam* sine capitali crimine perdat, id est, si aut necem ducis consiliatus fuerit,” &c. A strong testimony to the high nature of the alodium.

¹⁴² Chap. xii. sec. 4. p. 718, of this volume.

Duke Godefred is believed to have died in the year 708;¹⁴³ and in 715 we meet with a duke named Lantfrid;¹⁴⁴ but, with the exception of these three names, there remains no clue to the state of the duchy immediately prior to its final reduction under the Frankish supremacy. The struggle was of some length, and more than one campaign was requisite to reduce the refractory Alemanni upon the right bank of the Rhine. Duke Lantfrid was the champion of his country during the contest.¹⁴⁵ In 725 Charles penetrated as far as the Danube, and invaded Bavaria. For the present the Alemanni appear to have submitted; but their final subjugation was deferred till the year 730; at which epoch Charles again invaded the duchy. The struggle probably terminated with the death of Lantfrid in that year.¹⁴⁶

is effected with some difficulty.

Charles invades Bavaria;

he places Hugibert on the ducal throne.

A.D. 725. Grimoald is put to death, and his widow and daughter are carried away into France.

The reduction of Bavaria was attended with fewer difficulties. Leaving the half-subdued Alemanni in his rear, Charles speedily overran the whole country. Of the surviving sons of Theodo II., Hugibert either stood aloof or made his submission, and was confirmed by the conqueror in possession of a dependent throne: the feeble Grimoald was cut off by the hand of a domestic assassin: his widow Pilitrudis, with her daughter Sonechildis, and the entire treasure of the dukedom, were conveyed to France,¹⁴⁷ where Sonechildis soon afterwards became the wife of Charles Martel. The biographer of Corbinian has adorned the legend of the saint with the dark detail of the just judgments of God upon the abandoned Pilitrudis. After drinking the cup of indigence, misery, and scorn to the very dregs, the miserable woman is said to have perished in obscurity and anguish in some obscure corner of Italy.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ *Heppidani* Monach. S. Gall. *Annales breves*, &c. ap. Goldasti Rr. Alem. Ss. Pars I. In 709 a duke, named Wilharius (in the Ann. S. Columbæ Sennonensis ap. Pertz, tom. i. p. 102.) is mentioned.

¹⁴⁴ *Heppidan* (loc. mod. cit.) says that he was overcome by Charles (Martel?); but this is incorrect, since Charles was in that year still the prisoner of his step-mother, Plectrudis, at Cologne.

¹⁴⁵ This I infer from the concurrent notices of the *Annales Petaviani* and *Nazariani*, and the *Chronicle of Ademar*, ap. D. Bouq. tom. ii. pp. 640, 641, 642, and 575.

¹⁴⁶ But the invasion of Alemannia, and the death of Lantfrid, are the only facts noticed in the meagre entries of the chronicles quoted in the last note.

¹⁴⁷ *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 292.) thinks that the

Pilitrudis of the biographer of Corbinian was the daughter of the Plectrudis (widow of Pippin of Heristal) of the Frankish annalists, and that the Sonechildis of the Chron. of Ademar was the daughter of this Pilitrudis, the half-sister of Charles Martel. See also *Hornmayr*, vol. i. p. 123. But this is mere conjecture.

¹⁴⁸ The story has all the air of sacerdotal romance. The vengeance of Corbinian may have pursued her into France; but the obscure missionary priest of Freisingen could hardly have had the power to cause his victim to be persecuted to death while living in a distant land, and under the protection of the prince of the Franks and of her own daughter, his wife. For the facts in this paragraph see *Fredég.* Cont. c. 105. p. 454. *Ann. Mett.* Pertz. i. p. 325.—*Ann. Fuldensis*, ibid. p. 344.—*Aimoin*, lib. iv. c. 52. Conf. also *Velser* and *Adlzreiter*, loc. sæp. cit.

SECTION II.—A. D. 725 to A. D. 749.

Arab Conquests—Arabs overrun Spain—Viceroys—Abderrahmân el Gafeki—He invades France—Defeats Eudo Duke of Aquitaine—Is defeated and slain by Charles Martel—Invasion of the Frisians—Charles defeats them—He chastises the predatory Saxons—He attempts the reduction of Aquitaine—Repels an Invasion of the Arabs in Burgundy—Defeats them near Narbonne—but fails in an attempt to take the City—He raises the Siege—Reduces Septimania, and expels the Saracens—He divides the Kingdom between his sons Karlman and Pippin—He gives a small Share to his younger Son Grifo—He dies—Hereditary succession—Grifo regarded as illegitimate—Hunuald Duke of Aquitaine—Theudebald of Alemannia—Odilo of Bavaria—They rebel—Karlman and Pippin defeat them—Hunuald retires into a Monastery—Waifar Duke of Aquitaine—The Saxons—Pippin punishes the Alemannic Insurgents—Odilo of Bavaria submits—Karlman retires from the World—Pippin the Short sole Prince of the Franks—Second revolt of Grifo—He is driven from Saxony—He retires into Bavaria—The Bavarians befriend him—Pippin pursues—The Confederates submit.

BEFORE the expiration of a century from the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, his followers had extended their dominion from the banks of the Euphrates to the mountains of Asturia. Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, were brought within the pale of the new creed. The Byzantine emperors had been suffered to retain Asia Minor as far as the Euphrates and the Taurus: and Europe became first acquainted with its danger by an attack upon the extreme western frontier. The battle of Xeres put an end to the Visigothic monarchy in Spain; and in a few campaigns the entire kingdom, with the exception of a narrow belt of barren mountains upon the northern coast, was reduced by the Arab conquerors. In the year 716, the khâlif Suleiman appointed El Hhorr Ben Abderrahmân el Gafeki to the viceroyalty of Spain. After reducing the finances of his government into order by the severest economy, extorting from the extortioner his ill-gotten gains, punishing public frauds, and correcting a multitude of abuses, the new governor led his martial countrymen to the frontiers of Aquitaine. But before he could pass the Pyrenees, the slanders of those who had been aggrieved by his ruthless reforms had met with a ready credence at the court of Damascus; and the rigid El Hhorr was superseded by El Samahh Ben Malek el Khaulani.

El Samahh passed the Pyrenees with a numerous host, and overran the territory of Narbonne. The city was taken by storm; the male inhabitants were put to the sword; the females and the children were carried away captives into Spain. The Arab viceroy then laid siege to

The Arabs conquer Spain, and put an end to the Visigothic monarchy.

Viceroys—El Hhorr;

El Samahh;

Thoulouse; but here the prolonged and desperate resistance of the citizens afforded time to Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, to collect an army and hasten to the relief of his capital. A bloody battle was fought beneath the walls of the city; El Samahh fell among the foremost of the combatants; the Moslem army was defeated and put to flight; and the fugitives proclaimed Abderrahmân Ben Abdallah el Gafeki commander of the armies of the khalif and viceroy of Spain.

El Gafeki ;

The appointment of the army was, in the first instance, approved by the court of Damascus; but was soon afterwards revoked, and Abdesa Ben Sohhim el Kelbi was placed at the head of the government. This viceroy renewed the attacks upon the Narbonne; the city itself once more fell into the hands of the Moslem, and Abdesa extended his ravages as far as the city of Autun in Burgundy.¹ Here he was accidentally killed in a skirmish, and the second in command, Adhra Ben Abdallah el Fehri, led back the army into Spain.

El Kelbi ;

A.D. 729.
El Fehri ;

Abderrahmân
el Gafeki a se-
cond time vice-
roy ;
reduces the
rebel Nesaa,

and invades
Aquitaine.

Charles Martel
and Eudo,
duke of Aqu-
taine, coalesce
to resist the
Arabs.
A.D. 731.

For some years a rapid change of viceroys prevented the revival of the Arab schemes of conquest in France; but in the year 729 the government was once more placed in the hands of the vigorous Abderrahmân el Gafeki. The Arab commander in the north of Spain, Othman Ben Abi Nesaa, resented the elevation of Abderrahmân, and entered into a treasonable correspondence with Eudo, duke of Aquitaine. The reduction of the rebel general delayed for a time the execution of the viceroy's plans for the conquest of the Frankish realms, and the total subjugation of Christendom. At length the insurgent chief was hunted to his last refuge, a precipitous rock in the heart of the Pyrenees; and he leapt from the cliff to escape the ignominy of falling alive into the hands of his enemy. Without loss of time Abderrahmân then crossed the Pyrenees, and led his swarms into the fertile plains of Aquitaine.²

At this moment of peril the mutual dispositions of Charles Martel and Eudo of Aquitaine were unfriendly. In the year 720 Raginfrid, the major domûs of Neustria, had found an asylum within the territories of the latter; and the armies of Charles had more than once invaded the duchy in pursuit of that ancient enemy. In the year 731, Eudo had ventured to encounter the prince of the Franks in the field, and had sustained a total defeat.³ But the approaching invasion of the Arabs set all these

¹ *Chron. Moissiacense*, ap. *Pertz*, i. p. 290, 291.

² See *Lembke's* learned history of Spain, vol. i. p. 278—288.

³ *Fredeg.* c. 108. p. 454.—*Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 725 and 732. ap. *Pertz*, i. p. 325. All the Frankish annalists, with the exception of the

Chronicle of Moissy, affirm that Eudo introduced the Saracens into France to aid him against Charles Martel. But Abderrahmân would not have committed the merciless ravage actually inflicted upon Aquitaine had he regarded it as the country of an ally. It is exceedingly probable that Eudo's connexion with

animosities at rest, and both princes prepared to meet the danger with promptitude and unanimity. The gatherings in every part of the Frankish realm proceeded with zeal and activity. Eudo was the first in the field. Abderrahmân had in the interim taken Bordeaux by storm, and passed the Garonne and the Dordogne with all his forces. The duke of Aquitaine rashly threw himself in his path, and his army was dissipated by a single charge of the numberless cavalry of the Arabs. The greater portion of Aquitaine was wasted, the towns and villages destroyed, and the cities reduced to heaps of smoking ruins. The devoted inhabitants flocked to the churches for protection; but the saints were found powerless to defend their own sanctuaries; and the Christian altars were deluged with the blood of the helpless suppliants. The revered shrine of St. Hilary of Poitiers was desecrated and burnt, and the conquerors hastened forward to take possession of the opulent treasury of St. Martin of Tours.⁴

Eudo takes the field first, and is defeated by Abderrahmân. The Saracens ravage Aquitaine, take Poitiers, and advance upon Tours.

But before the Moslem could reach the Loire, the mighty prince of the Franks had interposed between them and their prey. The Christian army struck upon the vanguard of the Arabs at some point between the cities of Poitiers and of Tours. Awed by each other's presence, and conscious of the decisive nature of the now inevitable conflict, they watched each other for the period of seven days, amid constant and sanguinary skirmishes. One of these desultory combats at length brought on the battle so much desired, yet dreaded by both parties. Suddenly a boundless line of Arab cavalry spread itself over the wide plain, and threatened to enfold the Christian army in its deadly embrace. "The men of the north," says the bishop of Badajoz, "formed in the twinkling of an eye, and stood like a wall, immovable as an icy wave, fixed by a sudden blast from their own frozen clime." The fiery charge of the light-armed Saracens broke against the close and serried front of the mailed Germans. The gallant Abderrahmân fell among the foremost and the bravest warriors of his army, in the vain endeavour to open a passage through the dense array of the Franks. The failure of the general charge was equivalent to a defeat. A dark night at length put an end to the carnage; and the wearied Arabs retired to their camp in the hope of yet saving the prodigious booty collected there. At break of day the

Charles Martel, with the combined powers of the kingdom, encounters them between Tours and Poitiers.

Battle and victory of the Franks.

Abderrahmân is killed, and the Arabs evacuate Aquitaine.

the rebel Othman,—perhaps a recollection of the treason of count Julian in 711,—more than all, that propensity to flatter the Carlovingian princes so manifest in all the Frankish writers of this and the following ages, led to this error. *Pagi*, in *Baron. ad Ann. 732*, and *Lembke*, reject this story as a mere fabrication, and rely

upon the contemporary authority of Isidor, bishop of Badajoz (*Isidorus Pacensis*). Conf. likewise, *Paul Diac.* lib. vi. c. 46. p. 505, and the note of *Muratori* (187.)

⁴ *Chron. Fredeg.* loc. cit.—*Paul Diac.* loc. cit.—*Isidor. Pacens.*

enemy's camp presented the same aspect as before the battle, and Charles prudently hesitated to break his array till he had ascertained the movements of his adversaries. It was soon discovered that the Arabs had retired during the darkness, leaving their tents standing, and carrying away with them only the most portable portion of their booty. A close pursuit was impracticable; the retiring army, to increase its speed and facilitate its maintenance, spread itself over every road leading to the passes of the Pyrenees; and in the course of its retreat completed the ruin of the unfortunate Aquitanians.⁵

He saves
Christendom
from the Mo-
hammedan
yoke.

The extraordinary strength of arm, and the personal valour displayed by Charles in this battle, procured for him the surname of the "Hammer." And though the advantage gained in the field was not much more complete than that of Aetius over Attila in the plains of Châlons, yet never was victory more decisive in its results. The heroic valour and sound military conduct of the prince, and the exemplary fortitude of the Frankish warriors, had for ever rescued the nations of Europe from the benumbing yoke of Islam, and the reviving religion of Christ from early and ignominious extinction.⁶

Meanwhile the
Frisians, under
Duke Poppo,
ravage the
northern pro-
vinces.

Occurrences in the north withdrew the attention of Charles Martel from the prosecution of the war in the south, and afforded a breathing time to the Saracens of Septimania. The Arab invasion had encouraged the warlike Frisians to attempt vengeance for the defeats they had sustained. Ratbod had been succeeded by a duke named Poppo. Under this leader the heathen Frisians issued from their marshes, and easily overran the Batavian districts which Charles had lately annexed to the kingdom of the Franks. Poppo, it is true, retired at the approach of his enemy; but the prince of the Franks determined to extinguish for ever the harassing hostilities of these predatory neighbours. A fleet was speedily fitted out in the Batavian ports, and an army commanded by the major domûs in person landed upon the shores of the Zuyder Sea. Poppo was defeated and slain in battle; the altars of the idolatrous inhabitants were overthrown, their sacred graves rooted up, and the army returned laden with the spoils accumulated by the piracy and predatory inroads

Charles col-
lects a fleet,
invades Frisia,
and defeats
and kills Pop-
po in battle.

A.D. 734.

⁵ *Vit. S. Pardulf. ap. D. Bouq. tom. iii. p. 654.*

⁶ The authorities for these incidents are:—*Isid. Pac. ap. Lembke, loc. cit. Chron. Moiss. ap. Pertz, i. p. 291.—Ann. Tiliari, ibid. p. 8.—Ann. Nazariani, ibid. p. 25.—Ann. Mett. ibid. p. 325.—Fredeg. c. 108. ap. D. Bouq. ii. p. 454. Mascou follows the Frankish annalists and makes Charles the assailant (Masc. book xvi. § 15. p. 307). But*

I have preferred the contemporary authority of Isidor of Badajoz, because his account agrees with the character of the Frankish troops. Charles Martel would have exposed himself to certain defeat if he had ventured to assail the Arab cavalry with his heavy infantry, inasmuch as the most trivial chasm in his ranks must have been fatal to the whole army. Conf. *Luden, vol. iv. p. 104.*

of these barbarians. They gave hostages and promised tribute; but though, in the vaunting language of the Frankish annalists, they are said to have been reduced to subjection, the connexion with their more powerful neighbours amounted, for the present, to little more than that kind of loose dependence which was implied in the payment of tribute.⁷

He makes the Frisians tributary to the Franks.

The wild Saxon tribes of the Lippe and the Ems⁸ had not neglected the fair opportunity for renewing their depredations which the Arab invasion presented. Charles marched against them in the year 736, and again in 738. On both occasions he penetrated into the heart of Saxony; the hostile tribes submitted, gave hostages, and promised the punctual payment of a limited tribute.⁹ But neither party seems to have regarded this tribute as anything more than the price of a truce, granted by the victor, and submitted to by the conquered, till occasion for throwing it off should present itself; and as the amount was very trivial, the conqueror derived neither power nor advantage beyond that which fear and the possession of the hostages procured for him.

The Saxons invade the north-eastern provinces. Charles chastises them, and compels them to promise tribute and give hostages.

Measures so incomplete in themselves, and so little in accordance with the determined character and great military powers of Charles Martel, must be attributed to circumstances beyond his control. In fact, the temporary union subsisting between him and the duke Eudo was soon dissolved. The attempts of Charles to reduce Aquitaine to a province of the Frankish realm met with but partial success; and he was in the end obliged to content himself with a general acknowledgment of sovereignty and an oath of allegiance. Upon these terms he recognized Hunuald, the eldest of Eudo's two sons, as his successor to the dukedom of Aquitaine.¹⁰

Charles attempts to reduce the Aquitanians to subjection, but with indifferent success.

The considerations which forced these half-measures upon the indefatigable prince of the Franks were the formidable consolidation of the Saracen power in the Narbonnese, and the rebellion of the Burgundian estates under duke Maurontius of Septimania. Akba, the viceroy of Spain, had entrusted the government of Narbonne to the Arab general Jussef Ebn Abderrahmân. With the connivance or assistance of Maurontius and the malcontents of Burgundy, Jussef reduced the whole of the Dauphiné, and advanced to the gates of Lyons. Here he was encountered by Charles, and quickly compelled to relinquish all his conquests. Avignon, which had been yielded by Maurontius to the

His attention is diverted by the progress of the Saracens in the Narbonnese, and the rebellion of the Burgundians under duke Maurontius of Septimania. A.D. 737.

He repels an invasion of the Arabs under Jussef, retakes Avignon,

⁷ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 734.—“Acceptis obsidibus suæ ditioni (Frisios) subjugavit.” *Fredeg.* c. 109. p. 455.

⁸ *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 299.

⁹ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 736 and 738. ap.

Pertz, i. p. 326. See also *Ann. Laurishamenses*; *Ann. Alamanici*; *Ann. Nazariani*, ad Ann. 738.; *Pertz*, i. p. 26, 27.

¹⁰ *Fredeg.* c. 109.—*Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 735; *Pertz*, i. p. 325.

defeats the
Arabs,

but fails before
Narbonne.

He raises the
siege, and
turns his arms
against the
rebellious Sep-
timanians;
takes Adge,
Beziers, Ma-
guelonne, and
Nismes.

He obtains as-
sistance from
the Lombards;

expels the Sa-
racens, and re-
duces Septima-
nia to obedi-
ence.

He divides the
kingdom be-
tween his sons
Carlman and
Pippin;

he gives a
small share to
Grifo, his son
by Sonechildis;

and dies.

The tendency

Saracens as a pledge of alliance, was taken by storm, and Charles hastened to lay siege to Narbonne. Omar Ebn Kaled, the lieutenant of Akba, arrived with a fleet and army to the relief of the city. The Arab troops landed at no great distance from the walls, and took post upon the little river Berre, within sight of their fleet. Here they were attacked by Charles and driven into the sea, where the greater number perished. But in the interim the fleet had, in all probability, succeeded in throwing succours into Narbonne; and the efforts of the Franks remained without effect.¹¹

The capture of Narbonne had, it seems, by this time become a matter of secondary importance to the reduction of the rebellious Septimanians. Charles therefore raised the siege, or converted it into a blockade, and turned his arms against the apostate allies of the Saracens. He took the cities of Adge, Beziers, and Maguelonne by storm, and rased Nismes to the ground.¹² With the assistance of the Arabs of Spain, Maurontius continued the contest for some time longer. But in the year 739, Charles obtained the aid of Luitprand, king of the Lombards; the forces of both princes enveloped the insurgent districts; Maurontius and the Saracens were driven from the field, and the entire duchy was finally reduced to tranquillity and obedience.¹³

On his return to Neustria Charles found his health declining: and with a view to secure the succession to his sons Carlman and Pippin, he assembled the Proceres or great vassals of the kingdom, and with their consent appointed his two sons to the principality of the Franks. Carlman obtained the government of Austrasia, Thuringia, and Alemannia; Pippin, Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence. At the solicitation of his wife Sonechildis,¹⁴ he parted off a few districts from the shares of the two elder princes in favour of her son Grifo. After the completion of this important transaction, Charles abandoned worldly affairs. He made rich donations to the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, for the benefit of his soul, and died in his retirement at Chiersy, near Compiègne, on the 21st of October, 741.¹⁵

This partition, made by the late prince, and sanctioned by the Opti-

¹¹ *Fredeg.* c. 109. loc. cit. — *Ado Vienn. Bouq.* ii. p. 671. — *Ann. Mett. Pertz*, i. p. 326. — *Chron. Moissiac*, ibid. p. 292. — It would be difficult to recognize the Arab names in their Frankish dress, if *Lembke* (vol. i. p. 291.) had not furnished us with the genuine appellatives from the Arab authors Ebn Hhajan and El Hhedjari Ben Ahmed. In the *facts* the concurrence of statement is creditable both to the

Christian and the Mohammedan writers.

¹² *Chron. Moiss.* loc. mod. cit.

¹³ *Fredeg.* c. 109. p. 457. — *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 739. p. 826. — *Paul Diac.* lib. vi. c. 44. p. 508.

¹⁴ Daughter of Pilitrudis by Grimoald of Bavaria.

¹⁵ *Fredeg.* c. 110. p. 458. — *Ann. Mett.* loc. cit. p. 327.

mates of the realm,¹⁶ considered in connexion with the preceding practice, inclines us to believe, that although up to this period no hereditary right of succession to the mayoralty of the palace was established, yet that there was a strong disposition to regard hereditary transmission at least as a matter of custom and convenience. Custom had already infused a strong tincture of the hereditary quality into the practical treatment of benefices: the three great dependent duchies of Aquitaine, Bavaria, and Alemannia, were divisible among the male heirs of the last possessor; the mayoralty of the palace had already been transmitted through four generations, and three descents in the same family. This practice, though it does not show a law, proves that the nation was gradually conforming itself to a state of things which the powerful Leudes,—unconsciously perhaps, yet discernibly,—desired to see established for the support of their own pretensions to an hereditary interest in their beneficiary estates and offices. The power of the *maiores domûs* was grounded upon, and therefore naturally followed the progress, and partook of the character of the beneficiary system; and thus, in every successive reign, the convergency of opinion regarding the holding of land and the right to offices, honours and rank, towards the hereditary principle, becomes more and more discernible as we approach the maturer ages of feudalism. In fact, the rise of the Carlovingian dynasty is distinctly ascribable to the same tendency of public opinion as that by which benefices and offices became gradually detached from the crown, and customably transmissible to the heirs of the last possessor.¹⁷

of public opinion, habits, and customs, favours hereditary succession in the transmission of lands, offices, and honours.

The churchmen affected to regard Sonechildis, the mother of Grifo, as a concubine, and her son as illegitimate. Carlman and Pippin began their reign by depriving their younger brother of his inheritance. Sonechildis was shut up in a convent, and Grifo was confined in a castle in the Ardennes.¹⁸ A sister of the young prince, named Chilitrudis, fled to her relative Odilo, duke of Bavaria, and soon afterwards became his wife.

The church regards Grifo as illegitimate. Carlman and Pippin deprive him of his share.

A.D. 742.

¹⁶ "Principes, consilio optimum suorum expetito, filiis suis regna dividit." *Fred.* loc. mod. cit., and *Gest. Franc.* p. 572.

¹⁷ The two events, the rise of the Carlovingians, and the emancipation of benefices from the control of the crown, seem to me to have proceeded at first very nearly *pari passu*. The power of the new dynasty came to maturity first. But within a century after the death of Charles the Great, the feudal system reached its maturity, and then commenced that *divergency* of public opinion which ended, in France, by the reunion of the great fiefs with the stream from which they had originally departed; in Germany, after a long and painful struggle, with the

complete humiliation of the imperial dignity without benefit to the community; and in England with the establishment of a more equally balanced system of monarchical, feudal, and popular elements.

¹⁸ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 741. p. 327. The hypocritical language of the monk of Metz respecting this undisguised robbery is amusing: "De hac autem tertiâ portione quam Gripponi adolescenti discessurus princeps tradiderat, *Franci valde contristati erant*, quod per consilium *mulieris improbæ* (Sonechildis) fuissent divisi, et a legitimis hæredibus sejuncti." The Continuator of Fredegar, a contemporary, passes over the whole transaction in silence, so likewise all the other

The dukes of
Aquitaine,
Alemannia,
and Bavaria,
rebel.

Carlman and
Pippin overrun
Alemannia,
A.D. 743.

and defeat the
combined
dukes of Ale-
mannia and
Bavaria on the
river Lech.

They overrun
Bavaria.

This incident seems to have occasioned a general insurrection of the vassal duchies against the authority of the Frankish princes. Hunuald, duke of Aquitaine, threw off the yoke, and entered into engagements for mutual support and assistance with Theudebald of Alemannia and Odilo of Bavaria. Carlman and Pippin lost no time in meeting the danger which threatened them. In one campaign Hunuald was completely crippled, and the territory of the Alemanni was ravaged from the Rhine to the frontier of Bavaria.¹⁹ Meanwhile Odilo had assembled a numerous army of Bavarians, Saxons, and Sclavi. Theudebald joined him with the forces of his duchy, and the confederates took up a strong position upon the river Lech. Carlman and Pippin, at the head of the whole heriban of the Franks, appeared upon the opposite banks, anxiously searching for a practicable ford to bring their enemies to battle. At this juncture, Sergius, a Roman presbyter, appeared in their camp with a message from Zachary, bishop of Rome, condemning their present undertaking, and exhorting them to refrain from further tempting the wrath of God. The princes denied his authority, and dismissed the envoy. On the following day a ford was accidentally discovered, and in the dead of the ensuing night the whole army crossed the river and placed itself between the camps of Theudebald and Odilo. The latter was attacked, defeated, and thrown back behind the river Inn; the former retired in an opposite direction, and the entire duchy was placed at the mercy of the victors.

Sergius, the priest, was found among the captives taken after the engagement, and brought before the princes. "Did we not tell you yesterday," said they, "that you were an impostor? And have not the events of to-day proved that we were not in error? Would St. Peter, think you, the Prince of the Apostles, whose messenger you pretend to be, have lent us his mighty aid in this day's battle, if, as you allege, he had known our cause to be bad? Acknowledge that God and St. Peter have given judgment in our favour, and that both Bavaria and its inhabitants are now our rightful property." In that age the argument of Pippin was not easily answered; the people acknowledged its validity; the united princes traversed the country for nearly two months, and at the expiration of the term of military service "returned home"—such is the inviolable memorandum of the annalists at the close of a fortunate campaign—"laden with booty."²⁰

Frankish annalists, except the *Ann. Laurishamenses* (Pertz, i. 135.) compiled in the ninth century, which affirm that Grifo was the aggressor. The *Ann. Fuldenses* (Pertz, i. p. 426.) accuse him of ambition, but make no mention of

the partition.

¹⁹ *Cont. Fredeg.* c. 111. p. 458.—*Ann. Mett.* Ann. 742. p. 327.

²⁰ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 112. p. 459.—*Ann. Mett.* Ann. 743. loc. mod. cit.

While these events were passing in Bavaria, Hunuald of Aquitaine attempted a diversion in favour of his ally Odilo. But his exploits are summed up in the capture and bootless destruction of the city of Chartres ;²¹ and in the following year he resigned his duchy to his son Waifar, and retired to a monastery. Carlman, meanwhile, employed his arms for two successive years in humbling the Saxon tribes bordering upon the Rhenish and Thuringian territories. He defeated them in the field, took their strong fortress of Oecioburg, and granted them peace upon condition of baptism, a stipulation now for the first time introduced into the treaties of the Franks with their heathen enemies. The sacred rite was administered by the missionary priests who followed the camp, and was submitted to with indifference by the humbled barbarians.²²

Hunuald of Aquitaine resigns his duchy to his son Waifar, and retires from the world.

A.D. 744.

Carlman attacks the Saxons, humbles them, and grants them peace on condition of baptism.

A.D. 745.

The dangerous league which had thus disturbed the first years of Carlman and Pippin was broken ; but its members had not abandoned the hope of maintaining their independence. While Carlman was engaged in Saxony, Pippin marched once more into Alemannia ; he again drove duke Theudebald from the field, and held a high court of justice at Kanzstadt on the Neckar.²³ Hither the rebellious chiefs and nobles were summoned, to abide the judgment of the prince upon their manifold delinquencies ; those who submitted were treated with indulgence, the defaulters were punished with extreme severity.²⁴ In Aquitaine Waifar abstained from further hostilities ; and Odilo of Bavaria submitted to the yoke of the Frankish brothers.

Pippin goes into Alemannia and punishes the insurgents.

Odilo of Bavaria submits.

At this period the spirit of monastic devotion was making great progress in Christendom. The assumption of the cowl was believed to atone for a multitude of sins. Duke Hunuald of Aquitaine, though newly polluted with crimes of great enormity,²⁵ was received into a monastery in the Isle of Rhé ; and now the victorious Carlman, either from satiety or remorse for some unrecorded offence, suddenly, and without any apparent constraint, signified his voluntary renunciation of worldly greatness, and his resolution to devote the remainder of his days to the salvation of his soul. The Franks, among whom Pippin was the more popular ruler, threw no obstacle in his way ; and Carlman proceeded to Rome to record his vows at the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul. Here he was welcomed by Pope Zachary,

Progress of monastic devotion.

A. D. 747.

Carlman follows the example of Hunuald of Aquitaine ;

he goes to Rome, and takes the monastic habit.

²¹ *Ann. Mett.* loc. mod. cit.

²² *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 744, 745. p. 328.

²³ An ancient town about four miles from Stutgard, now celebrated for its mineral springs.

²⁴ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 746. p. 329.—*Fredeg.* c. 115. p. 459.

²⁵ A very short time before his retirement he had treacherously inveigled his brother Hatto to his court, blinded him and confined him in prison, with a view to remove all impediments to the succession of his son Waifar. *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 744. p. 328.

He retires to the convent of Monte Cassino, and thence to Mount Soracte.

who administered the tonsure, clothed him with the monastic habit, and received from his hands the munificent presents with which Pippin strove to testify his attachment to the see of Rome, and his satisfaction at the pious determination of his brother and colleague.²⁶ Carlman entered upon his novitiate in the monastery of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino, and afterwards resided in devout retirement upon Mount Soracte, where he had built a cell in honour of St. Sylvester. There would be no reason to impugn the sincerity of his devotion, if he had permitted the world, which he had renounced, to forget him. The church of Rome, though proud of its conquest, has not thought proper to reward him with the highest dignity of the calendar.²⁷

Grifo is released from prison by Pippin.

After the retirement of Carlman, Pippin felt the advantages of his new position, and was disposed to make a generous use of them. He released his brother Grifo from confinement; he assigned to him large estates for his maintenance, and gave him an establishment suited to his princely birth. But if Grifo had been inclined to forget his rights, there were too many persons about him to remind him of them. Support was at hand in several quarters. Neither Bavaria nor Alemannia was yet reconciled to the yoke of the Franks, and the Saxons were glad of any opportunity to vindicate that independence so dear to themselves and so pernicious to their neighbours. Collecting around him a body of young and martial followers, he betook himself first to the court of Waifar

Grifo rebels,

²⁶ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 746. loc. cit. p. 329. — *Fredeg.* c. 116. p. 459. The secret history of this transaction, if known, would no doubt throw considerable light upon the early relations of the Franks with the see of Rome; and might contribute to elucidate the history of the elevation of Pippin to the throne, which took place only four years afterwards, with the assent and co-operation of pope Zachary and his zealous emissary, Boniface, archbishop of Mayntz.

²⁷ He is only designated as "Beatus Carolmannus." See *Art de vér.* &c. vol. i. in the "Calendrier des Saints." The *Monk of Metz* exalts him to the highest pinnacle of beatitude. From the narrative of this writer, however disfigured by legendary varnish, we cannot avoid the inference that he was prompted to renounce the world by remorse for sins of a very heinous description. Like most of his class, he was subject to paroxysms of devotion. In this mood he suddenly fled from Rome, where he had resided for some time in the enjoyment of that credit and respect which was thought due to his former rank, and his heroic renunciation of its pomps. He betook himself in disguise to Monte

Cassino, fell upon his face before the abbot Optatus, and professed himself a murderer and a criminal of the deepest die. The abbot was shocked at the enormity of these self-imputed transgressions, and retained him as one of the scullions of the monastery. The cook, it is said, treated him with great indignity, which he endured with uncomplaining humility. A single companion, who had accompanied him to Monte Cassino, under a strict injunction of secrecy, could no longer bear to see his illustrious friend thus abused; he struck the cook; and in his defence revealed the quality of their unknown inmate to the astonished monks. Carlman stoutly denied the statement of his indiscreet comrade; he again professed himself the vilest and most abandoned of sinners, and declared that the story of his quality was a fiction, invented by his companion to escape the punishment due to his offence. The falsehood of this protestation was a merit in the eyes of the devout men of Monte Cassino, and Carlman was thenceforward honoured with all the reverence due to such unexampled humility and self-abasement. *Ann. Mett.* loc. cit.

of Aquitaine, and afterwards retired into Saxony, where at least he hoped to escape the mortifying dependence upon the relative who had so deeply wronged him. The Saxons crowded to his standard, and enabled him to present a formidable front to his Frankish pursuers. But at this moment a fierce war broke out between his new friends and the neighbouring Slavic tribes upon the Elbe; and in these Pippin found useful auxiliaries. The prince of the Franks hastened to expel his brother from so dangerous an asylum. He invaded the district of north Swabia,²⁸ and came up with the combined army of the Saxons and his own rebel subjects, upon the river Ocker. The aspect of the numerous forces of Pippin intimidated the confederates; they decamped in the night-time, and Grifo was compelled to seek a refuge in Bavaria. The Franks desolated the country for the space of forty days; they took and rased several castles of the Saxons, and compelled the tribes which submitted to accept baptism at the hands of the itinerant priests, who always followed the army, and who, from this period, became a part of the military establishment of the Franks in all their wars with pagan adversaries.²⁹

and throws himself upon the protection of the Saxons;

but is deserted by them, and compelled to take refuge in Bavaria.

By the death of Odilo the duchy had in the interim fallen to his son Tassilo II., a minor, under the guardianship of his mother Chiltrudis. In Alemannia, duke Theudebald had been succeeded by Lantfrid.³⁰ Here, as in Bavaria, there existed a large party hostile to the Frankish connexion. At the head of this party stood a powerful noble, named Suidger. With the assistance of these factions, Grifo possessed himself of the persons of Chiltrudis and Tassilo, and in their names disposed of the military resources of the duchy. But the rapidity of Pippin's movements disconcerted the plans of the confederates; they retired precipitately, hoping to maintain themselves behind the broad and rapid river Inn. The Franks, however, soon collected a fleet of boats numerous enough to pass the river with their whole force. The confederates, in alarm, proposed terms of submission, which were assented to by Pippin. Suidger received a free pardon; Grifo accepted the principality of Mans, with twelve adjacent lordships, in lieu of his claims to the inheritance bequeathed to him by his father; Tassilo and Lantfrid were confirmed in their duchies under Frankish supremacy, and peace was for the present restored in all the eastern dependencies of the kingdom.³¹

Grifo possesses himself of the person of the minor duke Tassilo II. and in conjunction with Lantfrid of Alemannia sets Pippin at defiance.

A.D. 749. The confederates retire behind the Inn. Pippin pursues them. They submit. Tassilo and Lantfrid are confirmed in their duchies, and Grifo accepts a principality in lieu of all his claims.

²⁸ The territory of Halberstadt, called "North Swabia," from the Suevic colony which had been settled there by Sigibert I., when the Saxons quitted it to follow Alboin into Italy in 568. *Eckhart*, Fr. Orient. tom. i. p. 480.

²⁹ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 748. p. 330.—*Fredegar*.

c. 117. p. 459.

³⁰ *Mascou* (vol. ii. p. 646. Annot. xxxvi.) thinks that this Lantfrid was the son of Theudebald. So also *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 487.

³¹ *Ann. Mett.* ad Ann. 749. p. 331.—*Fredegar*. c. 117. p. 460.

SECTION III.

First Introduction of Christianity into Transrhenane Germany—Heathenism of the Frisians and Saxons—Idolatry—Sacrifices and Festivities—Half-converted Germanic Tribes—Alemanni—Bavarians and Lombards—Magic Superstitions—Conduct of the Christian Clergy—Reforms—The rise of the Missionary Spirit—Columbanus of Iona—Mission of Columbanus and Gall—They settle in Burgundy. I. Republication of Christianity among the Alemanni—Gall and Columbanus preach in Southern Alemannia—The Missionaries persecuted by the Heathen—Columbanus retires into Italy—Gall remains, and founds a Cell in the Thurgau—He cures the Daughter of Cunzo, Duke of the Alemanni—He obtains a Royal Charter of Endowment for his Cell—St. Othmar. II. Christianity in Bavaria—St. Emmeramm—His reforms and tragical death—St. Rupert—He founds or rebuilds Salzburg—His reforms—He founds Schools, Monasteries, and Churches—His Death—St. Corbinian—His Conduct—Grimoald and Pilitrudis—He retires from Bavaria—His return and death. III. Origin of the Roman ascendancy in Christendom—Pope Gregory the Great—Augustine founds the Anglo-Saxon Church—Anglo-Saxon Missions—Eckbert of Iona—Wilfred of York—Wicbert and his Companions in Friesland—Willibrord penetrates into Friesland—Founds the Church of Utrecht—Triumph of Christianity in Friesland. IV. Progress of Christianity among the Thuringians—Killian, Coloman, and Totman—Their Martyrdom—Willibrord of Utrecht undertakes the management of the Thuringian Church—System of accommodation.

Christianity is first introduced into Germany Proper by the conquests of the sons of Chlodwig.

THE dawn of Christianity in Germany cannot be dated prior to the death of Chlodwig. The sons and grandsons of that prince carried the new religion along with them into their Transrhenane conquests.¹ In Bavaria it is not improbable that the labours of Severinus² had left some traces behind them ; but Christianity was in the first instance mainly indebted to conquest for its introduction into Alemannia, Thuringia, and all the provinces on the right bank of the Rhine. The Christian missionaries who visited these regions in the following century appear there rather in the character of reformers than as the preachers of a new religion ; and in the absence of all testimony to the contrary, we may safely ascribe the prevalence of that spurious kind of Christianity, which was then found to exist there, to the influence and example of the dominant people, aided perhaps by the occasional efforts of individual zeal.

The Frisians and Saxons, heathens.

Frisians worshipped a deity named Fos-sitë ;

But down to the close of the seventh century the sound of the gospel had not yet reached the ear of the Frisians, the Saxons, or any of the tribes dwelling to the northward of the Elbe. The Frisians worshipped the Teutonic Triad, and paid a particular adoration to a deity named

¹ Chap. x. sec. 3. p. 535 ; xi. sec. 2. p. 588 ;
ibid. sec. 5. p. 635, 636.

² Chap. xi. sec. 3. p. 464, et seqq.

Fossitë. His image was, it is said, enshrined in a rude harah, or temple built of stakes and wicker-work, situated upon an island not far from the coast, called Fossitë-land.³ Human sacrifices were common among the northern tribes of Germany long after every trace of that abomination had vanished from among the Rhenish and Danubian nations. The Frisians sacrificed both infant and adult victims to their gods. Prisoners taken in war, slaves, and malefactors, were oftentimes immolated upon the altar of the national Moloch. All severe calamities, whether private or national, were imputed to the wrath of the gods, and no propitiation was thought more acceptable than the blood of a newly-born infant before it had tasted its mother's milk.⁴ The Saxon sea-rover, before he set sail upon a piratical voyage, was in the habit of solemnly devoting to the infernal gods a certain proportion of the whole number of prisoners he hoped to capture. The horrid vow was performed by cutting the throats of the victims, and casting the bodies into the sea. Drowning, hanging, and decapitation, were ordinary modes of sacrifice; and sometimes the victim was made to undergo the most inhuman tortures.⁵

they sacrifice
human vic-
tims.

The Saxons
sacrifice pri-
soners of war.

The more usual sacrifices, however, consisted of animals of all kinds. We meet with no traces of a sacerdotal order; the chief of the clan, or the elder of the family, performed the office of priest. Like the ancient Franks, the Frisians performed their religious rites in groves, or beside the margins of natural springs and isolated rocks: sometimes they chose the summit of a hill, or other conspicuous eminence.⁶ The altar differed little in form or material from that of the Franks. It consisted commonly of a huge flat block of stone, supported by uprights of proportionate bulk, and provided with a deep groove to carry off the blood. The surface beneath the altar-stone was hollowed into a pit; from which circumstance the numerous remains still found scattered over the northern and central regions of Germany have obtained the popular appellation of "Hünengräber," or "Graves of the Giants."⁷ With

These nations
possess no sa-
cerdotal order.
Their religious
rites resemble
those of the
Franks.

Altars.

³ By some supposed to be the modern Heligoland, the Holy Island.—*Monë* (tom. ii. p. 36.) thinks that Fossitë was the god of light and heat—the Apollo of the Frisians. See also *Grimm*, *Deutsche Mythol.* pp. 144, 145.

⁴ *Altfridi Vita S. Liudgeri*, c. 6. ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 406. From a strong enactment in the *Lex Frison.* (tit. v. § 1. *Canc.* iii. p. 10.) against taking new-born infants away from their mothers, and putting them to death (*infans ab utero sublatus et enecatus*), it may be inferred that this dreadful practice subsisted even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity.

⁵ *Monë*, vol. ii. p. 68. He quotes the "Vita S. Wulframmi."

⁶ A remarkable uniformity of arrangement in the selection of these "high-places" is noticed by *Monë*, vol. ii. pp. 85, 155, 156. He thinks that these mountain-altars are indicative of a very ancient fire-worship. The triangular position of the eminences selected, and the trinal number of the altars, he refers to the Teutonic Triad.

⁷ A short extract from the interesting account given by *Monë* (vol. ii. pp. 83 to 85, and pp. 155 to 157) of these monuments of the ancient religion of the central Germans, may find a place in a note. In the parish of Alversdorf in Ditmarschen, a maritime district of Holstein, many ancient monuments, such as Hünengräber or

Idolatry, though existing in some places, was not prevalent among the ancient Germans.

The Germans combine their political meetings with public sacrifice and festivity.

the exception of the Frisians and the Franks we do not find that any Teutonic nation erected temples to their gods. The mention of images is equally rare; in addition to those of the Frisians already noticed, St. Gall is said to have broken in pieces three brazen idols at Arbona upon the lake of Constance.⁸ But the instances of palpable idolatry are so uncommon as to raise a doubt whether the notices in question are not to be taken as the mere suggestions of that determined prepossession in the minds of the Christian missionaries which beheld idolatry in every act of the heathen worship.⁹

Among the Germans of this age, every public meeting, whether for Hünenbettē (giants' beds), sacrificial stones and tumuli have been discovered and examined within the last century. The most remarkable of these is a row consisting of *three* sacrificial altars, supposed to have been dedicated to Woden, Thor, and Freya. These altars are built in a line east and west of each other. The first to the eastward is surrounded by an enclosure of stones, forming an oblong rectangular parallelogram. This enclosure is ninety-eight feet in length and twenty-five in breadth; the largest stones are at the western end, and one of these is eight feet high, five feet broad, and three feet thick. The altar stands at a distance of twenty-six feet from the eastern end; the great slab rests upon five huge masses, and is, in its present state, ten feet long, ten feet broad, and three feet thick. Beneath this stone is a hollow several feet in depth. The second altar stands upon an eminence about one hundred paces to the westward of the first. The slab is seven feet long, six feet broad, and two feet thick, resting upon five uprights, and having likewise a hollow beneath it. The third altar-stone, eight feet long, five feet broad, and two feet thick, lies about two hundred paces still farther to the westward in the same line. Near the village of Meldorp, in the same district, there are other three altars in a line; and not far from Gudendorp, three more in a triangular position. There is a second triangle at Freistett. All these altar-slabs are placed in a direction due east and west. According to local tradition the sun and moon are said to have had sanctuaries within the district. The country of the Hessians is remarkable for the number and variety of its altars, sepulchral monuments, and sacred groves. The entire district near the confluence of the Fulda and the Werra is besprinkled with tumuli; and from this circumstance it acquired in the early ages the name of the *grab-feld*, or "field of graves." The greatest assemblage of Hünengräber is found near Cassel, at a village called Welheiden, and behind the Habisbichtsbürg (Hawksmount), near the village of Ehlen. Upon the crest of the Taunus, in the southern part of this district, lay the celebrated *Brunehildis-belt*, or grave of Brunehildis, consisting of an enormous mass of rock resembling a huge Hünenbett. Beneath this prodigious slab, popular tradition says, lie the mortal remains of the notorious Brunehildis. In this district likewise the triangular arrangement of the altars is distinctly observable, having (as our authority with great probability infers) an obvious reference to the Teutonic Triad.

⁸ Vit. S. Galli, ap. Pertz, vol. ii. p. 7.

⁹ Notwithstanding the details relative to that worship with which the lives of the missionaries of the seventh and eighth centuries furnish us, the question—whether the Germans of this age were, or were not, idolaters? cannot be satisfactorily answered. Conf. notes 13 and 19. chap. x. sec. 2. of this volume. *Monē* imagines that the *Harahs* were no more than rude sheds built over the altars. Vol. ii. p. 126. *Canciani* (ad Indic. Superst. tom. iii. art. iv. p. 83.) thinks that the "fana," or "casulæ," mentioned in the "Indicatus Superstitionum," were mere wicker huts to shelter the worshippers against the weather; and used, perhaps, as depositaries for the implements of sacrifice, and as places for holding the usual carousals. While this sheet was passing through the press, I received from Germany the work of *Jacob Grimm*, on the "German Mythology." This acute inquirer, after quoting all the passages from the old writers bearing upon the question (most of which have been referred to in the preceding pages of this work), expresses his own opinion with diffidence. At the close of the inquiry (p. 84.) he says, "I think I have afforded ground for believing that there were gods and images of gods in the earliest ages of Germany." This conclusion does not materially differ from that I have arrived at. Grimm acknowledges the rarity of the practice, and the ambiguity of the testimony.

political¹⁰ or judicial purposes, was accompanied with sacrifice. The Mallum,—or, as it is more frequently denominated among the Transrhenane Germans, the *Ding*,—for the administration of justice, was held within the sacred enclosure, under the shelter of the hallowed oak, or in the glades of the consecrated groves. The Franks chose the *harah*, or house of the god, as the place of meeting.¹¹ Here they consulted upon public matters, held their malla, sacrificed to their gods, feasted upon the sacrificial meats, and quaffed the huge bowls of ale and mead provided for the ceremony.¹² The Thuringians and Hessians preferred the stately shadow of some giant of the forest, beneath whose spreading limbs the ponderous altar-stone and the wicker hut or *harug*¹³ were erected.

This sketch of the outward forms of religious worship among the wholly pagan nations of Germany will, we trust, suffice to point out the nature of the obstacles with which the Christian teachers had to contend. A few remarks will be necessary to illustrate the religious condition of the half-converted tribes, particularly that of the Alemanni, Bavarians, and Lombards.

Religious state of the half-converts—Alemanni, Bavarians, and Lombards.

Of the heathenism of the Alemanni, prior to the Frankish conquest, nothing is known but what may be collected from the conduct of the people subsequent to their nominal conversion. A very few years only after the reduction of Alemannia by Theuderich of Austrasia, an opportunity for observing and estimating the progress of religion among them presents itself. The demeanour of the Alemanni of Leutharis and Butelin, during their destructive invasion of Italy, suffices to convince us that, if Christians at all, they were so in name only. They overthrew the Christian temples, they listened with their accustomed deference to their augurs and soothsayers,¹⁴ and evinced undiminished attachment to

Alemanni.

¹⁰ Conf. chap. iv. sec. 3. p. 148 of this volume.

¹¹ This practice was continued after their conversion to Christianity. The mallum was then held within the precincts of the churches. But Charles the Great found that it encouraged heathen practices, and therefore prohibited it. Cap. Reg. Franc. lib. iv. § 28. p. 202. *Ibid.* lib. vi. § 318. p. 291.

¹² The Anglo-Saxons of Britain, like all the nations of the Teutonic family, held their public assemblies at intervals of *nights*. Thus, according to the *Pact. Leg. Sal. Antiquior.* (tit. xl., xliii. § 4. 6.; xlviii. § 1.; lxxvi. § 1. *Canc.* tom. ii.), and the *Lex Ripuar.* (tit. xxx. and xxxii. *Canc.* iii.); all the terms for holding the mallum are from *seven-night* to *seven-night*, or from *fort-night* to *fort-night*, or some other nocturnal interval. Thus we find Civilis of old convoking the Batavi

in a consecrated grove; and there, amid sacrifice and revelry, proposing and maturing his designs against the Romans. See chap. iv. sec. 3 p. 148 of this volume. *Tacitus* (Hist. lib. iv. c. xiv.) tells us that this meeting was held in the *night-time*; but it is possible that it was no more than one of the usual adjournments of the mallum, computed by nights, which the historian mistook for a nocturnal meeting.

¹³ These huts were called *haruga*, the pl. of *harug*—Frank. *harah*—North. *havgr*. The holy place was regarded as an asylum for persons liable to the *faida* or death-fend. In this sense it was called "*heilicstatt*"—holy-stand.—*Monö*, vol. ii. p. 215. See also Glossary, ap. *Eckh.* Franc. Orient. tom. ii. pp. 952 and 965.

¹⁴ *Agathias* (lib. ii. p. 42) calls them *χορηγομο*

They are peculiarly addicted to the magic superstitions.

the fierce superstitions of their ancestors. The practices of magic and divination appear in an exaggerated form among all the nations of the Suevic race: the Suevi of Spain worshipped the elements, particularly that of fire; they drew presages of future events from the phases of the moon and the positions of the stars; they entertained a rooted belief in the power of witchcraft and necromancy; they waked their dead with loud lamentations, chanting rude elegies in honour of the deceased, exhibiting the ordinary feats of jugglery and buffoonery, and indulging in immoderate feasting and revelry.¹⁵

Bavarians and Lombards are likewise attached to magic rites; and practise heathen sacrifices long after their nominal adoption of Christianity.

Among the Bavarians and Lombards the aspect of the religious state of society is not very different. The former were much attached to the magic superstitions. In the barbaric codes we find very numerous enactments against sorcerers, witches, and poison venders,¹⁶—terms of identical meaning in all these documents.¹⁷ The Lombards frequently performed forbidden rites under a tree which they called the “tree of blood,” from the custom of besprinkling the trunk with the blood of the victim.¹⁸ Upon the recurrence of certain pagan festivals, which were always so ordered as to fall either upon a Wednesday or a Thursday,¹⁹ both Lombards and Visigoths continued, for a long time after their public profession of Christianity, to perform sacrifice in their groves, and other places consecrated by national usage. On these occasions they practised the customary mummeries, with lighted tapers, processions, feasting, and revelry.²⁰ The Lombards, though Christians in name, continued down to the ninth century in the practice of the grossest acts of paganism. One of these customs is worthy of especial notice. A goat was led to the usual place of sacrifice, and there immolated amid the recitation of lays and incantations. The head of the victim was then cut off, and all the worshippers bowed down before it as the representative of the deity.²¹

λόγοι Αλλαμανοι. Conf. *Ammian. Marcell.* lib. xiv. c. 10. p. 55. See also chap. xi. sec. 2. p. 591, of this volume.

¹⁵ Of the Suevi of Spain it is said that whenever they went about to build a house, or to take in land for tillage, or to do any important act of life, they always looked out for some presage or omen. Conf. Excerpt. ex Con. Bracaren. c. 22; ap. *Mansi*, Concill. Ampliss. Collect. tom. ix. p. 844. More fully upon the same subject *Martini* Episc. Bracar. Capitul. (extracts from older councils republished by Martin, bishop of Braga, in Portugal), *ibid.* pp. 857, 858. See also *Lex Alem.* tit. xxxviii. § 2—4; and *Concil. Arelat.* iv. Ann. 524, cum Additt. Gratiani et Burchardi, ap. *Mansi*, tom. viii. p. 629, et seqq.

¹⁶ Melefici et Venefici, wizards and poison-

dealers.

¹⁷ See *Lex Sal. Antiq.* tit. xxii.; *Canc.* ii. pp. 50, 51, with the notes to the passage. *Lex Rip.* tit. xxxiii.; *ibid.* p. 319; and *Capit. Reg. Franc.* lib. vi.; *ibid.* tom. iii. p. 303. Comp. *Leg. Longob.* *ibid.* tom. i. pp. 71, 72.

¹⁸ *Leg. Luitprand.* lib. vi. § xxx and xxxi. ap. *Canc.* i. p. 120, cum not. Ed.

¹⁹ The days sacred to Wodan and Thor.

²⁰ *Canciani* ad Indic. Superst. § 7. tom. iii. p. 86.—*S. Gregorii Magni*, Epist. lib. vii. Ep. 20. ad Agnellum Episc. Tarraconens. ap. *Mansi*, loc. cit. tom. x. p. 99.

²¹ *Canc.* tom. iii. p. 98, upon the authority of St. Gregory the Great. And St. Barbatus, as late as the eighth century, found a silver idol in the possession of duke Romuald of Beneventum,

The prevalence of the magic superstitions proved the most serious obstacle to the progress of Christianity. The severest laws of the Carlovingian codes are directed against the practices of sortilege, incantation, evoking of demons or the spirits of dead men, exhuming and burning human bodies for necromantic purposes, the establishment of gilds for the performance of sacrifices, and many other heathenish customs.²² In the opinion of the religious reformers of the eighth century, every magic practice comprehended in it the sin of idolatry, though no idol had any share in the ceremonies which accompanied the act. And, indeed, nothing contributed more effectually to close the hearts of the people against the purer doctrine of Christianity than the continued prevalence of these degrading and polluting superstitions. The numbers and the power of the persons interested in their maintenance rendered every direct measure for their abolition impracticable. The Christian clergy themselves became infected, and even took a share in the forbidden practices; and though, at the beginning of the seventh century, the Thuringians, Alemanni, Lombards, Franks, and Visigoths, possessed a kind of hierarchy, yet there existed in that body no controlling power strong enough to eradicate the tares which the great Enemy had so successfully disseminated. The heathen hierophants held an influence among the people scarcely less commanding than that of the Christian priesthood; they matched the Christian baptism by a similar ceremony of their own, and compelled the clergy to defend their credit and popularity by admitting some of the grossest extravagances of paganism into the solemn rites of the church. Thus, the riotous custom of waking the dead was adopted at the Christian funerals; churches were built wherever it was practicable, upon the sites of the ancient heathen altars, where the aspect of the sacred grove, the fountain, the sacrificial stone, and of all the objects of pagan veneration, tended to confound in the minds of the worshippers the subject of their present with that of their former adoration; hymns and psalms, paternosters and credos, were substituted for profane lays and heathen songs; saints were put in the places of the local divinities; the images and symbolical figures which it had been customary to offer up at the altars of the gods for the recovery of health, or other temporal

The prevalence of the magic superstitions proves the most serious obstacle to the progress of Christianity.

The Christian clergy are infected by the popular superstitions.

The clergy, in defence of their influence, adopt into the Christian service many of the grossest rites of paganism.

which the saint purloined, and converted into a sacramental chalice. *Vit. S. Barbatii* in Act. Ss. Boll. Februar. tom. iii. p. 139, et seqq.

²² *Monē*, vol. ii. p. 59. Among the Bavarians, *Monē* (loc. cit. p. 229, 230) enumerates the different classes of practitioners in the occult sciences, such as *hazasa*, divini, wizards; *hei-*

lande, augurs; *wisa*, magicians; *traumscheidara*, expounders of dreams; *cauculara*, gawkers, jugglers, stage-players, mummers; *luppara*, poison-venders, and many other professional attendants at religious festivals, wakes, and assemblies of the people. Conf. chap. xii. sec. 2. pp. 676, 677, of this volume.

blessings, were changed into votive tablets, and placed upon the altar, or suspended from the walls of the churches. In conformity with the heathen practice of depositing emblematic images in the graves of the deceased, as a protection or passport to the world of spirits, it now became the custom to deposit the sacramental bread in the coffins of the dead, as a viaticum ;²³ religious vows, formerly taken in the consecrated groves and holy places, were directed to be made in the churches ; the greater heathen festivals were appropriated to Christ and his saints, and the populace was permitted to celebrate them with all the accustomed revelry and excesses ;²⁴ in France, Burgundy, and most parts of christianized Germany, the waking of the dead was connived at, or openly permitted ; and the inferior clergy often joined in the profane pageants practised on all these occasions.²⁵

The higher orders of the hierarchy strive against the prevalent corruptions. The synods of the seventh and eighth centuries raise their voices against the most revolting of these superstitions.

From the concurrent testimony of the churchmen and the annalists of the sixth century, it is manifest that Christianity had, by its contact with heathenism, contracted a degree of corruption which, to ordinary observation, left little to choose between the new and the old religion. The prohibitions and reforms of the provincial synods held during this century seem to have produced little effect in diverting the public mind from the ancient superstitions. Yet the voice of reform was always heard above the clamour of popular prejudice. The higher orders of the hierarchy stood up against the most revolting of the prevalent abuses ; the Scriptures were read with assiduity by those to whom the manuscripts were accessible ; the more zealous and enlightened men of the age perceived, and lamented, the little distinction between a state of absolute paganism and the adulterated Christianity which had been substituted for it. And though it is abundantly clear that they regarded the scheme of accommodation, within certain limits, as expedient to the progress of the gospel, yet it is equally so that their hearts were firmly and devoutly set upon the eradication of those

²³ *Concil. Antissiodor.* ad Ann. 578. can. 12. ap. *Mansi*, tom. ix. p. 912. Conf. *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient tom. i. p. 39, for an interesting account of the emblematic images found in the grave of Childerich, the father of Chlodwig, who was buried at Tournay.

²⁴ These festivals were celebrated in the nighttime and by torch-light, with the usual mummeries, scenic and religious processions, riotous feasting and revelry, in honour of Christ and his saints. *Monë*, vol. ii. p. 189. At the Yule feast of the Burgundians the mummers disguised themselves as stags, calves, and other animals, and went about distributing presents

from house to house. *Concil. Antiss.* loc. mod. cit. can. 1—5. 9. The fathers of a council held at Arles in 524 condemned the practice of depositing the consecrated elements in the graves of deceased persons ; and substituted the “kyrie eliëson” for the profane songs sung at funerals. *Concil. Arelat.* iv. ap. *Mansi*, tom. viii. p. 629, et seqq.

²⁵ *Concil. Antiss.* loc. cit. can. 40. p. 915. At kirk masses (consecration feasts), and on saints’ days, troops of women perambulated the churches singing heathen songs and performing scenic dances. *Concil. Cabilonense.* can. 17 and 19, ap. *Mansi*, tom. x. pp. 1192, 1193.

more glaring diseases of the religious mind which that scheme had so powerfully contributed to produce.²⁶

When we inquire whence the movement originated which gave rise to the important reforms of the following age, and who were the active agents for their accomplishment, our eyes are naturally turned in the first instance towards Rome. Though as yet no church beyond the confines of Italy²⁷ recognized the patriarchal jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, yet it cannot be denied that she was even then regarded with feelings of the deepest reverence. The notion of a supreme *spiritual* authority, in matters of faith and discipline, either had no existence at all in the Transalpine churches, or it partook of all the incoherence and vagueness characteristic of the barbaric conception of the *temporal* sovereignty. The idea of the former could rest upon no other foundation than that of the latter, namely, habitual respect, and observance, which might gradually mature into custom. This state of things, however, was highly favourable to a power already in possession of the undivided regard of the Christian world. Under such circumstances it might have been expected that Rome should have taken the lead in asserting the purity of the Christian faith. But during a great part of the sixth century her attention was absorbed by her disputes with Constantinople; the turbulent Lombards closed around her exposed and almost defenceless territory, and impeded her communications with the rest of Europe; and when the elevation of Gregory, the abbot of St. Andrews at Rome, to the pontifical chair, had restored her to some degree of activity, the movement which had for its object the purification of Christianity from the manifold corruptions which it had contracted had already begun in a far-distant corner of Christendom.

The general movement in behalf of reformation which took place in the latter end of the eighth century did not originate with Rome.

I. About twenty years before the arrival of Augustine, the emissary of Gregory the Great in Britain, Columb, or Columbanus, an Irish monk, believed to have been a member of the religious community then lately established upon one of the islands of the Hebrides, called Hii,²⁸ set forth with a few companions,—among whom Gallus, or Gillian, was one,—

A.D. 575.
I. *Republication of Christianity among the Alemanni.*
Columbanus sets forth from Iona to

²⁶ Thus Pope Gregory the Great (than whom no man more clearly saw and deplored the evil of the times) replies to certain questions propounded to him by his emissary Augustine from Britain. "In this age," he says, "the holy church censures some things from fervour; others it tolerates from its clemency; others again it connives at (dissimulat) for some important consideration, enduring and passing over for the present the evil it would restrain, in the hope of checking the mischief most complained of by wise forbearance and prudent dissimulation. *Rescript. B. Gregor.*

ad Augustin., &c. ap. *Mansi*, tom. x. p. 418. The instructions of the venerable bishop, Daniel of Winchester, to his pupil Winfred (Boniface), the future apostle of Germany (Ep. S. Bonif. ap. *Monö*, vol. ii. pp. 209, 210), are in the same spirit.

²⁷ It may be questioned whether all the churches of that country recognized the patriarchal jurisdiction of Rome.

²⁸ Afterwards Icolm-kill, or the cell of Columb.

preach the
gospel to the
heathen.

He settles at
Luxeuil
in the Vosges
mountains ;

but is expelled
by Brunehildis.

He takes up
his abode at
Tuggen on the
lake of Zurich ;

to preach the gospel to the heathen world. They traversed the territories of the pagan Anglo-Saxons ; but meeting probably with little success there, they crossed the channel into the territories of Sigibert I. of Austrasia. The reputation of their preaching and sanctity preceded them, and secured a welcome reception at the court of that prince. Anxious to enjoy the advantage of their prayers,—from which it is obvious he expected something more than merely spiritual benefits,—Sigibert endeavoured to retain them near his own person. But the devout wanderers protested “ that they had forsaken all to follow Christ, and that they could not now conscientiously expose themselves to the allurements of the world, its cares, or its pursuits.” Finding them bent upon their pious design, the king assigned them a dwelling within his dominions ; he chose for that purpose a wild and secluded spot in the heart of the Vosges mountains, where a ruined building, probably of Roman architecture, enclosed several warm and healing springs, the common resort of the superstitious, and but half-converted, inhabitants of the surrounding country. Here they preached and prospered for a term of more than twenty years. Meanwhile Sigibert and his son Childebert II. passed from the scene ; and Brunehildis became all powerful at the court of her grandson Theuderich II. Anxious to retain her power, and fearing the influence of a wife over the mind of the young king, this ambitious woman is charged with having endeavoured to divert him from matrimony by encouraging him in premature indulgences. Desiderius, the honest bishop of Vienne, had succeeded in awakening scruples in the mind of the prince as to the lawfulness of this lewd manner of life ; and Columbanus, whom he often visited in his retirement at Luxeuil, spared neither threats nor persuasions to snatch him from impending ruin both of body and soul. But the influence of Brunehildis prevailed. The upright Desiderius was murdered, and Columbanus was ordered to quit the kingdom.²⁹

Columbanus eloquently remonstrated against the oppressive mandate, and wrung tears of compunction from the eyes of the reluctant emissaries of the queen. His persecutors however prevailed, and the officers of Brunehildis escorted him and his companions to the frontiers of Neustria. Thence he repaired into Austrasia, and for awhile resided at the court of king Theudebert. The political turmoils of the times drove him from this asylum ; he retired into Lombardy, and was hospitably received by king Agilulf. But neither was this his appointed place of rest. He once more passed the Alps, and took up his abode at Tucconia,³⁰ a spot

²⁹ *Vit. S. Galli*, ap. *Pertz*, *Mon. Germ.* tom. ii. pp. 5, 6.—*Fredeg.* c. 36. p. 425.—*Eckhart*. *Frane. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 165, 166.

³⁰ The modern Tuggen, a village at the head of the lake of Zurich.

highly favoured by nature, but defiled by the grossest superstitions. The district lay within the dominions of the Alemannic duke, Cunzo, a semi-Christian heathen; and in the diocese of a bishop resident at Constance, under whom several Christian priests appear to have held a kind of divided sway with the heathen hierophants of the province.

At first their preaching was attended with success; but the indiscreet zeal of the missionaries thwarted the good work so happily begun; they desecrated the sacred places, and threw down the altars of the heathen, and were at last compelled to betake themselves to the protection of the Christian presbyter Willimar, of Arbona.³¹ In reply to their inquiries after a fit spot for the community to take up its abode, Willimar directed them to a fertile tract upon the margin of the lake, near to the ruins of an ancient city. This place had the additional recommendation that it was actually the stronghold of idolatry in those parts; and thither the missionaries repaired, determined to grapple with the old Enemy upon his own ground. Gall, who was more conversant with the language of the country than his superior, preached to the assembled multitude in the very house of their gods with zeal and success. Many renounced their idols, and were converted to the faith; and, at the close of his address, Gall broke in pieces the brazen images, and cast the fragments into the lake³². The brethren hastened to purify the building and to convert it into a church.

but are soon driven away for desecrating the sacred places, and overthrowing the altars of the heathen.

The missionaries preach to the heathen Alemanni, on the lake of Constance, with success.

Gall breaks their idols.

In this place they dwelt for the space of three years, baptizing and preaching the gospel to all men. But they of the old leaven were not disposed wholly to resign their influence, or to witness tamely the insults daily heaped upon their religion. An accidental scarcity of beasts of the chase, from which the people derived a great part of their sustenance, afforded to the heathen a welcome opportunity to assail the popularity of the brethren. They persuaded the people that the dearth was caused by the absence of their gods, whom the Christian missionaries had driven away to other mountains afar off. The latter, far from denying the charge, gloried in the expulsion of the local divinities, to whom they believed themselves the objects of special persecution.³³

They are persecuted by the heathen.

³¹ An old Roman colony situated at a spot where the torrent of the Steinach empties itself into the lake of Constance.

³² Three brazen busts, supposed to represent the god Thor, found in the neighbourhood, are still preserved at Rheinau on the lake of Constance. *Monē* (vol. ii. Tab. ii. No. 8.) has given a drawing of one of them. See also his note ad pag. 244. ej. vol. *Vit. S. Galli*, loc. cit. p. 7. *Jonas*, in his life of St. Columbanus, says that these images represented Wōdan.

Ratpert, in his "Casus S. Galli," ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 61, calls them idols of Jupiter: *Ekkehardus* (ibid.) says they represented Jove and Neptune. It is not unlikely that they were Roman images found among the ruins.

³³ See the curious conversation overheard by Gall one night as he was fishing upon the lake, between the "demon of the flood and the demon of the mountain." *Vit. S. Galli*, loc. cit. p. 8.

Columbanus quits the country; Gall remains behind, and is suspended for contumacy.

Gall builds a cell in the forest of Arbona, at the foot of the hill of Monzeln, between the Steinach and the Runs:

contends with the evil spirits of the mountain and the wild beasts of the forest; and founds the monastery of St. Gall.

He cures the daughter of Cunzo Duke of the Helvetian Alemanni.

But the spiritual weapons to which the demons of the hill and the forest had yielded were of little avail against the hostility of the deluded and enraged country folk. The servants of the missionaries were slain, their cattle were driven away, and their own lives became exposed to imminent danger. Columbanus therefore determined to withdraw his little community from the perils with which they were surrounded: Gall alone resolved to maintain his post: Columbanus visited his disobedience with the sentence of suspension, and retired with the brethren into Lombardy.

Deprived for a time of his sacerdotal functions, Gall devoted himself to the duties of preaching and religious exercise. With the assistance of the Christian priests, Willimar and Hiltebad of Arbona, he settled at a spot where he might enjoy seclusion from the world, without abandoning his projects for the overthrow of superstition and idolatry. Hiltebad conducted him to a wild and humid tract overgrown with wood, and enclosed by rugged mountains, the haunt of bears, and wolves, and wild swine. Here the pious missionary, trusting in the protection of the Master to whose service he had devoted himself, commenced the construction of a cell. The spot he had chosen lay at the foot of the hill of Monzeln, then called the Himilin-berc, or Hill of Heaven, in the angle between the junction of the torrents of the Steinach and the Runs.³⁴ His first task was to obtain ghostly as well as corporeal possession of his new domain, and, to that end, to expel the demon of the neighbouring mountain. The spirit of the Himilin-berc³⁵ gave him some uneasiness, and the beasts of the forest sometimes presumed to invade his retreat; but both these annoyances yielded to the pious resolution of the man of God;³⁶ and thus, amid danger and difficulty, the first rude cell was reared, from which, in after-times, arose the sumptuous, the powerful, and the learned abbey of St. Gall.

The circumstance which appears to have been mainly instrumental in advancing the fortunes, spiritual and temporal, of the courageous missionary bears as strong a testimony to the ascendancy of character as to the superstition and credulity of the age. The daughter of Cunzo, duke

³⁴ The miraculous circumstances with which the biographer adorns the legend of St. Gall, though not without historical significance, are omitted, in order to avoid overloading the narrative. The settlement of Gall in the forest of Arbon took place probably some time in the year 614. *Hermann. Contract.* in Chron. ad Ann. 614.—*Walafrid Strabo* has 613; others go back to 612. See note (17) in *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 9.

³⁵ *Monö* (vol. ii. p. 244) shrewdly remarks

that the name Himilin's-berc denotes a sacrificial station or high-place of the ancient Teutonic worship.—Neither the missionaries nor their hearers doubted the existence and power of these beings. The only difference between them was that the heathen worshipped them as gods, while the missionaries exorcised them as fiends.

³⁶ *Vit. S. Gall.* loc. cit. p. 9. See particularly the miracle of the "bear and faggots."

of the Helvetian Alemanni, was affianced to the youthful Sigibert II., the affianced bride of Sigibert II. of Austrasia.³⁷ But the damsel was believed to be possessed with an evil spirit. Gall succeeded in expelling the demon, and restoring her to health. The miraculous cure made so deep an impression upon her mind, that she devoted herself to heaven ; and upon her arrival at the court of her destined husband, steadily declined to ratify the nuptial contract. The pious prince absolved her from her engagement, and dismissed her with a royal charter, granting in perpetuity to Gall and his community the waste land and forest around his cell.³⁸ This donation was accompanied with a present of two pounds weight of gold, and two talents of silver, together with a royal mandate to duke Cunzo and his subordinate officers, to afford every assistance to the man of God in enlarging and improving his establishment.³⁹

A D. 613.

His cell is endowed by royal charter with all the waste lands and forests around it.

In the year 615, Gall was released from the sentence of suspension by the death of his superior Columbanus.⁴⁰ The episcopal see of Constance was offered to him ; but he declined the charge, and procured the elevation of his friend and former protector, Johannes the priest of Sargans in the valley of Chur. He was now surrounded by friends, protected and cherished by the lords of the land, and firmly established in the esteem of the people. His labours imparted a new impulse to the languishing spirit of Christianity in that and the neighbouring districts : religion was purified of many of its grossest corruptions : the new monastery afforded a point of union for the isolated clergy of the country ; and preachers were sent forth to spread the Gospel, as they understood it, in the remotest parts of the duchy.

A.D. 615.
Gall declines the bishopric of Constance.

His labours as a preacher impart a new impulse to the spirit of Christianity in Alemannia.

From the epoch of his restoration to the sacerdotal function, Gall continued to preside over the new community of the Himilin's-berc for a period of twenty-seven years, and died in the year 640, at the advanced age of ninety-five. The succeeding prelates, more especially St. Othmar, followed in his footsteps ; and for a period continued to spread the blessings of education and religious instruction, without reference to any other model than that derived from the example and precepts of their founder. The infant church of Swabia was as yet unfettered by the con-

A D. 640.
He dies in the year 640, at the age of ninety-five.
His church prospers.

³⁷ See chap. xii. sect. 3. p. 695, of this volume. But Sigibert cannot have sat more than a few months upon the throne of Austrasia before he fell a victim to the conspiracy which ended in the extinction of the family of Childebert II.

³⁸ *Casus S. Galli* of Ratpertus, ap. *Pertz*, ii. p. 62.

³⁹ *Vit. S. Gall.* loc. cit. p. 12.

⁴⁰ Columbanus had originally restricted the punishment to the term of his own life. The biographer assures us that the death of his late superior was miraculously revealed to Gall at the instant of its occurrence, though Columbanus died at the distance of more than one hundred miles, in a monastery built for him in Lombardy. *Vit. S. Gall.* loc. cit. p. 14.

nexion with Rome, and its first prelates had no inducement to postpone the interests of their church to those of a foreign master.

11. *Christianity in Bavaria.* St. Emmeramm preaches religious reformation to the Bavarians.

II. Not very long after the triumph of Gall in Alemannia, the Frankish missionary Emmeramm undertook to reform, or rather to republish, Christianity in Bavaria. It has been observed that very little is known of the civil history of that country for the century and a quarter subsequent to the conquest of Childebert II., which took place between the years 585 and 588.⁴¹ The religious annals of Bavaria are less barren. Arnulph, the biographer of St. Emmeramm,⁴² assures us that, prior to the establishment of the see of Ratisbon,⁴³ about the middle of the seventh century, the churches of Bavaria, which had subsisted since the time of the Romans, had been destitute of local bishops:⁴⁴ at the same time they swarmed with doctrinal heresies, mingled with forbidden and heathenish rites: the clerical profession had fallen into the grossest irregularities: a clergy destitute of discipline, or even of valid orders, polluted Christianity with paganish inventions, and ensnared the princes and people in the subtle net of their own nefarious devices: in many of the mountainous and less frequented parts of the country the darkest heathenism still prevailed, and the entire population of Bavaria continued attached to most of their ancient superstitions. Emmeramm, a native of Poitou, devoted himself to the arduous task of correcting these evils. Notwithstanding the manifold corruptions of the Bavarian churches, the religious spirit was not extinct among them: Duke Theodo and his people received the missionary with the liveliest welcome, and for a period of three years he was permitted to carry on his reforms, apparently without obstruction or complaint.

He is patronized by duke Theodo.

He is accused of incontinence with a princess of the ducal family;

The shameless effrontery, or the blind credulity, of the hagiographers of this dark age has lamentably contributed to tarnish the reputation of those fearless servants of the cross who devoted themselves to the success of the gospel among the heathen. But though we feel assured that the suspicion of fraud, falsehood, or imposture, which these monstrous narratives cast upon the character and motives of the missionaries ought, in most cases, to be laid rather at the door of the narrators than of the heroes of their impious fictions; yet there is *that* in the story of the martyrdom of Emmeramm, which makes us hesitate whether to pronounce the saint a common hypocrite, or the tale of the biographer a

⁴¹ See sect. I. pp. 751, 752, of this volume.

⁴² *De Miraculis S. Emmerammi*, ap. *Canis.* Lect. Ant. tom. iii. p. 105.

⁴³ By bishop Gaubald, the successor of St.

Emmeramm, loc. mod. cit.

⁴⁴ "Absque certis episcopis," bishops without sees or churches.

clumsy and impudent fabrication. He lived, we are told, in unrestricted intimacy with the ducal family at Ratisbon : he was trusted, honoured—almost worshipped as a divinity. A daughter of the duke named Uta, it is said, had become enamoured of a gentleman of low degree, and finding herself pregnant, she applied to Emmeramm for consolation and advice; and the latter, with incredible imprudence, advised her to cast the sin upon himself. At this moment he was upon the point of setting out upon a pilgrimage to Rome : he trusted, says his biographer, that his temporary absence, and the mature investigation which so strange a charge seemed to call for, would allow time for the resentment which the first disclosure would occasion in the minds of her injured relatives to subside; and that, upon his return, an opportunity for clearing his own character, and interceding for the penitent princess, could not fail to present itself. But the discovery took place before Emmeramm was far advanced upon his journey : the enraged brother of the princess pursued and overtook the self-condemned seducer at a village called Helphandorf, and put him to death with great cruelty.⁴⁵ We are indeed gravely assured that, prior to his departure, the saint had intrusted the full particulars of the transaction to a single priest named Wolfaic, in order that in case of accident a witness to his innocence might not be wanting. But whether it be to clear the character of the saint, or to accredit the tale itself, the device can, at this distance of time, be of no avail; and though we are perhaps warranted in rejecting the whole story as a fiction, yet the most devout adherent of the church of Rome cannot but lament that strange infatuation which prompted the admission of a name thus tainted into the sacred calendar, as a saint and martyr of the faith.⁴⁶

The date of the alleged martyrdom of Emmeramm is uncertain. A period of several years, however, elapsed before any other reformer appeared; and the churches of Bavaria seem to have fallen back into the depths of heresy and heathenism. But in the year 680, Rupert, bishop of Worms, undertook, with the full concurrence of Duke Theodo II., to restore order and discipline. His exertions were zealously seconded by the duke, and his pious duchess Reginotrudis. With the assistance of two active and zealous coadjutors, Vitalis and Eustasius, and a company of twelve missionary priests, whom he brought from France, he purified the churches from the grossest of the prevalent

and is put to death by her brother.

After his death the churches of Bavaria relapse.

Some years later, Rupert, bishop of Worms, purifies the Bavarian churches. He rebuilds the city of Salzburg, and is made the bishop of the see.

⁴⁵ *Meginfred*, Vit. S. Emmeramm, cc. ix.—xii. ap. *Canis*. Lect. Antiq. tom. iii. pp. 97, 98.—*Eckhart* (Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 261) dates the death of Emmeramm in the year 672; the *Art de vér.*, &c. in 652 (!)

⁴⁶ The motives imputed to the saint by Me-

ginfred for conduct so extraordinary are, of course, of the most Christian and heroic character. See the eighth chapter of the life, loc. mod. cit. Yet we can discern no other warrant for the canonization of Emmeramm than the tales of Arnulf and the wretched legend of Meginfred.

He erects schools and monasteries, and brings the surrounding lands into cultivation.

Rupert visits all the churches of the duchy.

He keeps up a company of twelve disciples; builds a nunnery for his sister Ermenetrudis,

and dies in the year 718.

Corbinian comes into Bavaria.

A.D. 718.

Corbinian arrives as the avowed emissary of Pope Gregory II.

abuses. The city of Salzburg, which had lain in ruins ever since its destruction by the Heruli at the close of the fifth century,⁴⁷ was partly restored, and erected into an episcopal see for Rupert. A cathedral church was built; a monastery, with some minor religious houses and female convents, sprung up around it; population increased; the highly fruitful lands in the neighbourhood were brought into cultivation; and the mines of salt and metal were once more rendered productive. Under the able management of Rupert, schools and religious societies were established in the remoter parts of the country to serve as seminaries for the instruction of the people, the education of the clergy, and the maintenance of discipline and unity of effort among the teachers themselves.

Rupert visited every district of the duchy in person; he inspected the venerable ruins of the ancient metropolitan see of Lauriacum, the scene of the labours of the venerable Severinus,⁴⁸ and even penetrated into the country of the ferocious Avârs of Pannonia. In devout imitation of our Saviour, he kept up the number of his associates at twelve; and for the accommodation of his saintly sister Ermenetrudis, who had followed him from Worms, he erected a nunnery upon a beautiful eminence close to Salzburg, called to this day the Nunsberg.⁴⁹ After a successful career of judicious reform and munificent provision for the promotion of Christianity, as practised in the Gallic churches, Rupert died in the year 718; bequeathing the care of religion in Bavaria to a class of teachers whose connexion with Rome henceforth forms the most remarkable feature in their history.

In the year of Rupert's death, the Frankish monk, Corbinian, appeared in Bavaria as the avowed emissary of the Roman church. His influence was however in fully as high a degree political as it was religious; and in that respect we have already taken occasion to exhibit a sketch of his character and conduct.⁵⁰ A few particulars may be mentioned in this place, with a view to illustrate his temper as a teacher, as well as that of the school from which he derived his principles of instruction, and his method of enforcing its lessons.

Prior to his entrance upon the ministry, Corbinian had spent some years in Rome, and had been selected by Pope Gregory II. to preach those reformatations which the papacy, in common with all who entertained any regard for a purer Christianity, desired to see established in Germany. Such was the ostensible, and to a great extent the real, motive of his mission. But as a pupil of the Roman school the new missionary carried with him those exalted notions of church-government,

⁴⁷ See chap. ix. sec. 3. p. 471, of this volume.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 472, of this volume.

⁴⁹ Nuns-hill. *Eckh. Fran. Orient.* tom. i. p. 308.

⁵⁰ Sec. 1. p. 755, of this chapter.

and that devout deference for the mother-church, which at all times distinguished the conduct of her emissaries. Besides these qualifications he was endowed by nature with commanding eloquence, great hardihood, and inflexible perseverance. There was much in the conduct of the champions of the church in this and the two or three following centuries, that was well adapted to strike with awe, and perhaps with admiration, the minds of the men of an age in which brute strength of purpose offered the only weapon of the right weight and temper to break through the obstacles which sturdy self-will and obstinate prepossessions opposed to every plan of improvement, no less than to every project of public or private ambition. The first act of Corbinian, upon his arrival in Bavaria, was to rebuke in the harshest terms an illicit marriage which Grimoald, son of the devout Theodo II., had contracted with his brother's widow, Pilitrudis. He rebukes Grimoald, the son of Theodo II., for an illicit marriage with his brother's widow. Heedless either of the power or the resentment of the insulted princess, he pertinaciously refused to enter the presence of the powerful sinners until they should have made atonement for their offence. Grimoald had inherited the abject reverence of his father for the messengers of the church, and Corbinian obtained a complete triumph. The guilty pair humbled themselves "at the feet of the man of God;" they confessed their transgression, abjured their union, and promised satisfaction for their ignorant breach of the ordinances of the church. Grimoald and Pilitrudis humble themselves, and promise satisfaction to the church for their offence.

For a time the princess repressed her anguish and her anger; but in secret she allied herself with those enemies whom the unsparing reforms of Corbinian had raised up. The latter was not ignorant of the numbers and power of his antagonists, and he likewise knew that there was one by his side who watched his motions with a vigilant and vindictive eye. But it seems to have suited the plan of the bold innovator to unmask his concealed foe. While sitting one day at table with the duke and his wife,⁵¹ the former was observed to throw a crust of bread to a favourite hound. The princess dissembles her anger. Corbinian, in a transport of holy zeal, rose abruptly from his seat, overthrew the tables, and retired, declaring, that "one capable of thus profaning the food sanctified by holy hands to the use of man, was not a fit associate for a minister of God." Grimoald evinced a deep concern for the unintentional offence; but Pilitrudis, who thought it impossible that human forbearance could extend to the pardon of so gross and public an insult, heedlessly gave utterance to those feelings of indignation which she had hitherto so carefully dissembled. She poured forth a torrent of invective.

⁵¹ The separation seems, by the account of the biographer, to have been incomplete; unless indeed we presume that their intercourse was restricted to what might pass in public or in the presence of their ghostly father.

tive upon the insolent priest who had dared to vilify her marriage, to violate the sacred rite of hospitality, and to cast a public insult in the teeth of his prince and benefactor: she vehemently rebuked the tame and dastard spirit of her husband, and called for instant retribution upon the head of the offender. But the mind of Grimoald was caught in the toils of the churchman, and he scarcely heeded the violent expostulation of his wife. Messengers were sent off to deprecate the wrath of the saint, and to prevent his threatened departure. Grimoald himself followed with his whole court, and speedily brought back the appeased bishop in triumph to the palace.

Corbinian fails to drive Pilitrudis from the court. She attempts to assassinate him.

He retires from Bavaria, and excommunicates Grimoald and Pilitrudis.

He rejects the entreaties of Grimoald to return.

A. D. 725. Charles Martel reduces Bavaria. Grimoald is deposed; A. D. 730. Corbinian returns into Bavaria. He dies in 730.

But all the influence of Corbinian was still insufficient to effect the expulsion of his enemy from the court. In the frenzy of rage and disappointment, Pilitrudis hired assassins to murder him; but though the project was discovered,—we are told, by a miracle,—yet the ascendancy of the duchess over the feeble mind of her husband still thwarted that measure which had now become a mere act of justice to the bishop. His control over the churches of Bavaria was probably by this time fully established; and that temporary secession, which he had more than once threatened, could now be attended with no serious detriment to his power. He retired across the Alps to the convent of Mays,⁵² and from his retreat pronounced a formal sentence of excommunication upon Grimoald and his paramour. Against the former he denounced temporal death—against the concubine, misery and disgrace in this life, and eternal ruin in the world to come. The prophetic malediction fell heavily upon the heart of the duke, and he addressed the most urgent and pathetic entreaties to the man of God to withdraw the curse, and to accept his unconditional submission upon any terms he might think fit to dictate. But Corbinian rejected all concessions; and the circumstances of the times strongly incline us to impute this obduracy fully as much to political motives as to fear of the machinations of Pilitrudis, to which, however, he thought proper to attribute his refusal. “We must beware of that evil-minded Jezebel,” he replied; and with this harsh answer he dismissed the envoys of his afflicted patron.

In the year 725, Charles Martel,—as we have already seen,—after reducing the Alemanni to obedience, crossed the Danube and invaded Bavaria. The fate of Grimoald and Pilitrudis has been before adverted to.⁵³ Hugibert ascended the ducal throne under Frankish supremacy. Corbinian was recalled, and received with the highest honours; and he continued to preside over the churches of Bavaria till the year 730. In

⁵² In the valley of Meran, southern Tyrol.

⁵³ See sec. 1. p. 75S, of this chapter.

that year he died at his episcopal see at Freisingen, in all the odour of sanctity, and was, by his own command, buried beside his patron, St. Valentine, at Mays in the duchy of Trent.⁵⁴

III. It has been observed that the great movement for the conversion of the heathen, which occurred about the close of the sixth century, had taken its rise at a point far distant from the centre of Christendom, and beyond the largest limits that can be assigned to the spiritual influence of Rome at that point of time. Columbanus and Gall had planted new churches in Swabia and Switzerland; Emmeramm, Rupert, Vitalis and Eustasius had restored a purer Christianity in Bavaria, without reference to the papal authority or commission. But as early as the year 590, the accession of Gregory the Great had restored some degree of vigour to the see of Rome. Not only was that church the most respected among the western Christians, but she was likewise not inferior to any in purity of doctrine and discipline; and as soon as a ruler appeared, capable of putting these advantages to profit, she could hardly fail to obtain a gradual ascendancy over every competitor. Gregory was endowed by nature with strong and solid abilities: though affecting to undervalue learning, he had neglected no branch of human knowledge bearing upon theology and ecclesiastical law: his piety was deeply rooted and sincere, and his character of that vigorous and practical cast which is best adapted to combat the obstinate prejudices, and to direct the excitable feelings of men in a rude state of society.

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons—an enterprise suggested probably by the purest piety—became the source of much temporal advantage to the papacy. In the year 596, Augustine, the emissary of Gregory, had landed in Britain. The mission prospered; and in a short time several Anglo-Saxon kingdoms adopted the tenets of the gospel: new teachers were called for; the churches multiplied, and new bishops were consecrated for their government: a succession of able and zealous prelates kept up an unremitting intercourse with the see of Rome: the infant churches of England supplied a body of able preachers, who wrought zealously and successfully in promoting the union of the more ancient churches of Ireland and western Scotland with that of Rome.⁵⁵ The

Rise of the Roman ascendancy over the other churches of the West.

Pope Gregory the Great extends the influence of his church.

His emissary, Augustine, founds the Anglo-Saxon church in communion with Rome.

Augustine and his disciples promote the union of the churches in Ireland and Scotland with Rome.

⁵⁴ The Bavarians for awhile perversely neglected to comply with his dying request, and deposited the body in the church of St. Mary, at Freisingen. But an incessant rain of thirty days convinced Hugibert that the saint was not to be trifled with. The body was exhumed and carried to Mays; and the saint testified his satisfaction by regaling them at the funeral with the

most delicious odours.—The life and adventures of Corbinian are detailed at great length by *Adlzreiter* (Pars I. lib. vii. § 18—20. p. 160—162) and by *Velser* (Res Boicæ, lib. ix. p. 133—138), from the original life by *Aribo*, in the Act. Ss. Ordin. S. Bened. not in my possession. See also the extract in *D. Bouq.* tom. iii. p. 652.

⁵⁵ The Anglo-Saxon Christians encountered

The Anglo-Saxon clergy visit Rome. The monasteries of England send forth many missionaries for the conversion of the heathen. The Anglo-Saxon missions derive strength and method from their connexion with Rome.

monastery of Icolmkill—whence the earlier missions had emanated—as well as the religious communities of Ireland, inherited unimpaired the spirit of their predecessors; and now wrought with unabated zeal, under a better organized and a more effective system of religious government: many of their numbers visited Rome, and brought back with them showy rites, forms, and relics, and a rich treasure of reverence for their spiritual chief: new monasteries sprung up in every part of the island, and sent forth bands of heroic and devoted teachers to impart the blessings of the gospel to the nations who sat “in darkness and the shadow of death.”

It is apparent that the efforts of Gall and of the Bavarian missionaries wanted that strong and systematic character which had in the interim been communicated to the Anglo-Saxon church. In that church the pope was the recognized spiritual chief: in France and Germany he enjoyed high respect—perhaps some authority; but that authority was unsupported by any acknowledgment of supremacy, or of right of government; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon missions, to which our attention is now called, carried out with them a spirit of order, subordination, and plan, which imparted a truer direction, and a more effective operation to their labours.

Ecgbert, the superior of Iona, becomes the patron of the English missions.

Wilfred, archbishop of York, preaches to the Frisians with some success.

Ecgbert, the superior of Iona, had, from his earliest youth, devoted himself to the conversion of the heathen;⁵⁶ but the duties of his station, and the affectionate solicitude of the brethren, prevented him from taking that active part in the good work which he desired. Meanwhile, Archbishop Wilfred of York, who had been irregularly expelled from his see,⁵⁷ was cast upon the coast of Friesland while on his journey to Rome to plead his cause before Pope Agatho, and to solicit his reinstatement. Aldgisel, the duke of the Frisians, received him at his court; and he was permitted to preach the gospel without molestation. Many thousands, we are told, were converted and received baptism; “and thus,” says the Venerable Bede, “was begun the great work which was afterwards accomplished by the most reverend pontiff of Christ, Willibrord.” But the sojourn of Wilfred in Friesland was too short to yield any permanent fruits. In the following year he prosecuted his journey to Rome, and was restored to his see in the year 786.⁵⁸

Ecgbert resolves to preach to the

The views of Ecgbert had taken the same direction. The Anglo-Saxons had not yet wholly lost sight of the land of their fathers. The

more difficulties in the contest with the Welsh churches. The differences chiefly touched the observance of Easter. This point was, it seems, more easily conceded by the monks of Icolmkill and the Irish church, about the year 715, at the instance of the indefatigable presbyter, Ecgbert. *Beda*, Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. v. c. 4. pp. 106,

107. Ed. Cantab. 1722.

⁵⁶ See the pathetic story of Ecgbert and his friend Aedelhun, ap. *Beda*, lib. iii. c. 27. pp. 136, 137.

⁵⁷ By the enmity of Ecgfrid, duke of Northumbria. *Beda*, lib. iv. c. 13. p. 155.

⁵⁸ *Beda*, lib. v. c. 19. p. 206.

Frisians were regarded as a kindred people, and to them Ecgbert resolved to make the first offers of the bread of life. With this view he prepared to proceed thither in person with a company of devout attendants; but the ship in which he was to have embarked was stranded in a storm; the incident was interpreted as an intimation that his active participation was unsanctioned by Providence, and the expedition was placed under the superintendence of his friend and follower, Wicbert. On their arrival in Friesland, the missionaries found that Duke Aldgisel, the protector of Wilfred, was no more; and that he had been succeeded by Ratbod, a bitter enemy of the Christian powers and of their religion. The Christianity which Wilfred had planted had already vanished from the land; the preaching of Wicbert was now disregarded, and within two years he retired from the scene of his fruitless labours.⁵⁹

Frisians, but is prevented.

He delegates the task to Wicbert. The missionaries find duke Ratbod, the enemy of Christianity, upon the throne. They fail and retire.

A.D. 692.

But the purpose of his patron was not shaken by this failure. Ecgbert now dispatched twelve missionary priests, under the direction of a monk named Willibrord, to the court of Pippin of Heristall, with a view to obtain a station on the borders of pagan Friesland, from whence they might carry the gospel into the interior of that country, as well as to the Saxon tribes of the Ems and Weser. Pippin gladly complied with their request, and assigned to them the ruins of the old Roman city of Ultra-

Ecgbert sends Willibrord with twelve companions to preach to the Frisians. Pippin of Heristall settles them at Utrecht.

A.D. 697.

jectum (the modern Utrecht) for their abode. Two of the company were sent off to preach in the nearest Saxon cantons; the rest established themselves at Utrecht, and wrought diligently among the Frisians who dwelt between the Rhine and the Vlie.⁶⁰ The Saxon missionaries failed to produce any impression, and both of them lost their lives in the attempt. Notwithstanding this check, and undismayed by the little success which had attended their own efforts among the neighbouring clans, Willibrord and his associates determined to push their advances to the very stronghold of idolatry itself. Duke Ratbod had retired before the victorious arms of Pippin, to an island upon the coast called Fossiteland, where an idol named Fosto or Fossite was worshipped, with all those sanguinary rites to which the more northern Germans were addicted. But there was nothing in the religion of the people which rendered them morose or inaccessible: Willibrord was permitted to land upon the island, and even to preach before the duke and the assembled people; but the proximity of the object of ancient veneration, and the obdurate dislike of Ratbod to the religion of his enemies, closed the hearts of his subjects to the eloquent appeals of the missionaries. The latter attributed

Willibrord and his brethren penetrate as far as the island of Fossite (Heli-goland);

he is permitted to preach to the people, but in vain.

⁵⁹ *Beda*, lib. v. c. 9. p. 191.

⁶⁰ *Beda*, lib. v. c. 10. p. 192. *Ubbo Emm.*
Hist. Fris. lib. iii. p. 52.

Wicbert
throws down
the idol Fosto
and destroys
his temple.
He is killed,
and the mis-
sionaries are
expelled from
the island.

Willibrord is
more success-
ful in southern
Friesland.
He founds mo-
nasteries;
builds
churches;
goes to Rome
for new powers
from the pope;

he returns;
and is conse-
crated archbi-
shop of the
Frisians.

He founds new
bishoprics and
monasteries.

A.D. 696.
His church
flourishes for
nearly eigh-
teen years.
Ratbod takes
Utrecht, de-
stroys the
churches, and
expels the
clergy.

their ill success to the demoniac influence of the idol-fiend of the neighbouring temple. At the instigation of Wicbert, they accordingly threw down the idol, and destroyed the house of the god. The adviser of this rash act was torn in pieces by the exasperated multitude; but one victim sufficed to appease their indignation, and the missionaries were sent out of the island with threats of instant death to any of them who should dare to appear there in future.

Willibrord now confined his exertions to the narrower limits prescribed to him by his position at Utrecht. The seed he had sown began to produce some fruits. A church and a cell had been already erected. By degrees other cells and a few chapels sprung up in different parts of the country; small colonies of monks were planted here and there; and the general aversion from Christianity seemed upon the decline. Willibrord went to Rome to solicit more ample spiritual authority, and to procure a store of relics to complete the furniture of his new churches.⁶¹ The missionary Suidbert obtained episcopal ordination from Archbishop Wilfred of York, and preached among the southern Saxon tribes upon the Lower Rhine, where he erected a monastery.⁶² Willibrord returned from Rome with the powers he required, and an ample store of the ordinary church furniture, relics, and blessings. In the year 696, he was, at the request of Pippin, consecrated archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius: a new cathedral was erected at Utrecht, and amply endowed by the munificent prince of the Franks: new churches and bishoprics were established, new monasteries were built, and the prosperous community now boldly claimed that attention from the heathen which had been denied to them in their adversity. The converts multiplied apace: Thcudesinda, the daughter of Ratbod, listened and was baptized; and was soon afterwards married to Grimoald, the younger son of Pippin.⁶³

The church of Friesland now flourished in peace for a period of nearly eighteen years. The death of Pippin, and the contest for power between Charles Martel and the Major Domus Raganfrid,⁶⁴ gave a temporary triumph to heathenism. Ratbod took Utrecht, destroyed many churches, and expelled the Christian priesthood; but the event of the battle of Textri once more restored them to their cures. Solicitous for the con-

⁶¹ *Beda*, lib. v. c. 11. p. 193. A Christian church was as incomplete without its relics, as a heathen temple without its idol.

⁶² Upon an island in the river granted to him by Pippin for that purpose. Bede calls this people the *Boructvarian* Saxons—the Bructeri of Tacitus, or a remnant of them. The name survived for some ages longer. See *Beda*, c. 11.

p. 194. Conf. chap. v. sec. 1. p. 173, of this volume.

⁶³ Willibrord, after his consecration, took the name of Clemens. *Atcuini*, Vit. S. Willibrordi, ap. *Canis*. Lect. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 464. See also *Beda*, loc. mod. cit.

⁶⁴ Chap. xii. sec. 4. p. 721, of this volume.

version of the Frisians, Charles Martel rebuilt the ruined churches and religious houses. The aged Ratbod himself consented to be baptized; but when about to receive the sacred rite, he turned abruptly to Bishop Wulfram, and inquired what had become of his heroic ancestors, and whether they were then in heaven or in hell? The bishop, with more honesty than prudence, replied, that doubtless they were all in hell! "Then," rejoined the impatient warrior, "where they are, thither will I go too;" and turned away in anger from the font. He died shortly afterwards; his son and successor accepted baptism; the people followed the example of their chief; and thus was decided the triumph of Christianity in Friesland, after a struggle of twenty-seven years from the landing of Willibrord, and of forty-one from the first fruitless attempts of Wilfred and Wicbert.⁶⁵

They are restored by Charles Martel. Ratbod refuses baptism.

His son and successor is baptized. Christianity is triumphant in Friesland. A. D. 716.

IV. We pass now to the great central region of Germany, where the name of Christianity had hitherto been scarcely heard. The history of Thuringia, since the defeat of Sigibert III. by the rebellious duke Radulf,⁶⁶ is involved in impenetrable darkness; but in the year 686 a Christian mission consisting of three priests—Killian or Gillun, Colomann, and Totmann—appeared in that country. In this mission, as in those of Wicbert, Willibrord, and Suidbert, we trace the hand of the indefatigable abbot of Iona. The missionaries were Irishmen of high birth, who had renounced the world; and, yielding themselves to the current of religious feeling which prevailed in the churches of the British islands, devoted their lives to the propagation of the gospel. After having visited Rome, and obtained episcopal ordination from Pope Conon, Killian penetrated into the interior of Germany, and commenced his labours at Würzburg, the castle and residence of Gozbert, duke of Thuringia. The people, we are told, were addicted to the worship of a demon whom the biographer of Killian calls "Diana:"⁶⁷ they sacrificed horses to the god, and devoured the flesh of the victims. But these superstitions were of that tolerant or yielding character which marks almost all the Germanic religions: the

IV. Progress of Christianity among the Thuringians.

The Irish missionaries, Killian, Colomann and Totmann preach at Würzburg.

A. D. 686.

The people are addicted to the worship of a deity named "Diana."

⁶⁵ *Vit. S. Bonifacii a Willibaldo*, ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 339.—*Ubbo Emm.* p. 53.—*Eckhart*, *Fran. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 283, 309.

⁶⁶ See chap. xii. sec. 3. p. 211, of this volume.

⁶⁷ *Vit. S. Killiani*, ap. *Canis. Lect. Ant.* tom. iii. p. 175.—*Eckhart* (*Fran. Orient.* tom. i. p. 276) conjectures, with considerable probability, that the superstition in question is identical with that noticed in a fragment of a Frankish capitulary published by *Baluzius* (tom. ii. p. 365). This document mentions "certain wicked women who

had backslidden unto Satan; and, seduced by demoniacal delusions, gave out that they possessed the power of riding about upon the backs of certain animals in the night-time through the air, in company with the heathen goddess Diana, visiting many parts of the earth with her, and obeying her mandates as their lady and mistress . . ." *Conf. Capit. de Partibus Saxonie*, c. 6. ap. *Canis.* ii. p. 65. See also the dissertation upon the last article of the *Indiculus Superstitionum*, loc. cit. p. 112.

Duke Gozbert, of Thuringia, is baptized. But having married his brother's widow, Killian desires him to repudiate her; and the duchess causes the missionaries to be put to death.

Hedan, the successor of Gozbert, places the Thuringian church under the superintendence of Willibrord.

The people resist, but are allowed to sacrifice and to feast upon certain conditions, and Christianity becomes the religion of the country.

nation readily submitted to the engrafting of any new scheme of religion upon the old stock of prejudice and superstition; but they were very reluctant to part with those festive rites which distinguished their worship, or even wholly to dismiss their ancient divinities from their thoughts. The duke and many of his subjects accepted baptism from the hands of Killian, and for a time the cause of the gospel seemed to prosper; but Duke Gozbert, like Grimoald of Bavaria, had married his brother's widow, and Killian besought him to repudiate her. This proposal, though made in private, was betrayed to the duchess, who revenged the insult by causing the three missionaries to be put to death, during a temporary absence of her husband.⁶⁸

Some writers ascribe the foundation of the ancient episcopal see of Würzburg to Killian.⁶⁹ Whether this opinion be or be not well founded, it seems pretty certain that the seed he had sown was not allowed to perish for lack of labourers. Hedan, the son and successor of Gozbert, had been one of the earliest converts; and with his approbation, Archbishop Willibrord undertook the government of the new church of Thuringia. In order to forward the good work, Hedan gave to Willibrord the lands, buildings, and serfs of several lordships within his dominions, for the endowment of religious houses.⁷⁰ But Christianity had still many obstacles to overcome. The objections of the people arose not so much from what was enjoined, as from what was prohibited by the Christian teachers. The church yielded in part; the people were permitted to sacrifice and to feast, upon condition that they abstained from immolating horses, and that they sanctified the victim by laying it upon the altar of the church, and making the sign of the cross over it, before it was eaten by the worshippers.⁷¹

⁶⁸ The older anonymous life of St. Killian is followed in the text. The more recent life by *Egilward* imputes the advice of Killian to the obstinate adherence of the duchess Geilana to the worship of Diana, and her steady refusal to be baptized. *Canis. Lect. Ant. tom. iii. p. 181.* According to his biographer, all the agents in the murder of Killian and his two companions,

Colomann and Tottmann, were carried away bodily by the devil.

⁶⁹ *Eckhart* (tom. ii. p. 324) differs, and assigns a somewhat later date.

⁷⁰ See the documents at some length, ap. *Eckhart, Fran. Orient. tom. i. p. 312.* Most of these donations bear the dates of 704 and 706.

⁷¹ *Conf. Monē, vol. ii. p. 24.*

SECTION IV. A. D. 749 to A. D. 752.

The Labours of the Anglo-Saxon Missionaries enlarge the influence of the Papacy—Winfred—His Education—Goes to Germany—His Success—Goes to Rome—He is consecrated a Bishop under the Name of Boniface—Returns to Germany—Preaches in Hessa—Destroys the Oak of the Thunderer—He builds Monasteries—Obtains assistants from England—Church-building—Boniface takes his instructions from the Pope—He is made Archbishop and Papal Legate in Germany—He goes into Bavaria—New Bishoprics in Germany—Boniface goes to France—Synods of Salzburg and Leptines—Introduction of the Roman Canon-law into France—Boniface is made Archbishop of Mayntz—Opposition to, and success of, his Scheme—Schismatic Bishops and Clergy—Alliance between Pippin and the Church—Elevation of Pippin to the Throne—Deposition of the Merwingian Prince, Childerich III.—Participation of Boniface and the Papacy in the change of dynasty—Views of the Church.

THE labours of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries contributed greatly to the extension of the influence of the papacy in Germany. The new teachers looked to Rome as the source of their commission, and regarded her approbation as their highest reward in this world. The churches they had founded embraced the greatest portion and the most fertile regions of that country; but the local government was yet vested in too many hands, and there was still wanting that perfect union of purpose and conduct which could alone impart stability to the new religious system, and strengthen the hands of the church against those powers of darkness with which she held a divided sway. At this juncture an Anglo-Saxon monk named Winfred stepped forth as the champion of the gospel and of Rome. He was brought up at a convent in Exeter, and afterwards studied at the abbey of Netley in Hampshire, where he perfected himself in all the secular and spiritual learning of the age. His temper and his studies led him to adopt the dogma of the absolute unity of the church in doctrine, discipline, and government. The communion with the see of Rome offered the rallying point he desired, and all his thoughts were thenceforth turned to the promotion of that communion, as the appointed means for the final triumph of Christianity. After a transient and unsuccessful visit to the pagan Frisians,¹ he was advised by his friend Daniel, bishop of Winchester, to proceed directly to Rome, and

The labours of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries contribute to enlarge the influence of the papacy in Germany.

Unity is still wanting to the Germanic churches.

Winfred, an Anglo-Saxon monk, goes to Rome, and is sent as a missionary into Germany.

A. D. 716.

¹ Ratbod was at this period master of Utrecht, and had expelled Willibrord and his companions.

He visits Thuringia, and places himself under the directions of Willibrord, the archbishop of the Frisians. He repairs to Utrecht for instructions;

to place himself at the disposal of Pope Gregory II. The pontiff accepted his services, and sent him into Germany with the apostolical benediction, and a present of relics. He paid his first visit to Thuringia, where, it is said, he found the bulwarks of discipline broken down; heresy and dissoluteness of manners prevailing everywhere.² The church of Thuringia was within the province of Utrecht, and thither Winfred repaired for the directions and advice of the venerable Willibrord. The activity and intelligence of the new missionary were not unknown to the archbishop. He felt himself enfeebled by age and infirmity, and was at that moment looking out for a fit person to carry forward the work after his decease. He therefore proposed to Winfred to consecrate him a bishop, and to adopt him as his coadjutor in the see of Utrecht. But Winfred alleged that he had placed himself wholly at the disposal of the pope, and that he could not now alter his destination, or contract any new engagement without the sanction of the holy see.³ This plea was reluctantly admitted: the archbishop permitted him to resume his appointed task, and dismissed him with regrets and benedictions.

returns to Germany;

and preaches with great success; he founds a monastery;

goes to Rome, and receives episcopal consecration to the new churches.

From Friesland, Winfred proceeded into Germany, and by the way converted two brothers named Dettic and Deorulf, the chiefs of a tribe dwelling upon the borders of Saxony. Here, as in Hessa, he found a spurious kind of Christianity prevalent, mingled with pagan rites; but the feeble superstitions of the people yielded to his zealous admonitions, and Winfred was enabled to collect a body of monks from among the new converts, and to construct a cell for them. In a short time so many thousands were gathered into the fold of the church, that the dutiful missionary thought it necessary to report his success to the supreme pontiff, and to solicit his directions and support for the management of the numerous and increasing church. Gregory II. summoned him to Rome, and conferred upon him the episcopal benediction; upon which occasion he changed his name to Bonifacius; at the same time the pope presented him with a book, "in which," says his biographer, "were written and digested the most holy laws of the ecclesiastical constitutions, as enacted in the pontifical synods."⁴ By these laws he commanded him to direct his own conduct, and likewise to

² "The clergy," says his biographer, Willibald, "are found living in fornication, not observing that chastity which becomes the servants of the altar." Boniface was an enemy to the marriage of the clergy; and, like all strict Romanists, stigmatized even matrimonial cohabitation in the case of priests as unlawful and

sinful.

³ *Willib. Vit. S. Bonifacii*, ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. cc. 6, 7. pp. 341, 342.

⁴ "Eique libellum in quo sacratissima ecclesiasticæ constitutionis jura pontificalibus sunt digesta conventibus, accommodavit." The canon law and apostolical constitutions to wit.

edify the minds of his flock by precepts and examples drawn from them.⁵

Thus strengthened and admonished, Boniface returned to his labours in Hessa, with promises of support from the powerful Charles Martel. "But though multitudes," says his biographer Willibald, "were made subject to the Catholic faith, and received the sevenfold spirit by the imposition of hands, yet others continued privately, some even publicly, to offer up sacrifices in their groves and beside fountains; while others addicted themselves to augury, divination, juggleries, and incantations." The Christian priesthood imputed these impieties to the vicinity of a huge sacrificial oak, called the Oak of Thor, the "Thunderer." This tree was the object of popular veneration, and was of course regarded by the missionaries as the stronghold of demoniacal influence.⁶ Thither Boniface repaired, accompanied by a large concourse of new Christians, and boldly struck the axe into the trunk of the tree, amid the curses and imprecations of the heathen, and the acclamations of his own followers. A sudden gust of wind aided the pious work, and laid the giant of the forest prostrate at the feet of the man of God. The heathen were by this token convinced that Thor had forsaken his sanctuary, and retired with indifference from the scene of their discomfiture. The brethren forthwith cut up the huge trunk into planks and posts, with which they built an oratory, and consecrated it to the apostle Peter.⁷

He goes back again into Germany, and preaches in Hessa.

He destroys the sacred oak of the Hessians.

In the interim the affairs of the churches in Thuringia had been falling to decay. Duke Hedan was dead, and his sons had relapsed into heathenism. Besides these misfortunes, the clergy themselves were infected with heresy. The priests Teothwin, Berthar, Eanbrecht, and Hunraed—"false brethren, fornicators, and adulterers,"⁸ whom," says the biographer, "God hath judged according to the word of the apostle Paul"—had seduced the people into all manner of impurities and heathenish practices. Many persons forsook the faith, and the rest knew not whom to follow.⁹

The Thuringians relapse into heathenism.

Boniface hastened to combat these disorders. The resistance of the

Boniface com-

⁵ Gregory is likewise said to have conferred upon Boniface the *Familiarity* (*familiaritas*) of the holy see. The *Familiaris* of that age was one who formed a part of the family or household of king or ruler, and who was, in that capacity, exempt from all control or responsibility to any other authority, and privileged to have direct personal communication with his prince. *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad voc. *Familiaris* and *Familiaritas*. It is not improbable that Gregory thereby intended to render Boniface independent

of all other spiritual authority but that of the holy see.

⁶ The oak of the Thunderer grew at Geismar, a little town in Hessa, not far from Fritzlar, to the right of the road between Cassel and Frankfurt on the Mayne.

⁷ *Willib. Vit. S. Bon.* pp. 343, 344. The transaction is vividly described by the biographer.

⁸ Probably married priests.

⁹ With reference to the heathenism of the Thuringians, *Monē* (vol. ii. p. 211) observes,

bats the heresies and heathen corruptions of the Thuringians. He rebukes the "false brethren," and founds a monastery at Orthorp.

He sends for more missionaries from England.

He distributes them in various parts of the country, builds convents for them, and erects many new churches.

The practice of building churches upon the sites of heathen places of worship abridges the

heathenized Christians was long and obstinate, and the archbishop and his companions were often reduced to want the common necessities of life.¹⁰ But at length the false brethren were driven from the field, "and the numbers both of the hearers and preachers of the word increased daily." The decayed churches were repaired, new ones were built, and a new monastery arose at a village called Orthorp, in honour of the archangel Michael.¹¹ This success brought him many assistants from all parts of Christendom; but his well-founded confidence in the docility and discipline of his own countrymen induced him to give them the preference. He dispatched messengers to England to engage fellow-labourers for his vineyard; and in a short time a colony of devout persons of both sexes joined him in the wilderness of Germany. Many of these were of high birth, filled with courage and piety—"lettered persons, and well instructed in every branch of religious and worldly knowledge: Burchard and Lull; the brothers Willibald and Wunnibald, with their sister Walpurgis; Witta and Gregory; and the religious women, Chunechild, niece of Lull, and her daughter Berathgit; Chunetrud, Tecla, and Lioba."¹² The new teachers were dispersed in every hamlet and homestead in Thuringia; the women were settled in convents under the guardianship of Chunechild, and her daughter Chunetrud was sent into Bavaria; Tecla became the prioress of the devout sisters stationed at Kenzingen and Ochsenfurth on the Mayne; and Lioba took the charge of a convent at Bischoffsheim. At the same time monasteries and oratories were erected at Fulda, Würzburg, Holzkirchen, Ordruff, Orthorp, Geismar, and many other spots; most of them built upon the sites of the ancient heathen places of worship.¹³

The *advantages* of this practice were, that it saved harmless that sacred principle of human nature from which all religion springs, and that it shortened the process of conversion by transferring the devotion of the new converts, without any intermediate step, from the false to the

that in the epistles of Boniface and the lives of the Saints, mention is frequently made of sacrifices of bulls and goats performed by pretended Christian priests at the altars of the heathen gods. They likewise made offerings for the dead, and attended the lykwakes of the heathen. They persisted in frequenting the sacred groves, fountains, and high places of the pagans. There can be little doubt that the false priests mentioned in the text, as well as the presbyters Dorthwin and Erkambert, afterwards noticed, were of this class.

¹⁰ One day, when destitute of a meal, Boniface, it is said, directed the table to be prepared "in faith;" whereupon the archangel Michael dropped a great fish, large enough to afford a hearty dinner to the whole party, into the empty dish. *Othloni*, Vit. S. Bon. lib. i. c. 23. ap. *Pertz*, ii. p. 344.

¹¹ In commemoration of the miracle of the fish. See the preceding note.

¹² *Othlon*. Vit. S. Bon. loc. cit. p. 345.

¹³ The "Fana," "Capitalia," and "Delubra," of the hagiographers.

true God. On the other hand, the *disadvantages* were serious and alarming. The custom of substituting, on all occasions, a saint for an idol, and of building churches and altars upon spots where everything was calculated to keep alive the memory of the discarded superstitions, brought with it many of those evils of which the Christian missionaries were the first to complain;—evils which, after the lapse of ten centuries, may still be traced in the popular superstitions and observances, particularly in those countries where the Roman form of Christianity prevails.¹⁴ But it cannot be disguised that even if the teachers themselves had been capable of imparting, their hearers were wholly unprepared to receive the doctrines of a purer and more spiritual Christianity. The missionaries who preceded Boniface had done no more than obtain from the heathen a public profession of religion, and a certain outward conformity to its rites. The new missionaries adopted the same plan as their predecessors: they resorted still to the old compendious method; trusting to their own vigilance and assiduity in pruning away the vicious excrescences which might grow out of this hazardous scheme of conversion.

The views of Boniface expanded with his success. The churches of Germany were as yet destitute of a head, nor had Rome as yet obtained any formal acknowledgment of her supremacy: Boniface now applied to Pope Gregory III. for the powers necessary for uniting them under one spiritual chief: Gregory cheerfully complied; and, with the arch-episcopal pallium, sent him the commission of papal legate over all the churches of Germany. In the year 738 he went to Rome, where he resided nearly a twelvemonth, communing with the pope upon his plans for establishing one strong and consistent scheme of church government throughout Christendom. Boniface could answer to the pope for the obedience of Germany and England. The Frankish churches, they both knew, would oppose greater difficulties to the success of their design. In France the influence of the papacy was much weaker. The attempt of pope Gregory the Great to introduce the legatine jurisdiction, as well as the adoption of the pallium, and the practice of appeals to Rome, had not met with the desired success.¹⁵ But much might now be

process of conversion, but introduces many evils which counter-balance that advantage.

Boniface, emboldened by success, consults with Pope Gregory III. upon a scheme for uniting all the churches of Christendom under the control of Rome. A.D. 737. He receives the commission of papal legate in Germany.

¹⁴ It is remarkable that, even as late as the eighth century, heathen festivities were still observed even in Rome. Boniface himself boldly charges pope Zachary with remissness in permitting mummeries and processions, with singing and clamour, after the manner of the heathen, in all the streets and public places of the city, particularly on the Calends of January. He then asks, with what right he (Boniface) could, after this, condemn the like practices

among his own flocks? Ep. S. Bon. E. 132. ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 402.

¹⁵ Since the first pallium and legatine commission conferred by Gregory the Great upon the bishop of Arles, scarcely a single metropolitan bishop had applied for the confirmation of the papacy, till the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord set the example in the year 696. No appeal was ever brought before the legate; and the bishops continued as before to hold their synods under their

trusted to the talents and discretion of Boniface; more to the ignorance and worldly spirit of the hierarchy, and probably still more to the secret views of the powerful family which presided over the government of that country, of which views it is scarcely possible to believe that either Boniface or his patron were wholly ignorant.¹⁶

Boniface visits
Bavaria.

A.D. 739.

At his request,
Odilo of Bava-
ria divides the
duchy into four
dioceses: Salz-
burg, Freising-
gen, Ratisbon,
and Passau.

Franconia is
divided into
three dioceses:
Würzburg,
Büreburg, and
Eichstadt.

The commission of the new legate was for the present restricted to Christian Germany; but it extended over every part of that region with the exception of Friesland.¹⁷ Boniface, in the first instance, visited Bavaria, where he found the roots of the old superstitions still rankling in the soil—irregularities, heresies, depraved teachers, bishops without due consecration, and priests without canonical orders.¹⁸ As a remedy for these disorders, he prevailed upon Odilo, duke of Bavaria, to divide the duchy into four dioceses, to the prelate of which he appointed four of his own most confidential followers. Johannes was consecrated to the see of Salzburg, Ehrembrecht to Freisingen, Gaibold to Ratisbon, and Vivilo to Passau. With the same view the province of Franconia—by which name the more southern districts of the great duchy of Thuringia had begun to be distinguished—was divided into three dioceses. The Anglo-Saxon priests, Burchard, Witta, and Willibald, became respectively the bishops of Würzburg, Büreburg, and Eichstadt. Earl Suitger, a powerful Franconian noble, endowed Würzburg and Eichstadt with extensive possessions, which were liberally extended by Charles Martel and his devout son Carlman.¹⁹ Boniface took care to have these appointments ratified by the pope, who might now with confidence regard nearly the whole of Germany as brought within the Roman fold.²⁰

From the feeling displayed by the church towards the memory of

respective metropolitans, without reference to Rome or her behests. *Mannert*, tom. i. p. 315.

¹⁶ In the year 737—therefore the year before the arrival of Boniface at Rome—the nominal king Theuderich IV. had died, and Charles Martel had neglected to fill the vacant throne—a circumstance so important and so pregnant with inference, that it seems impossible that it should have been overlooked either by Boniface or the pope. *Conf. Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 370.

¹⁷ See the letters of appointment of Greg. III. *ap. Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 374. It may be observed that the terms of recommendation are still of the gentlest kind: “*Fratrem et coepiscopum suum Bonifacium suam agentem vicem, cum digno et debito honore pro Christi nomine suscipiant eique morem gerant, &c.*”

¹⁸ “*Injusta hæreticæ falsitatis secta et fornicaria sacerdotum*”—that is, a priesthood not

ordained after the Roman canon law, and living in matrimony. *Vit. S. Bon. a Willib. loc. cit. p. 345.*

¹⁹ *Egilward* in *vitâ S. Burchardi ap. Eckhart*, tom. i. pp. 379, 390, 391. *Eckhart* gives the list of the lordships and lands presented to the new churches, partly from the life of bishop Burchard, and partly from ancient documents yet extant.

²⁰ See the letters of approval, *ap. Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 378. “*Itaque non desinas, Frater reverendissime, docendo eos sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanæ sedis traditionem,*” &c.; and in a subsequent passage, “*Viam salutis prædicare non desistas; et ubi locum inveneris necessarium (idoneum) secundum canonicam regulam episcopos ordina ex nostra vice; et apostolicam et canonicam traditionem eos (episcopos) tenere edocebis.*”

Charles Martel, we conclude that, though inclined to favour the propagation of Christianity, he was not so solicitous as might have been wished for the promotion of the clerical authority. After his death in the year 741, the Romanized clergy turned to his successors with greater confidence; and every succeeding year brought forth some event which heightened their hopes, and smoothed the path to further acquisition.

Carlman was sincerely desirous to reform manifest abuses in the Frankish churches, and summoned Boniface to the court to assist him with his advice in this important undertaking. The opportunity was highly favourable for the introduction of the papal authority; and the legate wrote a letter to pope Zachary requesting his sanction to the convocation of a national synod for the remedy of existing abuses. He informed the pontiff that no general synod had been held in France for a period of eighty years; that during all that time there had been no lawful metropolitan bishop;²¹ that the Roman canon law had never been promulgated by public authority; that the greater number of the bishoprics were in the hands of greedy laymen, and that others were filled by false clerks, persons of evil repute, whoremongers, and publicans.²²

Boniface is summoned by Carlman to assist him in reforming the Frankish churches. Boniface solicits the papal commission to hold a national synod.

As soon as the sanction of the pope arrived, a synod for the Austrasian kingdom was convoked at a place called Salzburg in Thuringia, on the river Saale;²³ and a second was announced for the following year, to be held at Leptines near Cambray, for the Neustrian kingdoms. The ordinances passed at these assemblies denounced degradation and canonical punishments against all clerks leading irregular lives, or living in a state of concubinage; priests were prohibited from bearing arms, or taking part in any military adventure; they were strictly enjoined to abstain from the profane diversion of the chase, and, to that end, to discard their dogs and falcons; every prelate was directed, with the aid of the civil powers, to suppress all heathenish practices, such as profane offerings for the dead, sortilege, charms, incantations, lustral fires,²⁴ sacrifices in honour

The pope consents.

A.D. 742.

Two synods are held at Salzburg and Leptines. They pass canons prohibiting clerical concubinage (marriage), unseemly pastimes, and heathen practices.

²¹ That is, no one who had sued out his palium from Rome.

²² "Scortatores," "Fornicatores," "Adulteri," &c. Not only those who lived after the manner of the men of rank in that country—that is, without any very severe restrictions as to the number or character of their female associates—but also all the married bishops, came under these vituperative designations; and in his reply to Boniface, Zachary observes that no bishop ought to marry more than once, and *that* prior to consecration; and that if, at that time, he chanced to

be married, he ought for ever afterwards to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. See the letters ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 403.

²³ According to *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 404. Others have confounded this synod with that of Leptines or Lestines, in the vicinity of Cambray, held in the following year.

²⁴ The "Nodfyr," or "Niedfyr," was the lustral and sacrificial fire of the ancient Germans. It was unlawful to borrow the fire for sacred purposes from any other fire: it had therefore, on most occasions, to be reproduced, which was

of saints, "which," says the Canon, "foolish persons do sometimes perform within the precinct of the church, after the manner of the heathen, though outwardly in honour of martyrs and confessors, provoking thereby the wrath of God and his saints."²⁵

The "Indiculus Superstitionum," with a formula of renunciation and confession, is drawn up, to be taken by all new Christians, as well as by all persons suspected of heathen pravity. The clergy adopt the canons of Salzburg and Leptines.

In conformity with these canons, a catalogue of the superstitious denounced by the synods was drawn up,²⁶ with a short formula of renunciation, and a profession of faith appended to it, to be made by all new Christians, as well as by those suspected of heathen pravity.²⁷ The clergy bound themselves to observe the ordinances passed at the two synods; they adopted the Canon law of Rome as the sole rule of faith and discipline; they declared all marriages void which had been contracted in violation of that law; they prohibited the sale of Christians as slaves to pagans; and solemnly condemned and deposed two bishops, Adalbert and Clemens—the former a Frank, the latter an Irishman—for denying the legatine power, and gainsaying the innovations which the adoption of the Roman canons tended to introduce into the government of the church.²⁸

Boniface endeavours, without success, to

But a more serious obstacle to the perfect success of the contemplated reforms arose from the reluctance of the lay nobles to part with the

done by rubbing two pieces of dry wood together till they took fire. See *Canc. ad Indic. Superst.* § 15, tom. iii. p. 97. See also *Grimm*, Germ. Mythol. p. 345.

²⁵ *Hartzheim*, Concilia Germanica, tom. i. pp. 48 and 50.

²⁶ The "Indiculus Superstitionum," which has been so learnedly and amusingly commented upon by *Cunciani* in the third volume of his invaluable collection of the barbaric codes.

²⁷ See the formula, chap. xii. sec. 2. p. 679, note 22. Besides the superstitions enumerated in the "Indiculus," Boniface, in the encyclic letters issued by him for enforcing the canons of the councils of Salzburg and Leptines, forbids several other heathenish customs; such as the burying one dead body upon the top of another, depositing the Eucharistical bread in the grave as a viaticum, and giving the sacramental kiss to the body of the deceased. He prohibits the clergy, under the severest penalties, from addicting themselves to auguries, divinations, expounding dreams, uttering charms, and composing runes, spells, and amulets. Boniface likewise introduced the feast of Pentecost into the German churches; he settled canonically the degrees of consanguinity within which matrimony might not be contracted; and fixed the feasts which were to be annually observed. *Eckhart*, loc. cit.

²⁸ Adalbert is described by Boniface in his letter to pope Zachary (*Hartzheim*, Concil. tom. i. p. 62) as an enthusiast and an impostor. He condemned the interference of the pope; he denied the lawfulness of consecrating churches to saints, or of making pilgrimages to Rome; and repudiated private confession. But according to the testimony of his accuser, he at the same time proclaimed himself as an inspired teacher, and put himself in the place of the apostles by pretending to give absolution for all manner of sins. Of Clemens, Boniface observes that he denied and refuted the canons of the church of Christ (the Roman canons), rejected the authority of the sermons and treatises of Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory—possibly as appertaining to *tradition*, not to inspiration;—spurned the enactments of the synods, and of his own authority affirmed, that though he had had two sons born in adultery—probably he had retained his wife after consecration—yet he was still a rightful Christian bishop. He likewise taught, that when Christ descended into hell he liberated all who were detained there, whether Christian or pagan. It is however obvious that the real offence of these two prelates was their resistance to the introduction of a foreign power into the church, and of a scheme of canon law abhorrent from the customs and habits of the people.

revenues of the sees which the necessities of former princes²⁹ had compelled them to alienate. With the authority of the pope, Boniface appointed three new archbishops to the sees of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens: but Carlman and Pippin were unable or unwilling to dispossess the powerful lay occupants of the lands attached to those sees; and for the present the appointments remained without effect. In other respects, little seemed wanting to the success of Boniface and the papacy. At an assembly held at Soissons in the following year, consisting both of clergy and laity,³⁰ in the presence of Pippin himself, all the canons of the previous synods were confirmed and republished; clerical marriages were more explicitly condemned and prohibited;³¹ the new archiepiscopal and legatine jurisdiction, in all ecclesiastical matters, was established, and bishops and people were exhorted to resort to these courts on all lawful occasions.

obtain the restitution of the secularized church-lands;

A. D. 744.

but the metropolitan and legatine powers are fully established in the Frankish kingdoms.

A. D. 745.

Report of Boniface to Cuthbert of Durham, upon his successes in Germany.

The successes of Boniface are best summed up in the report which he sent to his friend Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, in the year 745, for the edification and encouragement of the Anglo-Saxon churches. "In this synod³² we have confessed and decreed the whole Catholic faith in communion with, and in subjection to, the Roman church; and we have vowed obedience and true service to St. Peter and his vicar. We have resolved to hold annual synods, and to sue out our metropolitan pallia from the see of Rome; and that we will in all things strive to pay canonical obedience to the precepts of St. Peter, in order that we may show ourselves worthy to be numbered with his flock. We have likewise resolved, that in every synod the canonical decrees and ecclesiastical laws shall be read and published; that the metropolitans shall examine into the morals and diligence of the bishops; that, after each synod, diocesan assemblies shall be held for carrying the synodal resolutions into effect; and in order to afford to every bishop the means of reforming what is amiss within his diocese, we have directed that he shall publicly lay his complaints before the archbishop; for thus at my own consecration I swore to the Roman church to act, viz.: that if I should find priests or people grievously and incorrigibly departing from the law of God, *I would at all times faithfully report the case to the apostolic see, and to the vicar of St. Peter, for correction*; and in the same way I think all bishops ought to report to their metropolitan, and he to the church of

²⁹ Particularly of Charles Martel.

³⁰ "Comitum et Optimatum." *Hartzh. Concil. tom. i. p. 57.*

³¹ Similiter diximus ut neque clericus muli-

erem habeat in domo suâ, quæ cum illo habitet, nisi matrem aut sororem aut neptem suam. *Hartzh. loc. cit. p. 58.*

³² That of Soissons.

Rome, whenever they meet with obstacles with which of themselves they are unable to contend."³³

Boniface is made arch-bishop of Mayntz.

The triumph of Boniface over *political* opposition was complete in all respects but one. The lay-holders of church lands could not be prevailed upon to yield more than a paltry acknowledgment of one solidus for every house or cabin so held of the churches.³⁴ The *right* of the church, however, was by this expedient saved harmless; present revenue only was sacrificed. Carlman and Pippin now conferred the city of Mayntz upon the legate for his archiepiscopal see, with provincial jurisdiction over all the regions in which he had originally preached, as far as the borders of the pagan Saxons and Sclavi,³⁵ including the sees of Tongres, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, Maestricht, Würzburg, Eichstadt, and Bureburg.³⁶ At Rome all his views were adopted, his measures confirmed, and mandates were issued, in conformity with his designs for drawing the Frankish churches into the closest communion with the holy see.³⁷

But he encounters serious opposition from the bishops Adalbert and Clemens, and a large party among the Frankish clergy hostile to the Roman connexion.

He founds the abbey of Fulda in Hessa.

But much the most formidable obstacles to this consummation arose out of the active resistance of the schismatic bishops Adalbert and Clemens, and the inert opposition of a numerical majority among the Frankish clergy. The hopes entertained by Boniface of more frequent applications to Rome for the archiepiscopal pallium were not fulfilled;³⁸ the decrees of the council of Soissons were inadequately executed, while the Germanic churches within the province of Mayntz were sorely disturbed by the wars of Pippin against the Alemanni and Bavarians. But these adverse circumstances in no degree damped the courage of that extraordinary man. In the midst of contests and turmoils, he found leisure to plan and superintend the erection of a new monastery at Fulda in Hessa, in which he was greatly assisted by the liberality of the pious Carlman.³⁹ The year after the retirement of that prince, Pippin convoked an assembly of estates and prelates at Verneuil, to obtain their solemn recognition of his title as sole prince and major domus of

³³ *Hartz*. Concil. loc. cit. p. 67.

³⁴ *Hartz*. tom. i. p. 71; *Ep. Zach. Pap. ad Bonif. ad Ann.* 745.

³⁵ The see became vacant by the deposition of bishop Gervilio, who had been deprived for some canonical offence. The bishops of Mayntz seem to have established something resembling an hereditary succession. The father of Gervilio had been his predecessor, and was killed in battle by a Saxon warrior. The son avenged his father's death, and with his own hand slew the slayer. *Hartz*. tom. i. p. 72.

³⁶ *Othlon*. Vit. S. Bon. lib. ii. c. 14, and *Eck-*

hart, tom. i. p. 485.

³⁷ *Conf. Ep. Zach. Pap. ad Bon.*, &c. ap. *Hartz*. tom. i. p. 59.—*Concil. Roman. de hæreticis Aldberto et Clemente*, *ibid.* p. 60.—*Epist. Bon. ad Zach. ibid.* p. 61.—*Epist. Gemmulii Diacon. ad Bon. ibid.* p. 66.—*Ep. Zach. Pap. ad Francos et Gallos*, *ibid.* p. 68.—*Epist. ejusd. ad Bon. ibid.* p. 69.

³⁸ See his complaints on this subject in *Epist. Bon. ad Zach. Pap. Ep.* 145. ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 496.

³⁹ See the charter of endowment ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 475.

the Franks. Boniface availed himself of this meeting to cause the papal sentence long since promulgated against the schismatic bishops to be carried into effect. Adalbert and Clemens, together with one Gotschalk, were taken into custody, given up to the archbishop, and by him confined in the distant convent of Fulda. Resistance to the new system of church discipline did not however cease with the humiliation of the ringleaders. It is obvious that Boniface and his clergy had still much opposition to encounter, and that nothing but the continued and steady support of the government could carry them successfully through their arduous undertaking.⁴⁰ That support was not wanting: every political circumstance tended to draw closer the alliance between Pippin and the papacy. The events now to be recorded will, it is hoped, dispel the obscurity which may still hang over that connexion, and place the motives of the parties in their true light.

We have already adverted to the state of things by which the office of mayor of the palace had been rendered hereditary in the family of the first Pippin.⁴¹ It would be contrary to the whole analogy of human conduct to suppose that the eyes of the reigning princes had never been turned towards that throne, the possession of which, though it could not greatly enlarge, could alone perpetuate their power, by giving it a legal and definite character. The aspect of the puppet whom upon great public occasions they were compelled to exhibit to the world invested with all the trappings of royalty, must have been a severe mortification to the pride of power,⁴² in less barbarous times the sight of the fallen

He causes the schismatic bishops to be apprehended and confined in the new monastery at Fulda. He obtains the aid of the government to put down clerical opposition.

Pippin resolves to sound the estates as to their disposition to transfer the crown to his own head.

⁴⁰ In a letter written to pope Zachary in 748, Boniface complains bitterly of this persevering opposition. Renegade priests, he says, were still found who sacrificed bulls and goats to the pagan gods, and themselves partook of the meats sacrificed to idols. He declares that the number of the schismatic clergy who, under the name of bishops and presbyters, deluded and carried away the people, was much greater than that of the orthodox. Among the former, he says, were very many vagrant, adulterous (married), sacrilegious, hypocritical pretenders, as also many shaven (tonsurati) serfs, who had fled from their masters; servants of the devil all of them, living after their own depraved lusts, and seducing multitudes of the people to support them in their resistance to the bishops. These persons he avers carried on their malpractices in wild and lonely spots, or in the cabins of the country folk, where they might avail themselves of the ignorance of their dupes to evade the notice of their bishops; these persons disregarded

the councils, and neglected to put the confession and renunciation enjoined by the synod of Lepitines. *Epp. Bon. ap. Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 479. — *Hartzh.* tom. i. p. 84.

⁴¹ See sect. 2. p. 765, of this chapter.—Conf. chap. xii. sec. 3. pp. 722, 724.

⁴² The description of the ceremony of producing the puppet king in public, given by *Einhart* in his introduction to the life of Charles the Great, has indeed been treated as exaggerated and inaccurate. After describing the mean establishment to which the titular kings were reduced—"nihil aliud proprii, quam unam, et eam præparvi redditus, villam;" he proceeds thus:—"Whithersoever the king was required to go, he was conveyed in a car (carpentum) drawn by a single yoke of oxen, and driven by a peasant after rustic fashion. In this way he was carried to the palace, and to the annual assemblies of the people, and so he returned home again." *Pertz. Monum. &c.* tom. ii. p. 444.

and degraded representative of a long line of kings might have excited a dangerous compassion.⁴³ At this juncture circumstances seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for shaking off the useless trammels of a nominal sovereignty, and for settling firmly the powers of the state in the hands of the only man who could firmly wield them. To the most ordinary statesman the disadvantages of the actual state of the government must have been apparent, and the most enlightened must have been at a loss for any other remedy than that now proposed, unless prepared to risk more than—politically speaking—the naked consideration of justice to a fallen and degraded family was worth.

A. D. 750. By a series of brilliant successes against the Aquitanians, the Saxons, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians, Pippin had humbled or subdued all external enemies. By the retirement of his brother Carlman, all the powers of sovereignty were centered in himself. The hopes of the dominant party among the clergy rested upon him; the hitherto disjointed and distracted realm bowed in tranquil subjection, and he resolved to sound the disposition of the estates upon the delicate question of transferring the crown of the Merwingian race to his own head. To that end he convoked an assembly of notables and bishops at Attigny in Champagne, where, without exciting remark or contradiction, he assumed the tone of a king, and took upon himself those functions of royalty which had hitherto been conceded to the titular monarchs. The experiment was repeated in the following year, and with the like success. It is very remarkable, that in the same year Boniface dispatched his confidential friend and destined successor, Lullus, with instructions to Rome to lay before pope Zachary "certain secret matters, some by word of mouth, and some which he had committed to writing," to which he requested an immediate reply, "*upon the authority of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles,*" in order that he might know how best to suit his conduct to the views of the holy see.⁴⁴ Soon after this Pippin deputed his chancellor, Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, accompanied by Burchard, bishop of Würzburg,⁴⁵ to

He convokes an assembly of notables and bishops at Attigny; he assumes the functions of royalty without contradiction.

A. D. 751.

Boniface at the same juncture sends a secret message to pope Zachary.

Soon after this Pippin sends his chancellor

⁴³ "There was nothing left to them of royalty," says Einhard, in a former part of the same passage, "but the name of king; nor any choice but to rest contented with the name, to sit occasionally upon the throne, with long flowing locks and pendent beard, mimicking the sovereign, giving audience to ambassadors, and returning the answers put into their mouths, as if of their own authority."

⁴⁴ See the extract from the letter of Boniface to pope Zachary, ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 496. This learned antiquary is at great pains to exone-

rate Boniface and the pope from all participation in the crime of deposing the legitimate line of princes. But his reasoning is unusually laboured and inconclusive.

⁴⁵ This *Eckhart* (loc. mod. cit.) stoutly denies; but it is affirmed by most of the annalists quoted in the following note. *Eckhart* contends that Burchard went to Rome in 748, *not* in 751. There seems no reason why he should not have made two journeys to Rome, one in 748, and another three years afterwards. The annalists, it is true, send him to Rome upon Pippin's

propose to the pope the short question,—“Whether the Merwingian prince, who still retained the name of king, but divested of all power, or the major domûs, in whom, with the consent of the nation, all real power was vested, ought to bear the royal *title*?” The reply of Zachary was prompt and favourable—“He who lawfully possesses the royal *power* may also lawfully assume the royal *title*.” If any scruple or difficulty had previously existed, this answer silenced or subdued it; and Pippin the Short, with his consort Bertrada, was crowned king of the Franks at Soissons, by the hand of the papal legate and representative Boniface, in the presence of the assembled nobles and prelates of the realm.⁴⁶ Childerich III., the last of the Merwingians, was shorn and immured in a monastery at St. Omer, where he died about two years afterwards.⁴⁷

Fulrad and Burchard, bishop of Wurzburg, to the pope.

Question put by the envoys to the pope: reply of Zachary: Boniface crowns Pippin and his consort king and queen of the Franks.

A.D. 752. Childerich III., the last Merwingian, is confined in a convent.

With a view to exonerate Boniface and the pope from the charge of lending themselves to this gross violation of the sacred right of kings, it has been contended⁴⁸ that the secret message of the former had no reference to the deposition of Childerich: that, on the contrary, Boniface was at this very time complaining to the pope of the lukewarmness of Pippin in procuring the restoration of the usurped lands of the three archbishoprics, and in aiding the suppression of schism. But it is impossible not to perceive that the complaint of the legate implies at the utmost a momentary impatience of the political obstacles that stood in the way of the full success of his scheme. Nor can we contemplate the actual position of the holy see without perceiving the powerful motives which must have prompted pope Zachary to oblige the prince, to whom alone he could look up for deliverance from the vexations of the Lombards, and for placing the see of Rome upon that elevated station in Christendom to which it had long been aspiring.⁴⁹ It is moreover incredible that, if either Boniface or his patron had regarded Pippin as unfriendly to the interests of the church, they should have so promptly assented to an odious act of injustice to the legitimate line of princes, to whatever state of feebleness and inefficiency those princes might have

The participation of Boniface and the pope in the deposition of Childerich and the elevation of Pippin, is sufficiently proved by the conduct of all the parties to the transaction.

The pope stands in need of Frankish assistance against the attacks of the Lombards.

pin's errand in 749, but then they antedate the elevation of Pippin by two years. Their chronology is uncertain; but they speak positively to the *fact*, and their statement is not inconsistent with the sequence of events.

⁴⁶ *Ann. Fuldens.* ap. *Pertz*, tom. i. p. 346.—*Annal. Metens.* *ibid.* p. 331.—*Annal. Moissiac.* *ibid.* p. 292.—*Annal. Laurissiac.* *ibid.* p. 138.—*Conf. Fragmenta Historica*, ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. p. 694; and the *Genealogia Caroli Magni*, *ibid.* p. 698.

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⁴⁷ It is remarkable, that though a scion of the house of Chlodwig was never wanting as long as it was deemed expedient to keep up the game of royalty, yet there is no notice of a solitary individual of that family having survived its downfall.

⁴⁸ By *M. de Eckhart*, in the passage of his work just quoted.

⁴⁹ And this is likewise the opinion of the learned *Mascou*, book xvi. § 34. p. 334.

The pope's legate Boniface crowns Pippin with his own hands :

the Church is flattered by the reference of the question to its decision.

Boniface is unable to carry through a scheme for the union of the Frankish churches with Rome, and the recovery of the secularized lands of the church without the support of the government. Hence there appears no reasonable doubt that the elevation of Pippin was the result of a bargain with the pope.

fallen. And if we reflect that the legate *was present* at both the diets of Attigny ; that the embassy of Fulrad and Burchard followed closely upon the secret mission of Lullus ; that the reply of Zachary bears no marks of hesitation or want of premeditation ; and, lastly, that his vicegerent *Boniface consummated the transaction by crowning and anointing Pippin with his own hands*, we see little room to doubt the full participation of the Roman church and its agent in bringing about a revolution, which changed the course of human affairs, and which forms an important epoch in the history of the nations whom it affected.

But there are other grounds besides the oppressions of the Lombards which rendered the elevation of Pippin desirable to the Church. The application to Rome referred to the papal decision the highest of all political questions,—*the right of a sovereign to his throne* : an advantage not likely to have been overlooked by a church so well skilled in the art of confounding counsel with precept, and of exchanging the language of advice for that of dictation and command.⁵⁰ Boniface, on the other hand, stood greatly in need of the support of Pippin to overcome the resistance of the schismatic and refractory clergy of France : while the only probable chance of reinstating the church in the possession of the secularized estates lay first in gaining, and afterwards in strengthening the hands of the reigning prince. These considerations incline us to believe, beyond almost the possibility of a doubt, that the exaltation of the new family to the throne of the Franks was the final issue of an alliance which had been for some time silently growing up between the church and the government of France. The advantage was on the side of the papacy : Pippin, indeed, had gained a throne ; but the pope had established a precedent which, by proper management, might make him the arbiter and dispenser of thrones.

⁵⁰ The terms in which the annalists of the ensuing century narrate this transaction may illustrate the remark in the text : thus the *Ann. Bertiniani* : “ Hoc anno, secundum Romani pontificis sanctionem, Pippinus rex Francorum appellatus est,” &c. : the *Ann. Mettens* :—“ Ex consensu Beati Zachariæ Papæ urbis, Pippinus princeps a Bonifacio, &c., rex Francorum constituitur :” the *Ann. Laurissiac* : “ Secundum Rom. Pontificis sanctionem Pippinus rex appellatus est,” &c. : the *Chron. Moissiac*. is more

explicit : “ Per auctoritatem Rom. Pontificis ex præfecto Pallatii (Pippinus) rex constitutus :” and again in the *Ann. Fuld.* we read, “ Zacharias papa, ex auctoritate S. Petri Apost., mandat populo Francorum ut Pippinus, qui potestate regia utebatur, nominis quoque dignitate fruere- tur.” It is easy to perceive that these Annalists, most of whom wrote in the ninth century, took in a great degree the very view of the transaction which the papacy was afterwards so anxious to uphold.

C H A P. XIV.

PROGRESS OF THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL POWER OF THE POPES
DURING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN
THE FRANKISH KINGS AND THE PAPACY.—DOWNFALL OF THE LOM-
BARD KINGDOM OF ITALY.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW DYNASTY
IN FRANCE AND GERMANY.

THE history of the papal power is so intimately connected with that of Germany, that any attempt to separate the one from the other would greatly impair the interest of both, and reduce the latter almost to a dead letter. It is to this connexion that the history of the revived empire of the West is indebted for its grandeur and its dignity. A series of events of the most decisive historical character, exhibiting all the higher powers of the human mind in conflict with the fiercest and most stormy passions of our nature—a conflict which, in the end, subsided into that fortunate equilibrium out of which the present system of European polity and civilization has by degrees grown up—arose out of it. For many centuries the church of Rome held the balance between the lofty pretensions of revived imperialism and the haughty lawlessness of the feudal character, availing herself of every turn in the tide of affairs to advance her demands, and to settle her power upon a broader foundation. The palpable and the numerous, yet for the most part unheeded, encroachments of the papacy form a necessary chapter in the great series of transactions we have undertaken to recount.

Subjects of
the chapter.
General con-
nexion of the
history of the
papal power
with that
of Germany.

There are in fact no events more intimately connected with the political and constitutional history of the European states than those which relate to the progress of the spiritual power: but in order to obtain a distinct and comprehensive view of the operation of that mighty element in the social condition of mankind, we must shortly survey the state of Rome and of the papacy from the conclusion of the peace between the Lombard king Agilulf and Childebert II., in the year 591, to the coronation of Pippin the Short, in the year 752. The most prominent circumstances which contributed to accelerate or retard its progress must be pointed out; and with that view the history of the Lombard kingdom of Italy, the effects of the Monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies, and the internal state of the Roman republic, must engage a

Survey of the
state of Rome
and the papacy
from the year
591 to the year
752;

comprehend-
ing a view of
Lombard his-
tory during
that period;
the effects of
the Monothelite
and Iconoclastic
controversies;

the wars with
the exarchate
and the
Greeks, &c.

share of our attention. The Lombard power in particular, though but an intermediate agent, forms a main connecting link in the history of the church and the empire. The character of the government, the ambition of the princes, the religious prepossessions of the people, and the ancient contest with the Greek exarchate of Ravenna, involved the Lombards, even more than the geographical position of their territory, in all the broils of which Italy could by possibility become the arena; and it was in Italy that the fortunes of Europe for many centuries to come were to be determined.

SECTION I.—A. D. 591 to A. D. 744.

Gregory the Great and the Lombards—Religion among the Lombards—Heresy—Progress of Orthodoxy—Theudelinda—Reign and Death of Agilulf—Adalwald—His deposition—Arioald—Rothari—Legislation of Rothari—Rodoald—Godebert and Grimoald—State of Italy and the Papacy—Monothelite Controversy—Pope Martin and the Emperor Constans II.—Defeat of Constans—He goes to Rome and plunders the public Buildings there—Retires to Sicily and dies—Death of Grimoald—Berlarid—Kunibert—Further progress of Orthodoxy—Exile and restoration of Kunibert—Luitpert—Ragimbert—Aripert—Claim of perpetual neutrality advanced by the Church—Duke Gisulf of Beneventum—Luitprand—Lombard Government—Embarrassment of the Church—Leo the Isaurian—Image-worship in Christendom—Heresy of the Iconoclasts—Controversy—Edicts against Images—Tumults in Constantinople—Their suppression—Resistance of Pope Gregory II.—Disturbances in Italy—The Lombards take Ravenna—They are dispossessed by the aid of the Pope—Policy of Gregory II.—He opposes successfully the decrees against Images—Alarming Progress of Luitprand in Italy—Transactions with Pope Gregory III.—Pope Zachary and the Lombards—Siege of Ravenna by Luitprand—Pope Zachary goes to Pavia—He delivers Ravenna—Procures restitution of the conquered Territory—Returns to Rome—Death and Character of Luitprand.

Agilulf attacks
the Greeks;
takes Perugia,
Polimatri, and
other Greek
towns; ad-
vances towards
Rome;

but is per-
suaded to re-
treat by the
influence of
pope Gregory
the Great.

THE peace with the Franks in the year 591 set the active Agilulf at liberty to pursue his vengeance against the Greeks of Italy. Smaragdus, the exarch of Ravenna, was speedily expelled from the cities of Perugia, Polimatri, Orta, Todi, and some other towns of Tuscany and Picenum, which he had seized during the late war; and Agilulf marched southwards with the view to detach Rome from the Eastern empire. But Rome was now regarded rather as the city of the pope than of the Greek emperor. In Gregory the Great she possessed an able and an upright director; and the influence of his writings and correspondence over the mind of the Catholic queen Theudelinda procured for him a powerful advocate in the heart of Agilulf. Through her intercession, the Lombard king was persuaded to spare the city the miseries of a siege; the Lombards retired from the patrimony of St. Peter, and Gregory

poured out his gratitude in letters of thanks both to Agilulf and Theudelinda.¹ He presumed so far upon the favour of the king as to request that orders might be issued to the dukes of the Lombard territories bordering upon that of Rome, to abstain from their usual depredations upon the patrimony of the church.² There is no doubt but that his wishes were attended to, since a good understanding subsisted between the church and the Lombards during the remainder of Agilulf's reign.

In point of dogmatic form, the religion of the Lombards was low-Arian. Their priesthood held that the Godhead of the Father was one, and the divinity of the Son, as a creature, another; and that thus in fact there were two Gods.³ But even this imperfect form of Christianity was so mixed up with the grossest practices of heathenism as to have lost almost all resemblance to its great model.⁴ Their hatred to the Catholicism established in Italy frequently vented itself in sanguinary persecution. Many of the peasantry whom they attempted to force into the adoption of the Arian tenets, others whom they would have compelled to bow down in abject adoration to the head of the slaughtered goat—a favourite object of religious worship⁵—or to partake of the meat sacrificed to their gods, were ruthlessly put to death. But such a religion could not flourish long in a country where it met with resistance and rebuke from every side. Persecution was very soon abandoned; the practices of divination, sorcery, charms, and sortilege, were of longer continuance, and were probably never wholly laid aside.⁶

The example, the authority, and the munificent patronage of orthodoxy by queen Theudelinda produced a salutary change in most of these particulars. The Catholic worship was now respected and protected: Agilulf permitted his queen to hold unobstructed correspondence with Gregory the Great, and even to baptize her son Adalwald into the Catholic faith:⁷ in every town in Lombardy a Catholic bishop watched and thwarted the influence of the rival prelate of the Arian persuasion: Theudelinda erected a palace at Monza near Milan, and attached to it a church in

The religion of the Lombards is low-Arian, mingled with heathen practices and superstitions.

They persecute the Catholic Italians.

Theudelinda patronizes the Catholics;

she takes instructions from Gregory the Great;

erects a church at Monza, and

¹ Theudelinda was a liberal patroness of the church. She settled Columbanus in a cell at Bobbio, and endowed it with all the land for four miles round. *Ughelli, Ital. Sac. ap. Murat. Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. i. p. 455.* Gregory the Great dedicated to her his eloquent dialogues on the lives of the saints.

² *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 9, 10. p. 456.*

³ “Duos deos esse prædicant. Alium in Deitate Patrem, alterum in Deitate, sed pro creatura, Filium.” *Epist. Nicolii, Ep. Trevir. ad Chlodosuintham ap. Mansi, Concil. p. 769.*

⁴ *Paul. Diac. lib. iv. c. 44. p. 470.*

⁵ *Canc. Ind. Superst. c. 16. tom. iii. p. 98.*

⁶ It is not improbable that the Lombards worshipped a kind of household gods. Such seems to have been the character of the little golden image said to have been purloined and fashioned into a sacramental chalice by St. Barbatus. See note 11, p. 774, of this volume; and the *Vit. S. Barb. c. 1. § 2. in Act. Ss. Feb. tom. iii. p. 439.*

⁷ On this occasion, Gregory congratulated her in warm terms of admiration and delight. *Greg. Mag. Epist. lib. xiv. Epp. 12 and 14; ap. Mascou. tom. ii. p. 234, notes 7 and 9.*

decorates it with unwonted magnificence; she encourages the building of churches, and raises the bishops to wealth and credit.

Agilulf himself continues in outward conformity with the national religion.

Agilulf's policy moderate and pacific.

honour of St. John the Baptist,⁸ adorning it with the most costly decorations which the state of the arts in that age could supply. Through her encouragement the churches rose from their ashes; and by her munificence the bishops, who had hitherto lived in penury and obscurity, were enriched with lands and endowments, and raised to due honour and credit among the people.⁹ Agilulf himself was favourably disposed towards the Catholic doctrine,¹⁰ but whether from a truly royal dislike of the state of pupilage in which, as a neophyte, he might be held by the church, or from apprehension of the resentment of his turbulent subjects, he continued to the close of his reign in outward conformity with the national religion.

His political conduct was upon the whole moderate and pacific. Early in his reign he converted the truce, which his predecessor Authari had concluded with the Franks, into a solid peace: the khân of the Avâric tribes bordering upon the Histrian and Friulian duchies courted his alliance; and internal rebellion was repressed and punished. The impotent pride of the Byzantine court, indeed, revolted from a treaty with one whom it still affected to regard as an upstart usurper; but the exarch of Ravenna was empowered to grant successive truces, by which active hostilities were suspended. In the year 599, indeed, the exarch Callinicus thought fit to break the then subsisting truce; but he was punished for his presumption by the loss of the cities of Padua, Monselice, Cremona, and Mantua; and from the year 605 to the death of Agilulf in 616, no foreign or domestic enemy appears to have materially disturbed the tranquillity of his dominions.¹¹

After his death Theudelinda becomes regent of Lombardy during the noage of her son Adalwald. Adalwald assumes the government, becomes insane, and is deposed.

Adalwald, the son and successor of Agilulf, was under age at the time of his father's death.¹² The regency was for a few years intrusted to his mother Theudelinda, and she improved the interval for the confirmation and extension of Catholicism in Lombardy. But the hopes of the orthodox were soon blighted by the conduct of the young king. Though suffering under a mental malady, he was in due time permitted to ascend the throne. Soon afterwards the disorder manifested itself in wanton cruelty and delight in bloodshed; and before any effectual steps could be

⁸ This was the church in which the kings of Italy were afterwards crowned. *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 23. p. 460, with *Muratori's* notes and drawings.

⁹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 5, 6. p. 455.

¹⁰ *Mascon* (lib. xiv. c. 28. p. 223) says that Agilulf was converted from Arianism by his wife; but the utmost that can be inferred from the document he quotes (a letter from St. Columbanus to pope Boniface IV., written

in or soon after the year 608), is, that he did not object to receive instruction.

¹¹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. cc. 13-29.; *Conf. Mascou*, tom. ii. pp. 218-222. Some incursions of the Avârs upon the Venetian duchies occasioned once or twice the display of the national forces; but they were soon repulsed. *P. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 40.

¹² He was born in 603, and was therefore in his thirteenth year at his father's death. *Murat.* ad *Paul. Diac.* note 213, p. 469.

taken to remove him from the government, many of the first persons in the kingdom had fallen victims to the fury of the maniac.¹³ He was, however, at length deposed and placed in confinement; and the Lombard nobles chose Arioald, duke of Turin, who had married Gundeberga, a daughter of Agilulf, to succeed him.¹⁴

He is succeeded by Arioald, A.D. 626.

The reign of Arioald has left no trace behind it except the name and the period. After governing the Lombards for the period of twelve years, he was succeeded by Rothari, a nobleman of the royal sept of Arod.¹⁵ "This prince," says the historian, "was strong in his person, and a great lover of justice, though stained with the faithless heresy of the Arians." But the Catholics and their clergy were not disturbed in the enjoyment either of the liberties or the property they had acquired during the indulgent reign of Agilulf. Rothari collected the unwritten laws of the Lombards into a code, called the "Edict of Rothari."¹⁶ This prince appears to have been regarded equally by the pope and the Byzantine court as a usurper.¹⁷ However, he made successful war upon the Greek Exarchate; he took all the towns possessed by the Greeks upon the Hetrurian and Ligurian coasts, as far as the confines of Provence, and defeated the Exarch in a battle fought upon the banks of the Scultenna in the Æmilian province, with the loss of eight thousand men.¹⁸

who reigns twelve years, and is succeeded by Rothari.

Rothari collects the customary laws of the Lombards. A.D. 645.

He is successful in his wars with the Greeks.

The legislator Rothari was succeeded by his son Rodoald, who had married Godeberga, a daughter of Agilulf and Theudelinda. The new queen built and endowed a splendid church to St. John the Baptist at Pavia; and under her patronage the interests of orthodoxy were greatly advanced among the Lombards.¹⁹ But the malice of the heretics aimed a deadly blow at her life and fame. A charge of adultery was preferred against her; Carel, a faithful servant, stood forth as the champion of his slandered mistress, and claimed battle on her behalf. The appeal to arms was allowed; and in the presence of the king and his court the gallant Carel struck the slanderer to the earth. The king and the people bowed to the "judgment of God," and the queen was restored to rank and honour. But Rodoald was a voluptuary; and was soon afterwards surprised in the

A.D. 652. His son Rodoald succeeds him. His queen (a daughter of Agilulf and Theudelinda) protects the Catholics.

¹³ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 43.—*Fredeg.* Chron. c. 49. p. 432. The disorder was currently imputed to a charm or a poison administered by the Greek envoy Eusebius.

¹⁴ Adalwald died soon afterwards of his malady; some have thought by poison: "Adalvaldus rex, hausto veneno, periit." *Fredeg.* loc. mod. cit.

¹⁵ "Fara," translated "Generatio," by P.

Warnefrid. The name of this Fara is otherwise spelt *Harod*—quære "Harold?"

¹⁶ This collection was completed seventy-seven years after the arrival of the Lombards in Italy, therefore in the year 645 or 646. *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 44.

¹⁷ See the letter of pope Honorius, ap. *Masc.* tom. ii. p. 259.

¹⁸ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 47. p. 471.

¹⁹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 49. p. 473.

act of adultery with the wife of a subject, and was killed upon the spot by the enraged husband.²⁰

A.D. 652.
In the reign
of Aripert, the
Catholics be-
come the
ruling party in
the church.
Aripert builds
and endows a
church at
Pavia.
His sons Ber-
tarid and Go-
debert succeed
him.
They are de-
throned, and
Godebert is
murdered by
Grimoald,
duke of Bene-
ventum.

The Lombard nobles now chose Aripert, the nephew of the queen Theudelinda, for their king.²¹ Under his government orthodoxy was triumphant. He built and endowed a church without the walls of Pavia, and dedicated it to the Saviour. At his death, in the year 661, his two sons, Bertarid and Godebert, were suffered to succeed him. Discord, fomented by the intrigues of Garibald, duke of Turin, soon broke out between the brothers, each endeavouring to overreach and dethrone the other. An opportunity was thus afforded to the powerful and ambitious duke Grimoald of Beneventum to put himself forward, first as arbiter between the two brothers; and then, as a candidate for the throne. At a meeting between Godebert and Grimoald, for the arrangement of their differences, Garibald persuaded the former to come to the conference with armour under his dress, while he privately warned the latter against intended treachery on the part of Godebert. The two princes, according to custom, embraced: the clinking of the mail under the garment of the king confirmed the suspicions already raised in the mind of Grimoald; and yielding, or feigning to yield, to a sudden impulse of alarm and indignation, he plunged his sword into the body of the unfortunate prince. At the news of his brother's death, Bertarid fled to the khân of Avars, and the kingdom submitted to Grimoald without resistance. The voice of the people cast the guilt of the act perpetrated by the hand of Grimoald upon the traitor Garibald, and the new king was soon afterwards ridded of a dangerous, and perhaps importunate, agent, by the hand of a private assassin. Garibald was set upon and slain in the church of St. John the Baptist at Pavia, by an adherent of the murdered Godebert.²²

Character of
Grimoald.

The character of Grimoald, though sudden and choleric, was open, generous, and placable. He abstained from needless cruelty against the families and adherents of his predecessors; and even permitted the exiled king Bertarid to revisit his native country. But the land where he has once reigned can never be a safe asylum for a deposed prince: a charge of treason was preferred against him by the courtiers of Grimoald;

²⁰ *Paul. Diac.* loc. cit.

²¹ He was a son of her brother Gundobald, with whom she had escaped from Bavaria when expelled by the Franks. See chap. xi. sec. 5. p. 644, of this volume.

²² The assassin was a dwarf of Godebert's household, who was intimately acquainted with Garibald's intrigues, and regarded him as the

real instigator of the murder. He crept into the church with a sword concealed beneath his garment, and watching his opportunity from behind a pillar, with one blow struck off the head of the offender. He was himself immediately put to death by the attendants of the duke. *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. 53. p. 475.

and Bertarid was privately destined to die. But the self-devotion of one of his chamberlains afforded him an opportunity of escape: he took refuge in France, and Grimoald generously forgave the faithful servant who had saved his lord at the imminent hazard of his own life.²³

During the latter half of the seventh century the history of Italy becomes intricate and perplexing. We perceive three distinct powers, striving by totally different means at the same end. The Lombards contemplated the conquest of Italy by physical force alone. The Byzantines strove for the re-establishment of their forfeited dominion, by that mean and tricky policy beyond which the views of their statesmen rarely extended. Between both stood the bishop of Rome, without any strength but that derived from opinion; yet, by virtue of that opinion, exercising a directorial power in temporal affairs, paramount to that of his acknowledged sovereign, the emperor, and gradually impelled by the force of circumstances into a course of policy inconsistent with the character of a subject, and necessarily hostile to every power which did not bend to those pretensions upon which alone his anomalous authority was based. The progress of the heretical and idolatrous Lombards was therefore regarded at Rome with fear and abhorrence. The advance of orthodoxy among them might for a time allay these apprehensions; but the extent of the temporal endowments of the Roman church involved her in perpetual strife with her restless neighbours; and the instinct of self-preservation impelled her to add acquisition to acquisition, till she had placed herself upon the same political level with those who might have the power or the inclination to harm her.

The state of things just adverted to indicates a tendency sufficiently discernible to direct our views and to excite our curiosity, were it merely for the sake of learning how the papacy would extricate itself from the singular position in which it was placed. As a dependency of Byzantium, Rome was involved in the wars of the Greeks and Lombards: an imperial governor still resided within the city; but no military force could be spared adequate to the defence of the Roman territory, and the people were left to their own resources under the potent advice and direction of their bishop. The territory, or duchy of Rome, must therefore be regarded in a great degree as an independent power, the pope as the efficient head of the state, and the spiritual authority lodged in his hands as the instrument of government.

In the year 649 the two great patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople became involved in a bitter controversy respecting the nature

State of Italy during the latter half of the seventh century. The Lombards, the Byzantines, and the papacy, strive for the mastery.

State of the papacy.

The pope, though nominally a subject of the Eastern empire, must be regarded as in effect the head of a Roman republic.

Rome and Constantinople become

²³ *Paul. Diac. lib. v. cc. 1—4. pp. 476—478.*

involved in a controversy respecting the nature of the Divine will in the person of Christ.

Pope Martin excommunicates and deposes the patriarch of Constantinople.

The emperor Constans II. imprisons pope Martin.

Sept. 16, A.D. 654.

The emperor attempts the conquest of Italy.
A.D. 661.

but is compelled by Grimoald to aban-

of the Divine will in the person of our Lord. The Monothelites,—or those who maintained that the human and the Divine will were so intimately combined in the nature of Christ as to be wholly undistinguishable,—were protected by the emperor Heraclius; and this opinion soon became widely disseminated throughout the theological schools of Christendom. But the vigilance of divines soon detected the latent heresy. It was discovered that the new opinion was no other than the revival of the old heresy of Eutyches.²⁴ It was urged that, as in the case of the human agent, the will is the test and the index of his nature, so Christ could not be properly said to have taken upon himself our nature, unless a human will and human motives of action were imputed to him. The Monothelites themselves appear to have been inclined to treat the question rather as a speculative than as an essential dogma; but the zeal of their antagonists thwarted the design of the court and church of Constantinople in this way to stifle the controversy; and in the year 649, pope Martin I. procured the solemn condemnation of the Monothelite dogmas by a council assembled in the church of the Lateran at Rome. But the Latin fathers did not stop here: they decreed the excommunication and deposition of the patriarch Paul of Constantinople as the reviver and patron of the exploded heresy of Eutyches.²⁵ In revenge for this indignity, the emperor Constans II., the grandson of Heraclius, caused the aged pope to be arrested and carried away prisoner to Constantinople, where he underwent a mock trial upon charges foreign from the real subject of complaint, and was afterwards made to linger out the few remaining months of his life in close confinement in an obscure castle upon the Hellespont.²⁶

This violent proceeding embittered the dispute between the two churches. In the year 661 the vicious Constans, driven from his capital by the indignation and hatred of his subjects, landed with a numerous army at Tarentum, took and totally destroyed the city of Lucera, and proceeded to lay siege to Beneventum, the capital of the Lombard duchy of that name. The place was bravely defended by Romuald, the son of Grimoald, and Constans was compelled, by the advance of the latter

²⁴ Abbot of a monastery in Constantinople, who flourished in the fifth century. Eutyches maintained the unity of the divine and human nature in Christ, i. e., that he was *not man* but *God*, or that the divine and human natures were so intimately blended in him as to constitute one nature only, in which the divine so predominated as the waters of the ocean predominate over the drop of honey that falls into them.

²⁵ *Baron. Ann. Eccles. ad Ann. 648*, with the notes of Pagi, p. 387, et seqq.—*Conf. Mansi, Vit. Ep. et Decret. Martini I. Concil. tom. x. p. 786*, et seqq.

²⁶ A memoir of his imprisonment and sufferings, written by an humble attendant who was permitted to wait upon him during his trial and banishment, is still extant, ap. *Mansi, Concil. tom. x. p. 853*, et seqq.

to the relief of the distressed garrison, to abandon his enterprise, and retire precipitately to Naples.²⁷ Grimoald intrusted the defence of the Beneventine territory to his son, and the young prince nobly justified his father's confidence. He encountered Suburrus, the lieutenant of Constans, in the field, and with a very inferior force, completely defeated him. Suburrus, with the remnant of the imperial army, took refuge in Naples; and Constans, abandoning his designs against the Lombards of Italy, prepared to wreak his disappointment upon the disaffected Romans. The submissive reception he met with from the pope Vitalian, the clergy, and principal citizens of Rome, failed to conciliate this sordid and contemptible prince. During the twelve days he resided in the ancient capital of the world, all his time and attention were occupied with devastation and pillage. He stripped the gorgeous dome of the Pantheon of its brazen tiles, and carried off the metal ornaments and statues which, even in its decay, still decorated the public buildings of the city. After shipping off his plunder for Syracuse,²⁸ he retired to Capua, and from thence to Sicily, where he was permitted for a short time longer to try the loyalty of his subjects by all those outrages from which a heart seared and rendered callous by debauchery and guilt may derive a momentary excitement. At length a common serving-man took upon himself the vengeance of insulted humanity, and put the tyrant to death in the bath.²⁹

don his design, and retire to Naples.

Constans goes to Rome;

where he strips all the public buildings of their ornaments, and carries them off to Syracuse.

He then retires to Sicily, where he is murdered in the bath. A. D. 668.

The victory of Romuald drew after it the conquest of nearly all that remained to the Greeks in Apulia; and added the cities of Bari, Brundisium, and Tarentum, to the territory of the Beneventine Lombards. Grimoald meanwhile had become involved in disputes with his own turbulent nobles. The inroads of the predatory Avârs and Sclavi upon his north-eastern frontier demanded vigilance and promptitude; and the bitter hatred which ever subsisted between his subjects and the Greeks of Ravenna seemed to lead to no more decisive result than mutual spoliation and slaughter.³⁰

Romuald, duke of Beneventum, conquers Bari, Brundisium, and Tarentum.

Grimoald died suddenly in the tenth year of his reign. His son Garibald was at first recognized as his successor; but the new king was soon compelled to surrender the throne to the exile Bertarid, and to place himself under the protection of his brother Romuald of Beneventum.

A. D. 670. Grimoald dies. The Lombards repudiate his son Garibald, and replace

²⁷ *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. 6—9. pp. 479, 480.

²⁸ The cargoes lay for some time at Syracuse, till the Saracens invaded Sicily, and carried away the ornaments, together with the treasure which Constans had collected in Rome, to Alexandria. *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. c. 13. p. 480.

²⁹ *Paul. Diac.* cc. 10, 11. pp. 480, 481. See

the note of *Murat.* ad loc. Constans II. reigned twenty-seven years from the death of Heraclius.

³⁰ Grimoald invaded the Pentapolis, and razed the town of Forlimpopoli (Forum Populi) to the ground. *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. c. 17—22. 26, 27. p. 484.

the exiled Bertarid upon the throne.

A.D. 688. Bertarid is succeeded by his son Kunibert.

Catholicism gradually triumphs in Lombardy.

But a large party still adheres to the Arian heresy.

Alachis, duke of Trent, puts himself at the head of the malcontents, and for a time usurps the throne.

No attempt was made to reinstate him; and the enmity of the houses of Grimoald and Bertarid was at last extinguished by the marriage of Grimoald, a son of Romuald, with Winolinda, the daughter of Bertarid. After a reign of five or six years longer, Romuald transmitted the duchy of Beneventum to his son; and in the year 688, Bertarid was succeeded upon the throne of the Lombards by his son, the brave and the orthodox Kunibert.³¹

This king, like his father, was a zealous Catholic. Agilulf, Rothari, Rodoald, Garibald, and Grimoald, had extended at least equal protection to the two religious parties. The queens Theudelinda, Godeberga,³² and Rodelinda,³³ had proved the nursing mothers of orthodoxy; and though the Arian party was still strong in numbers, it seems that by this time the principal families of the kingdom had slid gradually into the profession of Catholicism. It is to be presumed that Bertarid himself was indebted to the support of that party for his restoration; certain it is that the resentment of the Arians gave occasion to the only civil commotion which disturbed the reign of his son Kunibert. The strength of that profession consisted mainly in its alliance with the ancient superstitions of the people, which it had never either outgrown or superseded; and the assaults of orthodoxy were directed at least as much against the practices of the heathen as against the tenets of the Arians. The greater zeal and consistency of the Catholic clergy had placed them upon firmer ground: by their assiduity and perseverance they had raised themselves to acknowledged rank, wealth, and social respectability: in lieu of their ancient groves and fountains and rude altars, the people were provided with stately temples: relics and processions and a showy ritual offered an acceptable substitute for their bloody sacrifices, their riotous festivals, and mischievous mummeries. There remained, however, much to be done before the church could regard her triumph as complete; and the reign of the orthodox Kunibert was disturbed by an insurrection which arose, in a great degree, from the dissatisfaction with which a large portion of the people viewed the growing power of the Catholic clergy.

Alachis, duke of Trent, successfully availed himself of the jealousy of the Arians to dethrone his sovereign. Kunibert was for a time compelled to yield to the tempest; and he retired to a fortified island in the lake of Como, where he awaited the result of the efforts of the Catholic party for his restoration. The undisguised contempt and hatred mani-

³¹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. 32, 33. p. 485; and lib. vi. c. 2. p. 490.

³² The daughter of Theudelinda, and the wife of Rodoald.

³³ The wife of Bertarid.

fested towards them by the usurper stimulated their exertions on behalf of the deposed prince: Alachis possessed neither the power nor the talent to balance their efforts; a revulsion of public feeling in favour of Kunibert speedily took place, and he was restored to his throne amid the acclamations of all classes of his people.³⁴ The pretender retired into the Venetian territory, where he carried on the war at disadvantage for some time longer, and was at length killed in battle.

Kunibert is restored by the exertions of the orthodox.

The progress of orthodoxy within the preceding half century had been equally rapid among the Spoletan and Beneventine Lombards. Romuald and his successors Grimoald and Gisulf were steadily attached to Catholic doctrine and practice. Under the auspices of the last of these princes, the monastery of Monte Cassino, which had stood desolate and unoccupied for a period of one hundred and ten years, arose from its ruins, and was re-tenanted by a numerous colony of monks, under the presidency of St. Petronax.³⁵ The Beneventine clergy testified their plenary adhesion to the Roman scheme of orthodoxy by the adoption of the sixth general synod of Constantinople, and the unqualified condemnation of the Monothelite heresy.³⁶ The people slid gently and gradually into the paths of saint, relic, and image-worship, which had been substituted by their teachers for the numerous objects of superstitious or idolatrous reverence of which they had been deprived. They now trusted to the power of saints and the virtues of their relics, as formerly to their charms and amulets and incantations, to avert natural calamities, contagious disorders, and other private and public mishaps. They became equally eager with the devout Frank³⁷ for the possession of efficacious relics, and vied with each other in the construction of shrines and churches for their due preservation and veneration.³⁸

The progress of orthodoxy among the Spoletan and Beneventine Lombards is equally rapid. Duke Gisulf restores the monastery of Monte Cassino.

The Beneventine clergy adopt the tenets and religious practice of the Roman church.

A. D. 700.

Kunibert was succeeded by his infant son Luitpert, under the guardianship of the dukes Ansprand and Rotharit; but the minor king was soon driven from the throne by Ragimbert, duke of Turin. Ragimbert died before the contest for the crown was decided, but it was brought to a successful conclusion by his son Aripert. Luitpert was taken prisoner and put to death; Rotharit suffered a similar fate; Ansprand and his son, the

Luitpert succeeds his father Kunibert, but is dethroned and put to death by Ragimbert, duke of Turin. He dies; but

³⁴ *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. 38, 39. pp. 487, 488.

³⁵ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 40. p. 503. But the community, it was found, had in the interim suffered an irreparable loss. The bones of St. Benedict, and of his sainted sister, Scholastica, had been feloniously carried away by a party of relic-hunters from Mons and Orleans, to enrich the convent of St. Benoit sur Loire. The brethren of Monte Cassino comforted themselves

for their loss, by the possession of the undoubted nose, mouth, and eyes of the saint, and of all the fleshy parts of both bodies. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 2. p. 490; and see *Muratori's* learned summary of the long controversy about the relics of St. Benedict; note 19, ad loc.

³⁶ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 4. p. 492.

³⁷ See chap. xii. sec. 2. p. 682, of this volume.

³⁸ *Conf. Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 5. p. 492.

his son Aripert maintains himself upon the throne for eleven years.

A.D. 702. Duke Gisulf of Beneventum attacks the imperialists of Naples. The popes claim immunity from the ordinary consequences of war on behalf of the patrimony of St. Peter, or temporal endowments of the see of Rome.

celebrated Luitprand, escaped into Bavaria, and were hospitably received by duke Theodo II. ;³⁹ and Aripert maintained himself upon the Lombard throne, without material disturbance, for a period of eleven years.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, duke Gisulf of Beneventum had carried on frequent wars against the Greek dependencies of Rome and Naples. Of this the popes, as the subjects of the Byzantine court, could not complain, as against themselves, or as for an offence to that temporal dignity to which they were not yet in a condition to lay open claim; but the patrimony of St. Peter comprised, even at this early period, a very large portion of the duchy of Rome: the estates of the see extended from the vicinity of Naples northward as far as Viterbo. Besides these, the popes possessed extensive lands and domains in the north of Italy, and even beyond the Alps, in the southern districts of the Burgundian kingdom.⁴¹ For these widely-scattered possessions the popes boldly claimed immunity from all the consequences of secular warfare. A very large tract of country was thus brought within the sacred pale of the church; and the pope, as the guardian of that property, fearlessly declared spiritual war against every intruder within the hallowed inclosure. This claim was founded upon arguments too specious to meet with a direct denial from the laity of that age, but at the same time too inconsistent with the convenience of belligerents to command unqualified acquiescence; yet the claim, once advanced, was *never* retracted; a fact which of itself supplies the key to the whole mystery of the union of spiritual and temporal authority in the hands of the bishop of Rome.

A. D. 702. Duke Gisulf yields to the papal demand of neutrality on behalf of the estates of the church.

The wars of duke Gisulf with the Greek governor had carried him forward to the neighbourhood of the city. Here he was met by a deputation of the papal clergy, who so successfully urged the authority of the holy see, that he relinquished his design, and retired⁴². Three years afterwards, the usurper Aripert acquired a claim to the gratitude of pope John VII. by the restitution of a district in Lombardy, which, prior to the Lombard invasion, had belonged to the patrimony of the church.⁴³ But these were the tokens of early zeal. The attachment of the Lombards was about to be exposed to severer trials.

³⁹ See chap. xiii. sec. 1. p. 754, of this volume.

⁴⁰ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 17—20.

⁴¹ *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 311) observes, that the see of Rome had, from the earliest period of the Ostrogothic kingdom, possessed a good deal of land in Provence, in the enjoyment of which the popes were not disturbed by the Franks. Conf. the Letters of Gregory the Great, Nos. 1 and 2, ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iv. pp. 12, 13, relative to the management of the Arelatensian property of the

holy see—the “*Patrimonium Gallicanum*,” as it is called by Gregory.

⁴² *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 27. p. 499, with the note of *Muratori* (111). The librarian *Anastasius* (*Murat.* tom. iii. p. 151) merely transcribes Paul.

⁴³ He caused the deed of restitution to be written in letters of gold. It was afterwards confirmed by king Luitprand. *Paul. Diac.* c. 43. p. 504.

In the year 712, Ansprand and his active son Luitprand returned from exile with a strong body of Bavarian troops. Aripert was defeated, deserted by the nobility, and perished in an attempt to cross the Po on his flight towards the Frankish frontier. Ansprand enjoyed the kingdom but a few months: his death made way to the throne for the renowned Luitprand.⁴⁴

Ansprand and his son Luitprand depose Aripert.

Ansprand dies and transmits the crown to Luitprand.

A.D. 715.

Position of Luitprand dangerous.

There is no defined rule of succession to the crown.

The position of Luitprand at his accession to the throne was exceedingly precarious. In the first year of his reign he defeated more than one conspiracy against his own life.⁴⁵ Activity and vigilance alone enabled him to maintain his authority. The anarchical constitution of Lombard society, and the absence of any well-defined rule of succession, threw every candidate for the throne upon the mere attachment of the Fara or clan to which he belonged, and his own military resources and talents. The dukes relied upon the same kind of support to maintain them against the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and to secure impunity for political offences. When the crown felt itself strong enough, dukes were appointed or deposed at pleasure; when the government fell into weaker hands, the dukes disposed of the patronage of the state as the prevailing interest of the moment might suggest; and each noble yielded to, or resisted the authority of the king, according to the strength and number and attachment of his adherents. The leaning towards hereditary succession in honours and offices is scarcely less perceptible in the progress of Lombard society than in that of the Franks and Germans. The more distant duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum lay too far away from the central power to be under any efficient control: the functions of government and the command of the military force were of necessity intrusted to the sole management of the dukes; and with such means at their disposal, it would have been surprising if they had not used them to perpetuate their authority, and gratify family ambition.⁴⁶

The king possesses little control over the dukes.

The remoter governments or duchies become almost independent.

⁴⁴ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 35. p. 502.

⁴⁵ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 38. p. 503.

⁴⁶ The following tables will show the extent to which the dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto had succeeded in confining the succession to their own families:—

DUKES OF BENEVENTUM.

1. Zotto. A.D. 571.—2. Arigis. A.D. 591.

3. Aio, son of Arigis. A.D. 641.—4. Rodoald. A.D. 642.
5. Grimoald I. A.D. 647. King in 661 or 662,

6. Romuald. A.D. 667.

7. Grimoald II. A.D. 683. 8. Gisulf I. A.D. 686.

9. Romuald II. A.D. 703.
10. Gisulf II. A.D. 729, according to the *Art de Ver.* &c. i. p. 413; or 733, according to *Murat.* i. p. 509, note 223.

The church is embarrassed by her connexion with the Greeks, and by the want of power to defend her temporalities.

A. D. 715.

The church of Rome, embroiled on the one hand with the Lombards by her connexion to the Greeks, and on the other embarrassed with the defence of her enormous temporalities, strove to maintain her claim of perpetual neutrality by the dexterous use of spiritual weapons. In the third or fourth year of king Luitprand, the Beneventines took the Greek town of Cumæ by surprise. The town belonged to the patrimony of St. Peter. In vain pope Gregory II. tried the effect of authority and remonstrance to induce them to relinquish their prey. When all prospect of success by negotiation was at an end, he applied to the Greek patrician of Naples, who agreed to lend his assistance for the sum of seventy pounds of gold. The town was recovered, and restored to the church; and Gregory paid the stipulated price.⁴⁷ A few years afterwards, Faroald, duke of Spoleto, invaded the exarchate of Ravenna, and seized the town of Chiasso, likewise a dependency of the holy see, but was compelled by Luitprand to restore it to the church;⁴⁸ yet not long afterwards that prince himself, during his wars with the Greeks of Ravenna, retook and totally destroyed the same town.⁴⁹

A. D. 726.
The pope is spared the

No circumstance in the actual condition of the church was the source

Gisulf II. was a minor. His guardian Andilas was made duke by Luitprand in the year 731, and deposed in 733. Gregory, a nephew of Luitprand, was then made duke, but he died in

740. Godescalk was then proclaimed duke by a faction, but deposed by the king in 741, and Gisulf II. was restored.

DUKES OF SPOLETO.

1. Faroald I. A.D. 570.—2. Ariulf. Circ. A.D. 601.
3. Theodelap, son of Ariulf. A.D. 602.
4. Atto, or Azzo. Circ. A.D. 650.—5. Thrasimund I. A.D. 665.
6. Faroald II. A.D. 703.
7. Thrasimund II. A.D. 724. Deposed by Luitprand.
8. Hilderich. A.D. 740. Appointed by Luitprand.—9. Ansprand, or Agiprand. A.D. 741. Nephew of Luitprand.—10. Lupo. A.D. 746.
9. Alboin. Elected A.D. 757, by the estates of the duchy.—10. Gisulf. A.D. 759, or 760.—11. Theodorich. A.D. 763.

Thus it appears that during nearly the whole of the seventh, and a part of the eighth century, the dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum had succeeded in maintaining the hereditary succession in their respective families. Instances of sons following their fathers occur in the list of the dukes of Friuli.

⁴⁷ *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 40. p. 504. Conf. Baronius, Annal. Eccles. ad Ann. 715, tom. xii. p. 258.* The strenuous cardinal holds up the conduct of Gregory II. on this occasion as a model of the papal policy in all generations. When the rights of the church were invaded, the popes, he says, always resorted in the first instance to remonstrance and entreaty for justice;

next they proceeded to spiritual censures; and if all these expedients failed to bring the offender to reason, they at length had recourse to arms; and *then* they spared neither money nor solicitations to gain over those who possessed the power to defend them. In these wars the cardinal argues—"infertur bellum ex *charitate et misericordiâ*"—in such a contest defeat is infinite gain to the wrongdoer, for he is thereby compelled to redeem his own soul from perdition by making satisfaction to the church. With some amplification, this would be a very genuine historical view of the papal policy.

⁴⁸ *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 44. p. 504.*

⁴⁹ *Paul. Diac. ibid. c. 4.*

of so much difficulty and embarrassment as the subsisting connexion with the Byzantine empire. The Roman people looked forward with anxious solicitude to their emancipation from the exactions of a weak and vicious government. The church entertained similar views; but, with a caution unknown to the secular politicians of the age, would have waited till some equally powerful protector could be found against the dangerous preponderance of the Lombards. But events, over which the pope had no control, set all this caution at nought, and threw him at once into the position which he and his successors were thenceforward compelled to maintain, or sink back into the humble, and—it must be admitted—the perilous condition of a simple Christian prelate.

In the year 717, Leo, an Isaurian soldier of fortune, had deposed and superseded the feeble emperor Theodosius III. upon the throne of the Eastern empire. Within a few days of his accession Leo was called upon to defend his throne and capital against an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs, under the command of Moslehma, the brother of the caliph Suleimân. This mighty host, supported by a fleet of fifteen hundred ships of war, laid close siege to the capital both by sea and land. The walls were however so strong as to bid defiance to all irregular assaults, and to require the patience and the science of a regular siege. The Greek fire, a weapon which, it has been observed, was the resource of an age, when the degenerate Romans of the East were no longer able to contend with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens,⁵⁰ destroyed the fleets of the Moslem. Cold, exposure, and famine did the rest; and after a perseverance of thirteen months, the Arab general obtained permission from the caliph to withdraw the feeble remains of his once-formidable host. The citizens of Constantinople, and with them their pious patriarch Germanus, confidently ascribed their deliverance to the all-powerful aid of the divine Theotokos. During the siege, her image, usually worshipped in the church of Blachernæ, had been borne in procession round the walls, carrying, as it was believed, terror to the enemy, and inspiring the defenders with superhuman confidence and courage.⁵¹ The populace of the capital was, in fact, devoutly addicted to the practice of image-worship; and the terrors of the siege had multiplied wonders, and tended to strengthen the belief in the miraculous powers imputed to the images of the Virgin and the saints. But the emperor Leo had received his religious education in a different school: at this moment it was found impossible

choice between these two difficulties by the conduct of the Greeks in attacking the worship of images.

The emperor Leo, the Isaurian, is besieged in Constantinople by the Moslem.

He compels them to raise the siege.

The people attribute their escape to the miraculous images of the Virgin and saints.

The emperor Leo is adverse to image-worship.

⁵⁰ *Gibbon*, vol. v. c. 53. p. 402.

⁵¹ *Baron. Ann. Eccles. ad Ann. 776. tom. xii. p. 275.*

to stem the torrent of prejudice, and he resolved to await a more favourable opportunity for suppressing the prevalent abuses.

The Oriental Christians become alarmed by the reproaches of idolatry brought against them by the Moslems.

Our acquaintance with the character of Iconoclasm and its adherents is derived solely from hostile informants. Yet in spite of the boundless calumny and invective heaped upon the new sect by their enraged enemies, we cannot avoid recognizing the very general existence of a spirit of repugnance from the growing coarseness and vulgarity of feeling exhibited in the forms of public and private devotion throughout the Eastern churches of Christendom,—a sorrowful and indignant perception of the total decay of that spirituality inculcated by the word of God, and practised by the primitive church. In the East, especially, the lofty theism of the Saracens stood out in harsh contrast with the abject devotion of the image-worshippers. The consciences of many Oriental Christians became alarmed. They listened with dismay to the charges of idolatry poured upon the disciples of Christ by their infidel masters; and this uneasiness was increased when put upon their defence. In vain they cast about for arguments to refute the calumny,—in vain they sought for some palpable, some universally intelligible distinction between image-worship and idolatry. A recondite and slippery sophism could neither supply an answer to their adversaries, nor satisfy their own consciences. Those adversaries, they knew, would appeal to fact; and then the enemy of Christianity had only to point to the prostrate worshipper triumphantly to establish his charge.⁵² Sentiments of this nature had been for some time past fermenting in the minds of the Oriental Christians: from this school the Isaurian soldier, who filled the throne of Constantinople, had drawn his earliest religious opinions; and the outbreak of indignation could now be no longer deferred.

Leo partakes of this sentiment.

The Caliph Yezid orders the destruction of images in the churches of Syria.

The idolatry of the eastern churches had long been the subject of loud and bitter reproach in the mouths both of Jews and Arabs. In the year 721 the caliph Yezid, at the instigation, it is said, of a Jewish astrologer of Laodicea, issued an edict directing the destruction of all images of worship in the Christian churches of Syria. The Jews were the foremost in the work of demolition. Not only images, statues, and pictures, but

⁵² The allegation that no divinity is imputed to the image or any *divine* honours paid to the saint it may represent, however plausible in theory, is altogether treacherous and deceptive in practice. That head must be steady indeed, and that heart better disciplined than perhaps any human heart ever was or ever can be, to avoid imputing some undue degree of sanctity

to the image before which it bows in daily prayer. To the mass of mankind we know it to be utterly impossible. The excuse is therefore deceptive, because to be admissible at all it presumes a degree of spirituality which would render the intervention of any image wholly unnecessary to excite devotional feelings.

plate, church-furniture, mass robes, and every article that was adorned with figures was carried away or destroyed. Long and deeply did the votaries resent this intolerable outrage upon their religion. But the Arab iconoclasm had scarcely ceased to excite the sympathies of the western churches, before their ears were assailed by the alarming report that the flame of infidel fanaticism had spread to the capital of the empire, and that he who sat upon the throne had cast the first brand.⁴³

Before he mounted the throne Leo enjoyed the reputation of an orthodox Catholic. But as the origin of the new heresy might now be traced, to the satisfaction of the image-worshippers, to the enemies of God and his saints, nothing was more natural than that they should ascribe the perversion of the emperor to the same malignant agency. Certain Hebrew magicians had, it was said, promised him the empire, upon condition that he should aid them in the ruin of the Christian religion by the destruction of the sacred images.⁵⁴ An Oriental Christian, named Beser, was the agent he selected for his contemplated reforms. This person had long resided as a captive among the Arabs, and was believed to have abjured his faith, for no better reason than because it was not to be supposed that so execrable a heresy could have entered the heart of any one but a Jew or an infidel. The bishop of Natolia, who partook of Leo's abhorrence of idolatry, was joined with Beser in the imperial commission for correcting the prevalent superstition. The imperial agents endeavoured first, by preaching and precept, to withdraw the people from the grosser practices of image-worship. It appears probable that they met with considerable success; inasmuch as, without the support of a strong party, Leo, who had already deferred the experiment for the period of ten years, could not have ventured upon so decisive a measure as that which he now resolved to adopt. In the year 726 he issued an edict prohibiting the adoration of images. "Having assembled the senate," says John of Damascus, "he vomited forth the absurd and impious proposition, that images and pictures of worship must always partake in some way of the character of idols; and that therefore worship ought not to be rendered to them, lest by any means heedless persons should be seduced into paying that adoration to images which is due only to God."⁵⁵

This mode of presenting the question to the world kindled, as it was intended to do, boundless rage in the hearts of Leo's opponents. Without pro-

The image-worshippers impute the hostility of Leo against images to the suggestions of the infidel Saracens.

He attempts to reform the abuses of image-worship by persuasion and precept.

Afterwards he prohibits the worship of images.

He affirms that image-worship leads

⁵³ Baronius (ad Ann. 723. vol. xii. p. 308) is much delighted with this Jewish pedigree of the heresy of iconoclasm; and, in fact, it had every quality requisite for a good popular calumny: it was terse and bitter, it possessed a semblance of truth sufficient to give it currency, and it ad-

mirably flattered the predominant passions of the populace.

⁵⁴ *Constantine Manasses* seems to have been the first promulgator of this tale. *Baron. loc. mod. cit.*

⁵⁵ *Baron. loc. cit. p. 335.*

directly to
idolatry.

The opponents
reply, that
after the birth
of Christ, no
Christian can
be guilty of
idolatry in
worshipping
visible repre-
sentations of
his divine per-
son ;
that uniform
tradition is in
favour of
image-worship;

that those who
hate the image
of Christ can-
not love Christ
himself :

these argu-
ments apply .43

nouncing the worship of images to be *necessarily* idolatrous, or as idolatry in itself, Leo took the safer ground, that it led by degrees, and with a lamentable certainty, to those practical abominations which had exposed the Christian faith to the slanders of its enemies, and disarmed its defenders. The advocates of image-worship denied that the adoration of the images of Christ and his saints could be idolatrous. "When Christ," says the patriarch Germanus in his address to the emperor, "took upon himself the form of man, and was born of a pure and holy virgin, all demon-worship⁵⁶ became extinct—all adoration of idols fell away of itself;⁵⁷ and *then* the image of the God-man Christ was to be adored and worshipped; and this precept is handed down to us by a clear and uniform tradition. And inasmuch as he came among us bearing a human form and likeness, so the fathers and doctors of the church have perspicuously taught and inculcated that *that* venerable form and likeness is to be adored and worshipped. And thus, not long after the ascension of Christ into heaven, the woman whom he had healed of the bloody issue carved an image of him, as it were, in gratitude for the benefit she had received. But even prior to this, a likeness of the countenance of Christ, the express image of the Father, had been (miraculously) imprinted upon the holy napkin, and sent to the Toparch Abgarus at Edessa; and, last of all, St. Luke the Evangelist himself had painted a portrait of the Virgin Mother of God, which was sent hither from Jerusalem. For these reasons the sacred councils, assembled at various times and places, have decreed that these images ought to be adored, not trodden under foot, by the faithful."⁵⁸

Again, it was asked by the popular advocates of image-worship—"How can they love Christ who hate the visible representations of his divine person? If they dishonour his images, do they not likewise dishonour him? For, that he came among us in a visible form, visibly lived, visibly wrought miracles among us, visibly suffered and rose again for our salvation, is surely sufficient to justify visible representations of his material body." The same argument, it was contended,

⁵⁶ An idol was to be regarded as the representative image of a *false* god or demon. The opinion that all the gods of the heathen were devils was deeply rooted in the mind of the age. Nothing, therefore, could be an idol but the representation of a demon; and nothing was idolatry but the worship of such a representative image.

⁵⁷ So as to be no longer *possible* in the mind of a Christian.

⁵⁸ *Baron. loc. cit.* p. 336. Upon this last

point Germanus was clearly in error. No such decree was ever made by any general council, nor is there any allusion to it to be found in any of their acts. Baronius accordingly corrects the error. But he observes, that though no council had hitherto expressly stamped the adoration of images with its approval, it is impossible that these assemblies should not have noticed a practice so universal; and that they did not condemn, is evidence sufficient that they approved.

applied to the holy Virgin, the apostles, saints, and martyrs of the faith. "This," they affirmed, "could never deserve the name of idolatry, since no such kind of divinity was ever imputed to the images as takes place among heathen idolaters. Neither do Christians sacrifice unto them, nor apply to them that name which is above all names."⁵⁹ Pictures are only a more vivid species of writing; they are mere visible symbols, wherein the true believer adores Him whose birth and death, whose glorious resurrection and ascension, are thereby made more perceptible to us—bringing up, as it were in a written book, the Son of God before us; whereby likewise our soul is rejoiced by the remembrance of his resurrection, or saddened by reflecting on his passion."⁶⁰

especially to the holy Virgin and the saints: that the same kind of worship is not paid by Christians to their images, as is paid by idolaters to heathen gods, &c.

In reply to this specious and popular mode of presenting the question, the enemies of image-worship urged the notorious fact that the church was polluted by the grossest superstition; that miraculous powers were imputed to the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints; and that when once such an opinion prevailed among the vulgar, the image was necessarily converted into something more than a mere instrument of devotion; that the wood or the stone then acquired a sanctity of its own; and that the practice was in all respects so destructive of the spirituality of religious worship, and in its nature and tendency so closely allied to idolatry, that it ought no longer to be tolerated in the church of Christ.

The Iconoclasts reply the notorious fact, that miraculous and divine powers are imputed by the ignorant to the images of the saints, and that the worship of them necessarily leads to idolatry.

The views of the emperor Leo were firmly and zealously opposed by the patriarch Germanus. That prelate entered into a close correspondence with pope Gregory II., by whose admonitions and advice he was comforted and directed. Leo was for the present persuaded to withdraw the obnoxious edict, and to direct that the images should not be taken away from the churches, but only removed to such situations, that, while they still remained exposed to the view of the people, they should be at too great a distance to be touched or kissed by the worshippers. Tumults and disorder accompanied and followed the attempt to carry this edict into execution. A large fleet, fitted out by the islanders of the Archipelago, attacked the city, and Leo had to sustain a contest for the throne under the walls of his own capital. The rebellion was fortunately suppressed, and he was enabled to carry through by force those reforms which had been refused to reason and persuasion. The patriarch Germanus was deposed; and an edict was published directing the ejection of images from every church in the empire.⁶¹ New tumults arose, and

The emperor Leo modifies the edict against images.

The people rise in tumults to resist the modified decree. Leo suppresses these insurrections, and finally banishes images from the churches of the empire. A.D. 730.

⁵⁹ See pope Gregory III.'s defence of image-worship, ap. *Baron.* loc. cit. §§ xvii. xviii. pp. 340, 341.

⁶⁰ See the address of Gregory III. to the

council assembled at Rome for the condemnation of the Iconoclastic heresy, in the year 732; ap. *Baron.* loc. cit. §§ xxii. xxiii. p. 342.

⁶¹ *Pagi*, Crit. ad *Baron.* loc. cit. p. 338.

more blood was shed in the streets and upon the scaffold. But every fresh victory over the disorderly insurgents imparted new strength to the imperial party;⁶² images were broken in pieces; their adoration prohibited; and the cause of Iconoclasm was so far triumphant, that, twenty-four years afterwards, his son and successor, Constantine Copronymus, was enabled to procure the ratification of his father's measures against image-worship by the decrees of a synod consisting of no fewer than three hundred and thirty-eight prelates, assembled in council at the palace of Hiera upon the Bosphorus.⁶³

A. D. 754.

The adherents of the Latin church are devoutly attached to image-worship.

Meanwhile the imperial edicts had met with universal reprobation and resistance in Italy. The feeling which dictated that resistance was nearly the same at Rome as at Constantinople, in Lombardy as at Ravenna. With the tenets of orthodoxy the Lombards had imbibed the highest veneration for images and relics, a taste for shrines and pilgrimages and processions, and all the outward pomp of the Roman ritual. Luitprand himself, if not a devout image-worshipper, was at least a profound admirer of relics.⁶⁴ Upon the arrival of the first edict prohibiting the adoration of images, pope Gregory II. convoked a synod of Latin prelates at Rome, in which it was unanimously agreed that resistance was the bounden duty of every true Christian; it was resolved that the obedience of man could not be due to a prince who had renounced his allegiance to God; that any deference to such a decree would involve the faithful in his guilt; that the opinion upon which it proceeded was impious and heretical; and that all who held, or in anywise gave it their countenance—not excepting the emperor himself—should be, and were thereby excommunicated and anathematized.⁶⁵

A. D. 726. Gregory II. convokes a synod at Rome, which condemns the decrees.

The pope suspends the payment of the vectigalia to the imperial treasury.

Thus far the pope can hardly be said to have overstepped the limits of his spiritual jurisdiction; but the principle adopted by the synod implied active resistance, and the very next step was sure to involve him in temporal rebellion. It had been declared that obedience to an heretical prince was not only dangerous to the church, but in itself unlawful, since it rendered the faithful no better than the abettors of heresy. The pope therefore suspended the payment of the ordinary vectigalia to the imperial treasury, and openly prepared to resist all attempts to carry the imperial decree into effect, not only within the city of Rome, but throughout all Italy.⁶⁶ And indeed it cannot escape our notice that the

The interests of the church

⁶² *Theophanes* ap. *Mascou*, tom. ii. p. 299, note 6.

⁶³ *Art de Vérif.* &c., tom. i. p. 159.

⁶⁴ He purchased the body of St. Augustine of Hippo from the Saracens for a very large sum

of money, and enshrined it at Pavia, circa A.D. 725. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 48. p. 506.—*Baron.* ad hunc Ann. tom. xii. p. 320.

⁶⁵ *Mascou*, book xvi. § 11. p. 301.

⁶⁶ The Byzantine historians *Theophanes*, *Ce-*

interests of the Roman religion were deeply involved in the issue of the contest. It had long been sedulously inculcated, and it was now a firmly-rooted belief among Christians, that the interposition of the saints was manifested through the medium of their images and relics; and that images and relics were therefore the sanctified instruments by which they still continued to exercise those miraculous powers with which they had been endowed during their abode in this world. More especially it was believed that the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul at Rome demanded the highest veneration of the whole Christian world; and it cannot be questioned that to this belief the papacy was indebted for a very great portion of the weight and influence it had acquired over the universal mind of Christendom.⁶⁷

The promulgation of the edict for the ejection of images therefore produced a dangerous fermentation in the minds of all the Italian subjects of the empire. The governors of Ravenna and of the other imperial cities and dependencies actively promoted the views of their master; but the troops quartered in the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the Venetian dependencies refused their assistance to carry the impious mandates of the court into execution. A party favourable to the abolition of image-worship was not, however, wanting even in Italy;⁶⁸ and thus it happened that religious discord, mutiny, and rebellion reduced the Greek dominion in that country to the brink of ruin. Luitprand, to whom the existing state of things afforded every prospect of an easy victory over the factious and disunited Greeks, entered strongly into the feelings of the Catholics. He invaded the exarchate, and, by the assistance of the disaffected inhabitants, made himself master of the city of Ravenna.⁶⁹ Italy seemed to lie prostrate at his feet; a deadly blow had been dealt to the projects of the heretic emperor, and Luitprand was exalted into the champion of the church.

But this was a triumph little desired by the pope; and it is not improbable that the news of the fall of Ravenna created no less consternation at Rome than at Constantinople. Gregory II. wrote immediately to Ursus, the imperial commander in the Venetian dependencies, to strain every nerve for the recovery of the city. Fortune, or the incapacity of the Lombard governors, Hildebrand and Peredeo,

of Rome are implicated in the maintenance of image-worship.

The Lombards take advantage of the disorders occasioned by the promulgation of the imperial edicts to invade the exarchate.

A. D. 726.
Luitprand takes Ravenna.

Alarm of the pope: he persuades the imperial governor Ursus to undertake the recovery of the city.
Ursus succeeds.

drenus, and Zonaras, affirm that Gregory II. entered into an alliance with Charles Martel against the emperor. *Mascou* (tom. ii. pp. 301, 302) gives the extracts. Anastasius, the librarian, says the same. But *Mascou* (ibid. note 11. p. 305), with great probability, contends that the Byzantines mistake the date of the embassy in question; and that there was no communica-

tion between the papacy and the Frankish government till the year 741, when pope Stephen applied to Charles for his aid against the Lombards.

⁶⁷ *Mannert*, vol. i. p. 321.

⁶⁸ *Anastas ap. Baron.* tom. x. i. p. 361.

⁶⁹ *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 49. p. 506.

Gregory II. opposes the design of the Ravennates to set up an emperor of their own. These measures are dictated less by loyalty than by policy.

favoured the exertions of Ursus; and Ravenna was restored to the heretical emperor by the efforts of the bitterest of his religious opponents.⁷⁰ During the general exasperation against the sacrilegious decrees of Leo, the armies of the exarchate had been upon the point of renouncing obedience to the empire, and setting up an emperor of their own choice. This hazardous step was likewise strenuously opposed by Gregory. Such extraordinary manifestations of loyalty to a schismatic prince might, when set off against the decrees of the synod of Rome, and the refusal of the vectigalia, perhaps leave a balance in favour of the purity and disinterestedness of the papal motives, if the measures in question did not bear the stamp of the highest *political* expediency. It would have amounted to mere folly to have exchanged the protection of the empire, however distant and precarious, for that of any ephemeral usurper whom it might suit the lawless soldiery of Ravenna to set up; and it was as clear then, as it is now, that the triumph of rebellion in the exarchate must ultimately, if not immediately, have delivered Italy into the hands of the ambitious Lombard.⁷¹

A. D. 739. Gregory makes the most of the enthusiasm of the moment to secure himself against the wrath of the emperor. He detaches Rome and Naples from their obedience to Leo.

But Gregory was not the less anxious to avail himself to the utmost of the enthusiasm of the moment to defeat the *religious* projects of Leo. His personal safety depended wholly upon the protection which the attachment of the orthodox threw around him. By their vigilance, the mandate of Leo for the apprehension and punishment of the pope was frustrated.⁷² The people of Rome attacked the imperial governor Basilius; they put his officers, Johannes and Jordanes, to death, and confined him in a convent. At Naples, duke Exhilaratus and his son Andrianus underwent a similar fate; and when subsequently the exarch Eutychius of Ravenna endeavoured to carry the imperial decree for the deposition of Gregory into effect, he was met by a resistance so strenuous that he was promptly compelled to abandon his design.⁷³

The Lombards reduce the exarchate to a narrow slip of land along the northern shores of the Adriatic.

In another quarter the prospects of the papacy were less encouraging. During the tumults at Ravenna, in which the exarch Paul lost his life, Luitprand had possessed himself of many strong places in the Æmilian province. He had taken Montebello, Buxetum, Persiceta, Bologna, and Osimo;⁷⁴ and reduced the exarchate to a mere narrow strip of land

⁷⁰ *Anastas. ap. Baron. ad Ann. 726. § 26. p. 343.*—Conf. *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 54. p. 508.*

⁷¹ Conf. *Baron. ad Ann. 726. vol. xii. §§ 26, 27. p. 343.*

⁷² Paul, the exarch of Ravenna, and the duke Basilius of Rome, and Exhilaratus of Naples, had received peremptory orders to seize the person of the pontiff. The Byzantines affirm that they were directed to have him assassinated.

But the report of enemies so bitter as the writers in question ought not, I think, to be allowed to weigh upon the memory of the vigorous and conscientious Leo. See *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 49. p. 506.*—Conf. *Baron. tom. xii. ad Ann. 726. pp. 359, 360.*

⁷³ *Anastas. ap. Baron. loc. cit. §§ 38, 39. pp. 361, 362.*

⁷⁴ *Anastas. ap. Baron. loc. cit.*

along the north-western coast of the Adriatic. In the midst of these turmoils, the able pope Gregory II. passed from the scene, and was succeeded by a Syrian priest of learning and ability under the name of Gregory III. At this juncture the attention of the dangerous Lombards was averted for a time from the affairs of southern Italy by the alarming inroads of the Sclavi of Carinthia: the war with the exarchate was continued with unequal success; and in the year 739, Luitprand marched to the assistance of Charles Martel in expelling the Saracens of Spain from Provence and Languedoc. An amicable disposition was thus engendered between the two princes, which tended to remove the impediments which were likely to arise to the views of the Lombard monarch in a different quarter.⁷⁵

A. D. 731.
Death of Gregory II.
Gregory III.

For some years past the conduct of the powerful vassal-dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto had excited the indignation of Luitprand. Both those governors had entered into compacts with the Greek patri-
cians of Rome and Naples adverse to the interests of their sovereign. In the year 740, therefore, Luitprand turned his arms against Thrasimund of Spoleto, and expelled him from his duchy. The duke took refuge with his confederate Stephen, the patrician of Rome, and the king promoted Hilderich to the duchy of Spoleto. Luitprand then marched to Rome, and demanded the surrender of his rebel subject. Upon their advance, the Lombards plundered the country, and even despoiled the church of St. Peter of its ornaments.⁷⁶ In this distress Gregory III. dispatched envoys to the court of Charles Martel to implore his intervention; but without effect. Luitprand however retired, and Thrasimund was, by the assistance of the imperial governors, reinstated in possession of his duchy. But a condition was attached to the compact for his restoration, importing that he should give up four cities or places belonging to the holy see which Luitprand had incorporated with the duchy of Beneventum;⁷⁷ yet after his restoration, Thrasimund resisted every importunity to perform this promise. Pope Gregory III. had been in the interim succeeded by Zachary, who carried on the

A. D. 739.
Luitprand reduces the duchy of Spoleto to obedience.

⁷⁵ Conf. chap. xiii. sec. 2. p. 764, of this volume. The union of these princes against the common enemy had certainly produced sentiments of mutualesteem and friendship. Among the Franks, and generally among the Teutonic nations, the initiation of the youth into the rank and duties of manhood was indicated by the cutting off of the first hairs of the beard. Among princes none but persons of the highest rank and celebrity were selected to perform this cere-

mony. The person who cut the first hairs of the beard was deemed to stand *in loco parentis* to the youth, and usually conferred valuable presents upon him. The Romans had a similar custom. Conf. *Murat.* note 198. ad Paul. Diac. p. 468.

⁷⁶ Particularly a noble silver chandelier, said to have been presented by Charles Martel, or one of his predecessors. *Baron.* ad Ann. 740. § 20. tom. xii. p. 454.

⁷⁷ *Baron.* ad Ann. 739. § 5. p. 441.

negotiation for the surrender of the four towns with no better success than his predecessor. By this contumacy Thrasimund was deemed to have forfeited all claim to further protection from the pope; and Zachary intimated to Luitprand that he was ready to abandon his late ally to his wrath, and even to send the forces of the Romans to his assistance, if the king would consent to the restitution of the four towns. Luitprand agreed to these terms, and the forces of the Romans joined the army of the Lombards. Thrasimund, hopeless of maintaining himself against both enemies, promptly threw himself at the feet of his offended sovereign, and put him in possession of the whole duchy. Luitprand, after this easy victory, hesitated to pay the heavy price claimed by the pope; but Zachary went in person to the Lombard camp at Narni, and urged his demands with so much eloquence and address, that Luitprand not only surrendered the four towns, but made restitution of certain estates which had, in times past, belonged to the patrimony of the church; and, as a further protection to the holy see, concluded a truce of twenty years with the imperial governor of Rome.⁷⁸

He deposes
Gisulf, duke of
Beneventum,
and substitutes
his nephew
Gregory.

The Beneven-
tines rebel;
they are again
subdued, and
Gisulf II. is
restored.

A. D. 744.
Luitprand at-
tacks Ravenna
and reduces
the city to dis-
tress.

The church had gained much by this transaction, but the Lombard had gained more. The entire duchy of Spoleto was in his hands; and now the Beneventines, who had enjoyed the advantages of independence through four descents, from Grimoald I. to Gisulf II., once more fell back under the government of their natural prince. In the year 733, Romuald II. died, leaving a minor son Gisulf II. Luitprand caused the young duke to be removed to Pavia, and conferred the duchy upon his own nephew Gregory. In 740, Gregory died, and a faction raised a nobleman named Godeschalk to the ducal throne, and maintained him there for a period of three years. The intruder was at length expelled by Luitprand, and Gisulf, the son of Romuald, was restored to his government.⁷⁹

About the same period, Luitprand elevated his nephew Agibrand to the duchy of Spoleto. Rebellion and disaffection were everywhere repressed and punished by that able prince;⁸⁰ the Greek exarchate of Ravenna had been by this time shorn of the greater portion of its territory, particularly in the Pentapolis;⁸¹ his dependents and vassals surrounded and threatened the Greek patriciates of Rome and Naples on all sides; and by the recent capture of Cesena, Ravenna itself was placed in a state of blockade, and exposed to distress and famine when-

⁷⁸ *Anastas. ad Baron. ad Ann. 741 and 742.*
tom. xii. pp. 466 and 486—490.

⁸⁰ *Paul. Diac. cc. 51—58.*

⁷⁹ *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. cc. 55, 56. pp. 508, 509,*
with the chronology of *Muratori*, ad loc.

⁸¹ The modern legations of Bologna and Ferrara in the States of the Church.

ever it might please the enemy to inflict these calamities. Pope Zachary beheld with alarm the progress of the Lombard power. The patrician Eutyches and the archbishop John of Ravenna united in earnest supplications for his intercession with Luitprand to save the last remnant of the imperial dominion from extinction. The message of the Ravennatines was felt by the pope as a direct appeal to his own interests, and Zachary delayed not a moment in complying with their request. Envoys were dispatched to the Lombard camp before Ravenna to admonish the king, on the part of the church, to desist from his designs against the city; but Luitprand turned a deaf ear to so unreasonable a demand, and the papal emissaries were not even admitted to an audience.

Zachary requires Luitprand to raise the siege or blockade.

In this emergency, Zachary, inspired perhaps by the example of his great predecessor Leo, who had bearded the lion Attila in his lair, set out for Pavia, determined to urge his suit before the king in person. Luitprand received the holy father reluctantly, but respectfully. After performing a pontifical mass in the metropolitan church, he dined with the king, and was on the following day invited to the palace, where, we are told, he made so powerful an appeal to the understanding and feelings of his auditor, that though listened to at first with extreme impatience, Luitprand became gradually interested by his discourse, and at length completely won over to the views of the pontiff. He consented to enlarge the territory of Ravenna, to restore immediately two-thirds of the district of Cesena, and, in the event of peace with the emperor Constantine Copronymus,—to whom it was agreed to send ambassadors with that view,—to give up the remaining third to the empire.⁸² Zachary might indeed congratulate himself and his subjects upon the deliverance of Ravenna and of Italy from the immediate danger which threatened them; but what he had seen at Pavia did not encourage the hope of durable tranquillity. He returned thanks to Almighty God for his providential success, but in the very act besought the “Giver of peace and lover of concord” to deliver those intrusted to his charge, Romans and Ravennatines, from the deceiver and persecutor Luitprand. “Nor,” says his biographer Anastasius, “were the prayers of the holy man poured forth in vain; for not long afterwards the Lord withdrew that prince from the light of this world, and all persecution ceased. Then

He refuses.

The pope goes to Pavia;

he obtains the deliverance of Ravenna, and the evacuation of the territory necessary for the support of the inhabitants.

⁸² Constantine Copronymus came to the throne in the same year in which Zachary was elected pope, A. D. 741. The date of the pope's journey is fixed by Anastasius in the last year of the reign of Luitprand. *Muratori*, tom. i. p. 511. note 244. But see *Art de Vér.*, &c. tom. i.

pp. 257 and 421. The journey of Zachary to Pavia forms a chapter of *Johannes Müller's* interesting little volume, entitled “Journeys of the Popes” (*Reisen der Päbste*), Works, vol. viii. p. 23.

was there joy not only among the Romans and Ravennatines, but likewise among the Lombards themselves.”⁸³

A. D. 744.
Death of Luit-
prand.
Paul Warne-
frid's character
of that prince.

Luitprand, the greatest and the most deserving of the Lombard kings of Italy, died at a mature age in the spring of the year 744, after a reign of thirty-one years and seven months. He had revised and improved the laws of his predecessor Rothari, and adorned his cities with many sumptuous buildings. During his reign, orthodoxy revived, and Arianism became almost extinct; idolatrous and pagan practices were discountenanced; saints, relics, and images were multiplied; churches, convents, and clerical seminaries were founded and richly endowed; internal tranquillity was upon the whole successfully maintained; and habits of subordination, to which his rude subjects had hitherto been strangely averse, were introduced. The military strength of the kingdom was improved, the frontiers successfully defended, and the more distant dependencies brought within the reach of the central authority. “This prince,” says Paul Warnefrid, “was a man of great wisdom, sagacity, and piety; a lover of peace, yet mighty in battle; merciful towards offenders; chaste, modest, munificent in alms-giving; ignorant indeed of letters, but a philosopher rather by nature than by acquirement, for he was the father and the legislator of his people.”⁸⁴

⁸³ *Anastas. Vit. Pont. ap. Murat. tom. iii. p. 163.*

⁸⁴ *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. c. 58. p. 511.*

SECTION II.—A.D. 744. to A.D. 760.

Balance of power in Italy—Precarious position of the Papacy—Hildebrand—Rachis—He retires from the World—Monte Cassino—Aistulf—Danger of the Papacy—Pope Zachary casts himself upon the protection of Pippin—Participation of the Pope in the elevation of Pippin to the Throne of the Merovingians—Pope Stephen III.—Treaty with Aistulf—Breach of the Treaty—Invasion—Stephen remonstrates—Aistulf takes Ravenna—The Pope goes to Pavia—Fruitless Negotiations—Stephen retires into France—His reception by Pippin—Honours paid him at Pontyon—Demeanour of Pippin and Stephen—Conferences and Treaty of Pontyon—Coronation of Pippin by the Pope—Intentions and Designs of the Parties—Pippin invades Lombardy—Siege of Pavia—Aistulf yields to the demands of Pippin and the Pope—Pippin retires—Renewal of the War in Italy—The Church and its Allies—Aistulf besieges Rome—Pippin's second Expedition into Italy—Aistulf retires from Rome to Pavia—He surrenders Ravenna and other Places to the Pope—His Death—Desiderius is raised to the Throne by the influence of the Pope and the Franks—Papal extortion and duplicity—Desiderius reduces the revolted Duchies in alliance with the Pope—Complaints of Stephen—Interference of Pippin—Peace in Italy.

HITHERTO a kind of balance of power had been maintained in Italy, chiefly through the exertions of the papacy, and the timely reconciliation between the Roman and the Lombard churches. But that equilibrium was altogether artificial; and, in fact, the popes placed no great reliance upon its permanency. The two Gregories and Stephen had judiciously directed their views towards France; they had made extraordinary exertions to strengthen the influence of the church in the regions north of the Alps; and those exertions had been crowned with success. And thus it happened that at the moment when every bulwark of strength was about to crumble away in Italy, Boniface and his coadjutors had succeeded in marshalling the princes and people of France and Germany under the banners of the church, and in laying a broader foundation for the aggrandizement of the spiritual and temporal power of Rome than could have been found for her within the narrower limits of Italy.

The popes perceive the dangers of their position in Italy.

They interest the northern nations of Europe in their favour.

Luitprand was succeeded by his nephew Hildebrand. But the vices of the new king, particularly his cruelty, soon rendered his government intolerable. He was accordingly deposed without a dissentient voice, after a reign of seven months only; and Rachis, the son of Pemmo, duke of Friuli, was raised to the throne. The new king had already distinguished himself as a successful warrior.¹ At the same time he was

Luitprand is succeeded by Hildebrand. Hildebrand is deposed for his vices. Rachis is chosen king.

¹ Under his father Pemmo against the Sclavi chastised and retaliated. *Paul. Diac. lib. vi. of Carinthia, whose inroads he had frequently c. 52. p. 507.*

rigidly orthodox, and of a simple and contemplative habit of mind. From this prince pope Zachary easily obtained the confirmation of the treaty concluded with Luitprand. Six years of the truce for twenty years, which had been granted by that prince to the patriciate of Rome, had elapsed without any breach of the peace on the part of the Lombards. But the exarchate of Ravenna was unprotected either by treaty, or by any military establishment adequate to its defence. The fatal schism produced by the iconoclastic controversy still subsisted; and the emperor Constantine, whose whole attention was engrossed by the necessary measures for carrying through his father's plans of church-reform, found no leisure to provide for the security of a distant and decaying dependency.

He invades
Tuscany.

The pope inter-
feres.

Rachis raises
the siege of Pe-
rugia; and re-
tires into a
convent.

In the year 750 the Lombard armies suddenly poured themselves out over Tuscany, and laid siege to Perugia. The motive of this movement is not very clearly indicated. The city and territory of Perugia, it seems, still constituted a portion of the exarchate of Ravenna,² and the pope thought fit to regard its interests as placed under the protection of the church by virtue of the late treaty with Luitprand; it is difficult to say upon what special provision or ground therein contained. Zachary however took up his staff and crosier, and proceeded with a small retinue to the camp of the Lombards. The king, who had contemplated no offence to the church in the invasion of a territory belonging to a hostile state, was surprised by this sudden and imposing visit. The eloquent denunciations of Zachary, his saintly conversation, and his apostolical authority, smote his pious auditor to the heart, and he recoiled from the abyss of guilt into which his martial ardour had been upon the point of plunging him. The siege of Perugia was immediately raised, and Rachis, grateful for his escape from so great a condemnation, at once adopted a resolution which he would, no doubt, sooner or later, have carried into execution. He descended from his throne, renounced the world, and entered as a humble probationer of the fraternity of Monte Cassino, where but lately Carlman, the brother of Pippin, had sought an asylum from the pollutions of a world of violence and of guilt.³

² Perugia had been recaptured from the Lombards by the exarch Smaragdus in the year 595, and from that period I do not find any notification that it had again fallen into their hands, or that it had ever been annexed to the estates of the church, or to the Greek patriciate of Rome.

³ *Chron. Cassinen.* ap. *Mural.* tom. ii. p. 358. —*Conf. Baron.* ad Ann. 750. tom. xii. p. 558.

cum Pagi Crit. ad loc. The devotional contagion had seized his queen Thasia and his daughter Ratruda. The royal penitents went in pilgrimage together to the shrine of St. Peter, where they received the apostolical benediction, and departed for their several retreats. Rachis was received into the brotherhood of Monte Cassino. Thasia and Ratruda collected a commu-

After the retirement of Rachis, the Lombards placed his brother Aistulf upon their throne. The kingdom had at this period attained a degree of power to which no effectual resistance could be offered within the limits of Italy. The exarchate existed only under the mantle of the church; the military force of the Romans was altogether insignificant; nor could the soldiery of the united fragments of the Greek territory have furnished the means of a day's resistance in the field. The fate of Italy therefore manifestly rested upon the prudence, the courage, and the resolution of Zachary. The character of the new king offered no guarantee for the success of that course of policy which had succeeded so well with his predecessors; and the pope soon perceived that the corslet of Aistulf was very likely to turn the edge of his spiritual weapons.

The Lombards seat his brother Aistulf upon the throne.

The new king is adverse to the views of the church.

Upon a review of the whole evidence relating to the state of the church at this period, we are struck with the conviction that papal Rome was lost, if she had not found the means of intertwining her interests with those of some powerful temporal protector. Her ambiguous position as the member of a hostile state exposed her at all times to the justifiable attacks of the Lombards. The pope might indeed present himself in the arena of worldly politics as the mediator, the suppliant, the spiritual father of all Christians; he might wield the thunders of temporal and eternal reprobation against the wrong-doer; but he could take no decided step as a secular ruler without renouncing the Greek connexion, and thus forfeiting the last frail prop of his anomalous authority. An exchange of protectors had however become indispensable. Could that exchange be made without acknowledging a master? The position of affairs in the Frankish kingdoms afforded a solution of this important problem. Pippin coveted the throne of the Merwingian princes: the assent of the pope to this questionable transaction was essential to quiet the consciences of many persons, and Zachary himself stood in immediate need of a support which might be thus cheaply purchased. In this posture of affairs, can it be any longer doubted that the pope knew, approved of, and seconded the design of Pippin, or that he could have been unprepared with a reply to the momentous question propounded to him by the envoys Fulrad and Burchard?⁴

Pope Zachary resolves to cast himself upon the protection of the Franks.

The juncture is favourable. Pippin covets the throne of France: the pope has need of Pippin's protection against his enemies:

In the summer of the year 752, therefore, Pippin was, *with the full concurrence of the pope*, crowned king of the Franks,—and with the full con-

Pippin is crowned by Boniface with

nity of pious sisters around them; they adopted the rule of St. Benedict, and established themselves at Plumbriola, not far from Monte Cas-

sino. Both establishments profited not a little by the munificence of the royal inmates.

⁴ See chap. xiii. sec. 4. p. 805, of this volume.

the papal approbation.

A close union of views and projects takes place between the papacy and the Frankish prince.

Zachary dies and is succeeded by Stephen. The new pope concludes a treaty with Aistulf.

A.D. 752. Aistulf breaks the treaty and invades the Roman territory.

The pope remonstrates in vain.

A. D. 753.

currence of the pope, *Childerich, the last of the Merovingians, was deposed*, and shut up in a convent for life. The papal decision had rolled away the weight of doubt from every conscience, and with that decision in his favour, the title of Pippin stood as firmly as ancient prescriptive right could have made it. The successful result of such an experiment upon the consciences of mankind could not escape the attention of a body whose existence depended upon close and accurate observation of the practical workings of the human character. Though indeed the prospective value of the precedent thus established may not at the moment have stood very clearly before the mind of the pontiff and his clergy;⁵ yet for the present juncture it afforded all the advantages of a close union of views and projects with the powerful potentate upon whom the church had reposed its confidence; while it obviated all danger of foreign interference, or the faintest claim of sovereignty on the part of the protecting state. For the future times it was fraught with consequences which could not but soon become clearly perceptible to the master-mind which dwelt in the Roman hierarchy.

Pope Zachary died on the 15th of March, 752, after a wise and vigorous reign of ten years, three months, and ten days.⁶ The clergy and people proclaimed a Roman priest named Stephen. The new pope made it his first care to obtain from the dangerous Aistulf the ratification of the treaty concluded by his predecessor with the pious Rachis.⁷ With this view he sent his brother, the deacon Paul, and Ambrose, the primicerius⁸ of the holy see, to the Lombard king. Aistulf readily acceded to their request, and even extended the benefit of the twenty years' truce to the term of forty years. Yet four years of the new term had scarcely elapsed before the faithless Lombard,—“doubtless at the instigation of the devil,”—without regard to his oath, broke the truce and invaded the duchy of Rome, with the intent to impose an ignominious tribute upon the province and its inhabitants of a golden solidus for each head, and to bring the holy city and all its dependencies within the dominion of the Lombard kingdom.⁹

The pope immediately dispatched an embassy to Aistulf to deprecate hostilities, and to exhort him to the maintenance of the treaty he had so lately sworn to observe. Aistulf received the papal emissaries with anger, and scornfully drove them from his presence. A second embassy

⁵ Conf. chap. xiii. sec. 4. p. 806 of this vol.

⁶ Baron. ad Ann. 752. § 2. tom. xii. p. 573.

⁷ Or rather a perpetuation of the treaty concluded by Stephen II. with Luitprand.

⁸ Probably the dean of the college of cardinal-

priests, or priests with title, and voice in the election of the popes and members of his council. See *Du Cange*, ad voc. Prim.

⁹ Baron. ex *Anastas. Ann. Eccles.* ad Ann. 752. §§ 13, 14. p. 580.

met with no better success. In this emergency Stephen condescended once more to solicit aid from the heretical emperor Constantine. But the latter was at this moment too much engaged with his scheme for the extirpation of image-worship within his own dominions;¹⁰ and all hope of assistance from that quarter was soon dissipated. The resolute pontiff therefore determined upon that decisive step which was to sever Italy for ever from all political and temporal communion with the East, and to lay the foundation-stone of a new dominion in the heart of Europe.¹¹

He solicits aid from the emperor Constantine, but is disappointed.

Prayers, remonstrances, menaces, presents, had all been tried, but all of them had failed to soften the heart of the obdurate Lombard. "Yield yourselves," he replied, "yield! or await your fate from the edge of the sword." Stephen strengthened the hearts of his people by litanies and prayers to Almighty God for deliverance from this great peril. He carried in his arms the Acheiropoëta,—the sacred image of the Virgin-mother of God made without hands,—in solemn procession from her shrine to the church of the Præsepe, "and all the people followed barefooted, weeping and with ashes on their heads, and bearing the broken treaty suspended from the holy cross of Christ."

Stephen resolves to negotiate with Aistulf in person.

Stephen III. had taken the precaution to acquaint Pippin with his intention to quit Rome at the approach of the Lombards, and to take refuge within his dominions. At the same time he requested him to send envoys to meet and co-operate with him in a last effort to induce the king of the Lombards to retrace his steps. Pippin immediately complied: his ambassadors arrived in Rome, and there found an imperial emissary from Constantinople with powers to treat with Aistulf on the part of the emperor for the recovery of the lost territory.

He gives notice to Pippin of his design. A. D. 753.

Pippin sends ambassadors to attend the pope and second his negotiations.

Meanwhile Aistulf had made himself master of Ravenna and of the whole exarchate, apparently without difficulty; and now the peril daily approached nearer to the gates of Rome. The pope, therefore, without delay, carried his resolution into effect; and, accompanied by the ambassadors of Pippin and the imperial envoy Silentarius, quitted the city amid the lamentations of the people, who threw themselves in his path to receive his parting blessing. Commending his flock "to the gracious protection of the Prince of the Apostles," he proceeded upon his almost hopeless errand. As soon as he drew near to Pavia, Aistulf signified to the pope that he would listen to no proposal based upon the restitution of Ravenna, or of any portion of the imperial territory. The resolute monarch was deaf equally to the remonstrances, the entreaties, and the spiritual

Aistulf takes Ravenna.

The pope departs for Pavia.

Aistulf refuses to listen to any proposal for the restitution of Ravenna.

¹⁰ *Baron.* ad Ann. 754. tom. xii. pp. 584, 598. *Pagi*, Crit. ad loc. Also *Id.* ibid. ad Ann. 753.

¹¹ *Baron.* loc. cit. ad Ann. 752. p. 580, with § 2. p. 583.

Stephen becomes alarmed for the safety of his person.

He breaks off the negotiation, and crosses the Alps into the Frankish dominions.

Stephen is received by Pippin and his court with the highest demonstrations of reverence.

censures of the vicar of St. Peter. In vain the Byzantine envoy exhausted the arts of Eastern diplomacy; in vain the Frankish bishop Radogang threatened the vengeance of his master; and Stephen, now alarmed for the safety of his person, demanded leave to depart. Aistulf felt the danger of granting the request. But though there was peril in compliance, there was still more in a refusal, and the pontiff was reluctantly suffered to depart. The papal party made their way with all speed towards the passes of the St. Bernard, and never drew a bridle till they reached the monastery of St. Maurice in the Valais.¹²

The danger was happily passed; and the pope and his escort offered up devout thanksgiving for their escape from captivity or death. Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, and duke Rothard, met the pontiff at St. Maurice, and conducted him into France. At the distance of one hundred miles from Pontyon, the royal residence of Pippin, his sons Carlman and Charles, with a large retinue of lords and prelates, welcomed Stephen to the realm of the Franks, and escorted him to the court. At the distance of three miles from the palace, the king, with his whole retinue, awaited the arrival of the holy father. As soon as he came in sight, Pippin dismounted and went forward on foot to meet him: the king and all his attendants then prostrated themselves before him, and in that posture devoutly received his benediction. Pippin afterwards walked for some space beside the palfrey of the pope, performing the humble office of a groom. "Then," says his biographer Anastasius, "did the man of God, with all his company, lift up their voices with one accord, rendering glory and thanksgiving unto Almighty God, with hymns and spiritual songs, until they entered the gates of the palace."¹³ The

¹² *Anastas.* in Vit. S. Stephani Pap., ap. *Murat.* iii. p. 168.

¹³ *Anastasius* in Vit. S. Steph. loc. mod. cit. The words of the biographer, in his report of this transaction, are of some importance, particularly with reference to the menial service alleged to have been performed towards the pope by Pippin: "Cui (Stephano) et *vice stratoris* usque ad aliquantum locum juxta ejus sellarem prope-ravit."—"He walked for a certain space beside his (Stephen's) palfrey in place of a groom." It must be remarked, that the three Frankish annalists who give the most minute accounts of the meeting, viz. the *Annales Mettenses* (ad Ann. 753. p. 331, ap. *Pertz*), the *Annales Einhardi*, and the *Chron. Moissiacense* (*Pertz*, ii. p. 293), agree in the main with the story of Anastasius, yet they are altogether silent as to the alleged prostration and service. They describe the reception of the pope as highly

honourable, reverential, and even devout, but take no notice of the three-mile procession, the worship, or the menial service. Again, Anastasius, on his part, omits all notice of the spontaneous scene of self-abasement, which the annalists in question allege to have been enacted by the pope on the following day. Anastasius states the negotiation to have taken place *immediately* after the pope's arrival, and at a *private* interview with the king. The annalists affirm that the subject of the pope's visit was not entered upon till the day following, and that he then appeared before the king in *public*, clothed in sack-cloth and with ashes on his head, imploring aid against the enemies of God and St. Peter. No hint is found in any of the minor Frankish annals of the incidents in question. See the Collection of *Pertz*, tom. ii. ad Ann. 752, 753, 754. They are *ten* in number. Anastasius, indeed, wrote a century earlier than the greater number of them;

simplicity of the age satisfactorily accounts for these extraordinary demonstrations of respect, without supposing that one party intended to exact, or the other to acknowledge, any derogatory right or superiority. They were, no doubt, spontaneously paid and gratefully accepted, without any of that lowering selfishness, that far-sighted design, we are in the habit of imputing to the actors upon the stage of political life. Both parties yielded to the impulse of the moment without bestowing a thought upon the construction that might thereafter be put upon their conduct. But when it became a matter of general notoriety that the king of the Franks had fallen down and worshipped;—that he had performed the humble office of groom to the successor of the apostles, no doubt could, in that age of simple credulity, be entertained of the transcendent power and authority of him to whom such honours had been rendered.

Neither party is chargeable with design or insincerity.

On the day after his arrival at Pontyon the pope and his clergy appeared before the king clothed in hair-shirts with ashes upon their heads. The pontiff threw himself upon the earth before Pippin, and adjured him by the mercy of Almighty God, and the merits of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, to hasten to the succour of the church and people of Rome. And in this posture the pastor of the Christian church continued till the king and his two sons had pledged hand and word to the fulfilment of his request: the suppliant then assumed the erect posture of one who had been suddenly raised from a state of bondage to liberty. Pippin, his sons, his court, and his nobles, swore to cause ample satisfaction to be given to the pontiff and the church of Rome; they engaged to recover the exarchate from the Lombards, and in general to insist upon the restitution of all rights and possessions belonging to the empire in Italy.¹⁴

Conference between Pippin and the pope.

Pippin and his two sons promise to protect the church of Rome, and to recover the exarchate from the Lombards.

During the winter Stephen resided at the royal monastery of St. Denis. Here he was frequently visited by Pippin and his two sons. A severe illness had reduced the pontiff to the verge of the grave; but by the

Stephen crowns and anoints Pippin and his two sons in the abbey church of St. Denis.

but it must not be forgotten, that in his age the pretensions of the papacy had already made a considerable advance. On the other hand the Frankish annalists are believed to have written from much more ancient accounts, and even to have copied those accounts with the most servile fidelity. But the *truth* of the statement of Anastasius is of much less importance than the *fact* that it *has met with almost universal belief*, and that it has been converted into a formidable instrument for promoting the views of the papacy.

¹⁴ *Ann. Moissiacenses*, ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 293.—*Ann. Mettens.* *ibid.* p. 331.—*Anastas.*

loc. cit. The words of the papal biographer with reference to this treaty are “*Reipublicæ jura seu loca reddere modis omnibus.*” The word “*Respublica*” always signifies the empire; though the subsequent conduct of the pope with reference to the territory in question might lead us to suspect some ambiguity in the meaning of the word, or in the intentions of the pontiff; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the biographer used it without precisely knowing what it meant, for certainly neither Ravenna, nor any part of the exarchate, was ever restored to the empire, and it is improbable that it was ever intended so to be.

alleged intercession of the holy Dionysius with the apostles Peter and Paul he was suddenly and miraculously restored to perfect health. In testimony of his gratitude for this gracious interference, Stephen resolved to consecrate an altar to these apostles in the church of the abbey. The ceremony was performed with all due solemnity in the presence of the king and queen, the two princes, and a numerous assembly of nobles and attendants. In the midst of the office Stephen suddenly, and as it seems of his own mere motion, anointed Pippin, and his consort Bertrada, "to be the king and the queen of the Franks." The like grace was bestowed upon the two princes, Charles and Carlman. He then blessed the congregation; and addressing the nobles and dignitaries present, "bound them by the authority of St. Peter to him by God himself delegated and intrusted, that they should not, for all ages to come, presume to choose them a king *from any other race or family* but that which had now been elected and set apart by divine Providence *for the protection of the most holy and apostolical see*; and by him, the vicar of St. Peter,—yea, even of our Lord Jesus Christ himself,—by that most holy unction sublimed and consecrated unto the royal dignity."¹⁵

To the foregoing account of this transaction an authentic document of Frankish history adds, that the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication, *ipso facto*, upon the transgression of the precept which annexed the royal dignity exclusively and for ever to the family and posterity of Pippin.¹⁶

Probable views of Pippin in desiring, and of the pope in conferring, the royal unction. Pippin wishes to strengthen his title, to settle the succession in his own family, and to extinguish the claim of the Merwingians. The pope is anxious to secure the protec-

Whether this was a preconcerted act or not, there are reasons why it should have been desirable both to Pippin and the pope. The former, it is true, had already received the royal unction from the hands of Boniface as the papal legate: but the recent exclusion of the Merwingians could not but tend to unsettle the feelings of the nation in favour of hereditary succession to the crown; neither is it clear that no scion of that family remained to put in an appeal to the ancient prejudices of the people; and it may have been thought that a solemn act of appropriation by the supreme pastor of the Christian church would extinguish the disposition to change, and invest the reigning dynasty with a sanctity which might supply any defect of title. On the other hand, the person to whom such transcendent powers were imputed could not but rejoice at

¹⁵ *Baron. ex "Areopagiticis," ad Ann. 754. tom. xii. p. 590.* The "Areopagitica," or life of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, were written by Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, in the first half of the ninth century, by the command of Louis the Pious. The supposed identity of this Dionysius with the Areopagite cannot have been the current opinion much before the age of Hilduin.

¹⁶ "Clausula de Pippini in Franc. Regem consecr." &c. ap. *D. Bouq. tom. v. p. 9.* This is a very ancient and authoritative document. It was found in the archives of the abbey of St. Denis, appended to an ancient codex of the work of Gregory of Tours, "De Gloria Confessorum." It afterwards came into the hands of the Bollandists at Antwerp.

the opportunity of exercising them ; and, in fact, we are not long left in the dark as to the view which pope Stephen had resolved to take of this celebrated transaction. “ You have received,” says he, in a letter written shortly afterwards to Pippin and his sons, “ that which none of your ancestors or kindred have been deemed worthy to receive ; inasmuch as the prince of the apostles has chosen you above all other races and nations to be his own peculiar servants ;¹⁷ and hath committed all his causes into your hands : and *surely you shall render an account unto God of the manner in which ye shall have advocated the rights of the door-keeper of the kingdom of heaven.*”¹⁸

The sincerity of Pippin’s intentions was attested by the promptitude of his measures for carrying the treaty of Pontyon into effect. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the court of Aistulf with demands of satisfaction to the church. To these proposals Aistulf returned an answer of proud defiance ; and in the spring of the year 754 Pippin crossed the Alps with an army to which the Lombards could oppose no resistance in the field. But as views of conquest formed no part of his design, he once more resorted to negotiation. His envoys on this occasion demanded the restitution of the Pentapolis,¹⁹ Narni, and Cecanum to the church and people of Rome ; in consideration of which restitution they promised the payment of twelve thousand solidi on the part of their master. Perhaps the very moderation of these terms contributed to weaken their chance of success. Aistulf peremptorily rejected them, and declared that from him the pope should obtain no other boon than his free permission to return to his see, if such were his pleasure. The king therefore pushed on to Pavia, where Aistulf had resolved to take his stand till the advance of the season, the effects of climate, or the exertions of his own subjects should dislodge his enemy. But the Frankish king pushed the siege with so much vigour and success, that the heart of the Lombard failed him, and he was brought to agree to the terms first proposed, with the additional mortifications of paying thirty thousand solidi as an indemnity for the expenses of the campaign, and an annual tribute of five thousand more. The treaty was ratified by the oath of the king and of the Lombard nobles present with him at Pavia ; and forty hostages, selected from the most distinguished families of the kingdom, were given up as pledges for its fulfilment. Pippin then formally sur-

tion of Pippin, and to render him responsible to the church for the due execution of his office as guardian and protector of the holy see and its temporalities.

Pippin demands satisfaction from Aistulf for the injuries inflicted upon the church. Aistulf refuses ; Pippin invades Lombardy ;

he besieges Aistulf in Pavia, and compels him to pay the expenses of the campaign, to submit to tribute, and to surrender the Pentapolis. Narni, and Cecanum to the church.

¹⁷ “ Peculiares.” See *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad voc. vol. v. p. 318. The word is used in the documents of the ninth century in the sense of “ property,” whether applied to men or things.

¹⁸ “ Pro justitiâ ipsius janitoris regni cælorum.” *Steph.* Pap. Epist. ad Pippin., &c. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 484.

¹⁹ No doubt including Ravenna.

rendered the recovered territories into the hands of the pope;²⁰ and, leaving his chancellor Fulrad in Italy to superintend the execution of the treaty, withdrew his forces into France. After accepting the surrender, Stephen returned to Rome to receive from the grateful citizens the thanks he had so well deserved.²¹

A.D. 754.
Aistulf breaks
the treaty and
invades the
territory of the
church.

Stephen com-
plains to
Pippin.

Views of the
church in its
transactions
with its secular
allies.

In submitting to these mortifying terms, Aistulf had no other view than to get rid of his invaders. Pippin departed, relying upon the good faith of the Lombard king. But no sooner was the Frankish heriban dismissed for the season, than Aistulf once more collected his forces, broke off all communication with the pope, and commenced a series of vexatious inroads upon the territory of the church. Stephen III. apprised Pippin of this breach of faith in terms which very clearly disclose the position about to be taken up by the papacy in its transactions with its secular allies. "We pray you," he writes to the Frankish princes, "most excellent sons in the Lord, to take compassion upon the holy church of God and St. Peter, and to render unto the church all that by your donation you are tied and bound to render unto her. Remember—and in your heart's core hold firmly unto the promises you have made unto the keeper of the gates of the kingdom of heaven. Think not that you can discharge your promise by mere words; but hasten rather to expedite the delivery of your donation, that you may not mourn your remissness through all eternity, and continue for ever in condemnation: for the life of this world is short indeed, and like a shadow it becometh shorter, and like a garment it waxeth old. Rather, therefore, do you lay hold of that eternal life which the blessed Peter holds out to you, in his cause and in that of righteousness. Accomplish the good work you have begun. For know that the prince of the apostles holds your chirograph as firmly as he holds the donations therein set forth. And surely ye shall fulfil it; lest when the great Judge shall come to judge the living and the dead, and to chastise the world with fire, the same prince of the apostles shall draw forth your broken covenant in judgment against you. We therefore adjure you by Almighty God; by his mother, the glorious, ever-

²⁰ No mention is made of restitution or amends to the "Respublica,"—the empire. See note 13 of this section.

²¹ *Ann. Mett. et Moissiac*, loc. cit.—*Anastas. ap. Murat.* tom. iii. pp. 169, 170. It almost seems that Aistulf had reckoned upon being able to make a diversion in his own favour by exciting rebellion among the Franks. At his instigation, Carlman, the brother of Pippin, had been sent into France to impede the designs of

Stephen, and to thwart the restitution of the conquered territory. Carlman, it is said, omitted no effort to effect his purpose; but certainly we hear of no precise step having been taken by him to make a party, or to create a hostile diversion in favour of Aistulf. And, in fact, he very soon gave himself up to Pippin and the pope; and though not permitted to leave France again, he ended his days in retirement at Vienne. *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 169.

virgin Mary ; by the blessed princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, and by the tremendous day of judgment, that ye cause to be delivered up all towns, places, and districts, hostages and captives, unto St. Peter, and all that to your donation belongs ; because, *for that purpose it was that the Lord*, by my humility and the mediation of the blessed Peter, *anointed you to be kings, that through you the church might be exalted*, and the prince of the apostles receive his righteous due.’²²

Though the ceded districts comprised the greatest portion of the conquered exarchate, neither this nor any other of the numerous documents relating to the connexion between Stephen III. and the king of the Franks contains the remotest allusion to the claims of the Eastern empire. The pope, therefore, had by this treaty presumed to annex to his church a territory belonging to his acknowledged sovereign. Again it must be noticed, that, in the compact with Pippin, Stephen had studiously kept all temporal reciprocity out of sight. Pippin acquired none of the vacated rights of the empire, while he adopted all its obligations. The pope contracted no temporal duty ; he was willing, indeed, that his debt should be registered in heaven, but the payment was to be sought there likewise. The debt of the church temporal was transferred to the account of the church spiritual ;—a state of unrewarded obligation, in which it was for centuries the policy of the church of Rome to retain its spiritual subjects.

Freed for the present from all apprehension of the Franks, Aistulf suddenly collected the entire force of his kingdom, and invested the city of Rome on all sides. His troops spared neither churches nor shrines ; neither age, nor sex, nor condition, nor habitation ; the country was pillaged with merciless ferocity, and even the basilica of St. Peter of the Vatican was plundered and polluted. Irreligion or heresy contributed its share to the wanton destruction of things sacred and profane. The soldiery, it is affirmed, threw the consecrated elements into their cauldrons, and mixed them up with their pottages. They spitted the sacred images upon the points of their swords, and cast them into the flames of the burning temples.²³ Everything outside the walls that could impede the operations of the siege was destroyed or levelled to the ground, and the materials applied to the use of the assailants. For a period of two months the Romans sustained the assaults of Aistulf with desperate bravery. All their attempts to negotiate with him were repudiated with disdain.

The pope annexes the territory of his sovereign, the Eastern emperor, to the patrimony of the church.

Jan. 1.
A. D. 755.
Aistulf lays siege to Rome.

The Romans defend the city with great bravery.

²² Epist. Steph. Pap. III. ap. D. Bouq. tom. v. p. 488.

²³ The heresy of the Iconoclasts seems still to have retained its hold even in Italy.

"You are in my power," he replied to the Roman emissaries, "and this time you shall not escape me! Go call to your Franks, and see whether they will save you now!" But he signified his willingness to spare the lives of the inhabitants, if the pope was delivered up to him and the city surrendered; should these terms be rejected, the city should be raised to the ground, and the inhabitants fall by the edge of the sword.²⁴

A.D. 755.
Pippin hastens
to their assist-
ance.

Aistulf raises
the siege,

finds his forces
unequal to the
contest.

and agrees to
surrender the
territories
claimed by the
pope to Pippin,
to pay the ex-
penses of the
war, and ac-
knowledge
Pippin as his
superior lord.

He surrenders
Ravenna and
the Pentapolis.

During the siege the pope had with difficulty contrived to send letters to Pippin, breathing the most earnest supplications for succour in his hour of need.²⁵ The king lost no time in assembling his heriban, and before the first day of March, in the year 755, encamped on the plains of Lombardy. Meanwhile Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, advanced through the Tridentine passes, and effected his junction with the king before the walls of Pavia. At the first news of the movements of Pippin Aistulf raised the siege of Rome, and hastened by forced marches to the relief of his threatened capital. This point was happily gained: but he speedily perceived that his forces were unequal to the contest; and the sacrifices required were, after all, trivial compared to the risk he must run in the attempt to preserve his late conquests. The views of Pippin were confined to the fulfilment of his obligations to the pope, and an indemnity for the expenses of the war. With this assurance Aistulf frankly submitted the questions in issue to the decision of the primates and clergy of the Franks themselves, and the latter awarded that Aistulf should immediately deliver up to the pope all the districts comprehended in the late treaty; that he should pay to Pippin one-third part of the treasure of his kingdom for the expenses of the war, together with a considerable sum in gratuities to his officers; that he should punctually discharge the tribute previously stipulated, and again pledge his oath and give hostages for his future obedience to Pippin as his superior lord.²⁶

These terms were accepted by Aistulf; and Fulrad, as the commissioner of Pippin, received the surrender of Ravenna and the Pentapolis.

²⁴ *Anastas. loc. cit. p. 173.—Epist. Steph. Pap. III. ad Pippinum, &c. ap. D. Bouq. tom. v. p. 490.—Contin. Fredeg. ibid. p. 3.*

²⁵ "Let not your aid be far away from us, O most Christian princes! So shall the Lord of Hosts help you when you go out against your enemies! Turn not your face away from us, so shall the Lord not avert his face from you in that great day when he shall come with the blessed Peter and all his holy apostles to judge all mankind; nor shall he then say unto you (which God forbid), 'I know ye not, for ye

gave no aid to my church in its peril; ye took no thought for the succour of mine own peculiar people;' . . . but may you then hear the comfortable words, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world!'" In another of his letters he personated St. Peter himself, and addressed it to the whole Frankish people. See *D. Bouq. loc. mod. cit.*

²⁶ *Fredeg. Contin. D. Bouq. tom. v. p. 4.—Anastas. loc. cit.*

Pippin then caused a formal deed of donation to be drawn up, whereby he made over "to the apostle Peter, and the holy Roman church, all the cities, towns, territories, and jurisdictions therein named, to be held and enjoyed by the pontiffs of the apostolic see for ever."²⁷ After taking formal possession in the name of the pope, Fulrad went to Rome, and dutifully presented the deed of donation to the holy father, together with the keys of the ceded cities, and the hostages whom he had taken from the citizens for their future fidelity.

The accidental death of Aistulf, by a fall from his horse in hunting, delivered the pope from an exasperated enemy, and opened a new field of activity to his enterprising genius. The duke Desiderius of Tuscany, and the abdicated king Rachis, became candidates for the vacant throne. But Desiderius hastened to secure the favour of Stephen III. Fulrad and Paul, the brother of the pope, repaired immediately to the camp of the duke, and obtained from him a deed of gift in favour of the holy see, comprising the cities and districts of Ferrara, Castrum Tiberiacum, and Faenza. Fulrad then joined the forces of Desiderius with a body of Frankish troops which had been left at his disposal in Italy, while the pope despatched a peremptory rebuke to the misguided Rachis and his followers. This remonstrance effectually quenched the reviving embers of temporal ambition in the mind of the monk: Rachis retreated to his convent, and Desiderius was acknowledged as their king by the Lombard people.²⁸

But Stephen could not rest satisfied with his position in Italy, until the last fragment of the Greek possessions was delivered into his hands. Shortly after the accession of Desiderius, he obtained from him a verbal cession of the cities and districts of Bologna, Osimo, and Ancona;²⁹ and endeavoured to prevail upon Pippin, as the advocate of the church, to

Pippin makes over those territories to the pope.

A.D. 756. Aistulf is killed by an accidental fall from his horse. Desiderius and Rachis become candidates for the throne. The pope and the Franks favour Desiderius,

who is acknowledged king by the Lombards.

Stephen extorts fresh cessions of territory from Desiderius;

he endeavours to prevail upon

²⁷ "Which deed of donation," says Anastasius (ad Vit. Steph. Pap. III. *Mural.* iii. p. 171), "is still extant in the archives of our holy church." The ceded territory consisted of the towns of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sennigallia, Eso, Forlimpopoli, Forlì, the castles of Susubbio, Monteferrato, Acerragio (?), Monte Lucari (?), Serra (?), Castellum S. Mariani (?), Bobri (?), Urbino, Callio (?), Luculo (?), and Commacchio; together with the city of Narui, which had been usurped by the dukes of Spoleto many years before.

²⁸ *Anastas. loc. sæp. cit.*

²⁹ *Epist. Steph. Pap. III. ap. D. Bouq. tom. v. No. viii. p. 499.* In this letter the pope solicits Pippin to cause a quick end to be made of the

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cause of his (Pippin's) patron, St. Peter, "and that you command," so he proceeds, "*the other cities which were formerly comprised under one domination* (the entire exarchate), with all their territories, forests, and dependencies, *in integro*, to be given up to your spiritual mother, the church, that she may live in perfect peace and happiness; inasmuch as the people of the church cannot move beyond their own bounds *without the possession of those cities which have always been connected with them under one government.*" Aistulf, he tells the king, had gone to hell, as was to be expected; and he then acquaints Pippin with the further cessions extorted from Desiderius.

Pippin to become security for these cessious,

and at the same time attempts to detach the two great duchies of Beneventum and Spoletum from the Lombard kingdom.

Stephen III. dies, and is succeeded by Paul I.
A. D. 757.

Desiderius marches to reduce the rebellious duchies. Pope Paul takes offence and complains to Pippin.

He informs him of the reconciliation of the Lombards with the Greeks, and of a conspiracy between them to reconquer Ravenna.

become bound for the fulfilment of this promise. How far he was successful does not appear; but Desiderius afterwards declined to perform his engagement upon grounds sufficiently justified by the conduct of Stephen himself: for while the pope was exacting new concessions as the price of his support in promoting the views of Desiderius upon the crown, he was, at the same time, busy in effecting the dismemberment of the kingdom itself. He had not only drawn the great duchies of Beneventum and Spoletum into the closest connexion with the holy see, but had encouraged them openly to renounce their dependence upon the crown of Lombardy.³⁰ It cannot surprise us that Desiderius should resent this flagrant duplicity, or that he should hasten to reduce the revolted districts to obedience. In the midst of these transactions the active and able Stephen III. passed from the scene, and was succeeded by his brother, the Deacon Paul. No change of policy appears in the conduct of the new pope. Desiderius had marched his armies through the lately ceded territories, for the purpose of quelling the rebellion of his Spoletan and Beneventine subjects. This conduct excited the suspicions and the anger of Paul. He immediately wrote to Pippin, reminding him that the people of those duchies had but lately thrown themselves upon the protection of the Frankish monarchy; and that now, to the great contempt and disparagement of his royal dignity, Desiderius had dared to waste the towns and villages of his new clients with fire and sword; that he had taken prisoner Albinus, the duke of Spoletum, who had a short time before sworn allegiance to the blessed Peter, and to Pippin, with several of his nobles, and, having severely wounded and ill-treated them, now cruelly detained them in chains.³¹

In the same epistle pope Paul complained of the deposition of the duke of Beneventum for his loyalty to the church; but chiefly, he pressed upon Pippin the intelligence he had just received of a secret interview between Desiderius and the imperial emissary George in the vicinity of Naples; the object of which was, to persuade the emperor to attack Ravenna by sea, under a promise that his arms should be faithfully supported by the entire force of the Lombards. It is not improbable that a project of this nature was actually entertained, and that the wrongs which both had sustained from the conduct of the church, and the interference of

³⁰ "The people of Spoletum," says Stephen, in a letter just quoted, "have, by the *hand of the blessed Peter*, taken unto themselves a duke; and likewise the *Beneventines* have, through us, commended themselves to your goodness." It, therefore, admits of no question that the pope

had tampered with the loyalty of the subjects of Desiderius at the very time he was extorting cessions of territory from him as the price of his friendship and support.

³¹ Epist. Paul. Pap. I. ap. D. Bouq. tom. v. pp. 503, 504.

Pippin, had at length extinguished the apparently irreconcilable feud which had now subsisted for little less than two centuries between them.³² At all events, Desiderius delayed the surrender of the lately-ceded districts of Bologna, Ancona, Osimo, and Imola; and the pope spared neither flattery³³ nor censures to induce Pippin once more to put forth his hand to enforce the demands of the church. The Greeks continued to molest her in the possession of Ravenna by active intrigue, and by the dissemination of Iconoclastic opinions. Threats of invasion were frequently repeated, and the ambiguous conduct of Desiderius confirmed the suspicion of a hostile compact with the heretical Greeks. On all these occasions Pippin was made the depository of the papal grievances. For some years subsequent to the last treaty, the Frankish king had indeed shown less alacrity in the affairs of the church than was desired and expected by the pope. But he at length thought fit to put an end to the solicitations and anxieties of the pontiff, and by his envoys, bishop Remedius of Rouen, and duke Autchar, demanded and obtained from Desiderius all the cessions claimed by pope Stephen.³⁴ Ambassadors or representatives of Pippin took up their residence in Italy, and became on all occasions the medium of communication between the holy see and the Lombards. Under such protection the pope at length seemed to breathe in safety, and the peace of Italy was secured for a time.³⁵

Desiderius delays the surrender of Bologna and some other towns.

The Greeks disturb the church in the occupation of Ravenna.

A.D. 760. After much solicitation Pippin interferes, and compels Desiderius to deliver up the towns and districts in question.

³² The emissary, or "Missus," George, had been active in endeavouring to prevail upon Pippin to make over the recovered districts to the emperor instead of to the pope. But Pippin steadily refused the tempting offers held out to him, and without delay executed the deed of donation—*i. e.*, gave away the territory of a neutral and friendly power in discharge of his obligation to a third party. But these matters were not taken so closely in that age. Conf. *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 171.

³³ He is styled "Magnus et præcipuus Rex"—"Murus inexpugnabilis"—a prince "immaculatæ fidei"—would he but force Desiderius fairly to deliver over the extorted districts! *Epist. Paul. Pap. I.* ap. *D. Bouq.* No. 4. tom. v. p. 504.

³⁴ *Epist. Paul. Pap. I.* ad Pipp. *D. Bouq.* loc. cit. p. 522.

³⁵ *Epist. Paul. I.* Ep. viii. xxiv., xxv., xxvi. ap. *D. Bouq.* loc. cit. p. 509, et seqq.

SECTION III.—A.D. 755 to A.D. 774.

Reduction of the Saxons—Progress of Christianity in Germany—Church Government of Boniface—He goes as a Missionary to the heathen Frisians—His Success and Martyrdom—His Character—The Vassaticum—Oath of Vassalage—Tassilo of Bavaria—His Duchy reduced to Vassalage—Waifar, Duke of Aquitaine—War in Aquitaine—Reduction of Aquitaine—Secession of Tassilo—Death of Pippin—Division of the Kingdom between his Sons Charles and Carlman—Misunderstanding between them—Bertrada ; her Scheme for the Maintenance of Peace—Death of Carlman, and Flight of his Widow Gerberga—Charles acknowledged sole King of the Franks—His Divorce—State of the Papacy.—Seditions in Rome—Stephen IV.—Distress of Stephen IV.—Desiderius at Rome—Letter of Stephen to Charles and Carlman—Hadrian I.—Misconduct of Desiderius—He invades the Roman Territory—Retires—Interference of Charles—He proposes Terms to Desiderius—Rejection of these Terms—Charles invades Italy—Overthrow of Desiderius—Siege of Pavia—Charles goes to Rome—His Reception—He makes a new Deed of Donation to the Holy See—Formalities—He is acknowledged by the Pope King of the Lombards—Surrender of Pavia.

THE elevation of Pippin to the throne of the Merwingians, and the donation of the exarchate of Ravenna to the holy see, are the leading incidents in the political life of that prince. The further extension and consolidation of Roman Christianity in Germany, and the annexation of the two great dependent duchies of Aquitaine and Bavaria to the crown of France, form an appropriate sequel to his brilliant and, in general, beneficial career.

Pippin reduces the predatory Saxons to obedience.

All the preceding wars with the extended line of independent Saxon gaus or cantons which stretched from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems to the Saale, had hitherto terminated in partial submission, testified by the payment of trifling tributes; as horses, cows, hides, &c., and an annual duty-visit of the chiefs to the national assemblies of the Franks. But as these truces were never common to all those tribes, inducement or pretext was rarely wanting to some one or other of them to pillage the productive border-provinces of the Frankish kingdom. In this way Thuringia, Hessa, and the entire district of the Lower Rhine, suffered most of the calamities of war in the midst of peace. In the year 753 Pippin took occasion to punish one of these vexatious inroads with extreme severity. The marauding tribes were chastised with fire and sword, their lands utterly wasted, their men, women, and children carried off into captivity, and all their moveables destroyed. The offending communities hastened to deprecate the calamities of another campaign, and to that end submitted to a great increase of tribute.¹

¹ *Fredeg. Contin. ap. D. Bouq. tom. v. p. 1.*

But the extension of Christianity was now regarded as the only sure means of taming the wild tribes of northern Germany. Through the labours of Willibrord, the Frisians had become submissive tributaries of the Franks, and throughout Germany Pippin felt the friendly hand of Rome actively at work in his favour. Boniface had nearly completed the reconstruction of the Germanic churches upon the Roman model: he had introduced his friends and fellow-labourers into all the newly-erected episcopal sees and abbeys: he had established annual synods, corresponding, as to the time and place of meeting, with the yearly assemblies of the cantons; the synods reported to the metropolitans, the latter to himself, as the legate of the holy see, upon the spiritual—not improbably likewise upon the political—state of the cantons.² These regulations afforded great advantages to the hierarchy, arising from the intimate acquaintance with the persons and the designs of the lay rulers, and, no doubt, likewise, from the influence over their deliberations which, in this way, they could not fail to acquire.

Progress of Christianity in Germany. The Frisians submit, and the hands of the government are strengthened by its alliance with the system of church government established by Boniface.

Age and infirmity had, indeed, crippled the bodily activity of the venerable archbishop, but without damping that missionary ardour which had supported him under the labours of his long and arduous career. He determined to finish his course as he had begun it, preaching the gospel with his latest breath; and, if such should be the will of God, sealing the testimony with his blood. Many parts of Friesland were still immersed in heathen darkness, and he proposed devoting the remnant of his days to the conversion of these wanderers from the flock of the church. He appointed his friend Lullus his coadjutor in the see of Mayntz, and left with him minute directions for the future government of the Germanic churches, and particularly for the completion of his own favourite foundation at Fulda in Hessa. He then embarked with a few chosen companions upon the Rhine, and ventured boldly into those remote parts of northern Friesland, whither the light of the gospel had not yet penetrated. At first his success corresponded with his warmest wishes. Thousands crowded to the baptismal font; Pagan altars and groves and harahs were overthrown, and churches were erected upon the sites, till the reapers were too few for the harvest, and it became necessary to call in other ministers for the instruction of the numberless neophytes. But the attractive appearance of certain chests and packages which accompanied the camp of the missionaries—though containing merely books of religious instruction and relics, and a small quantity of sacramental wine—excited the cupidity of the freebooters and

Archbishop Boniface determines to devote the remainder of his life to the conversion of the heathen.

He goes into Friesland; makes many converts; demolishes the heathen palaces of worship; builds churches;

² Harzheim, Concill. Germ. vol. i. p. 76. Epist. Bonif. ad Cuthbert. Episc. Dunelm.

is attacked
and slain by
pirates.

pirates who frequented that coast. The camp of the missionaries had been pitched upon an open spot, commanding a free prospect of the country around. A body of these savages was perceived approaching; the brethren flew to arms and prepared for defence, but Boniface commanded them to lay aside carnal weapons, and prepare to receive the crown of martyrdom: the missionaries obeyed the command, and calmly submitted to the stroke of the murderers. But neither gold, nor silver, nor costly vessels were found among the booty. In their vexation the pirates greedily consumed the provisions of the missionaries, and drank immoderately of the wine. In the heat of intoxication a quarrel arose, and the blood of the murderers was mingled with that of their victims. The survivors wreaked their disappointment upon the lifeless bodies; they scattered the books and the relics to the winds, and hastily sailed away from the scene of their unprofitable crime.³

His body is
conveyed to
Mayntz, and
afterwards
buried in the
abbey church
of Fulda.

A large body of neophytes, who were that morning to have received baptism, came too late to save their spiritual father. The body was removed with care to Mayntz; and afterwards, in compliance with the archbishop's wishes, deposited in the abbey church of Fulda. This monastery, founded, built, and endowed by himself, had been his favourite residence during the latter years of his life. "For there," he wrote to pope Zachary, "I am in the centre between four nations, Franks, Thuringians, Saxons, and Hessians, to all of whom I have preached the gospel of Christ;" and here he desired to repose after the turmoil of life should be past.⁴ Boniface fell a victim to his zeal for the conversion of the heathen in the month of June, 755, and in the thirty-seventh year of his episcopate.⁵

Character of
Boniface.
His piety:

his devotion to
Rome:

That Boniface laboured with all sincerity to spread the reign of Christianity, and to rescue nations from the power of darkness, we are fully assured. His mind embraced the design in all its sublimity and greatness. But the school in which he had been nurtured, the practices in which his early piety had been trained, the persons with whom he had conversed, all tended to fix his thoughts upon Rome, as the head and centre of Christian doctrine and discipline. It did not occur to him to examine into the nature of the delegated authority claimed by the

³ *Vit. S. Bonif. Willibaldi* ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 349—351. According to the *Presbyt. Ultraject.* (ap. *Pertz*, loc. cit. p. 351), the place where Boniface and his companions were killed was called Doking. A handsome church was afterwards built in honour of him on the spot.

⁴ *Brower*, *Annal. Fuldens.* lib. i. p. 13. The original deed of gift from Karlman to Boniface,

and his appointees or successors, is not extant; but that from Boniface to the abbey, reciting the original donation with great minuteness, was found by Brower in the archives of the monastery. It bears date on the 22d of March, in the sixth year of the reign of Carlman and Pippin, and in the year of the incarnation 747.

⁵ *Vit. S. Bon.* *ibid.* loc. cit.

Western patriarch, or to question the pedigree of his alleged supremacy. And his obedience, when once pledged, was upright and devoted: his views were free from ambition or selfish design: the temporalities he obtained for himself and his newly-erected churches were not more, frequently far less, than sufficient for the support of the ministers: his discipline was grave and severe, but not more so to others than to himself: in travel and in preaching he was indefatigable, persevering and generally judicious. He dealt roughly with the prejudices of his hearers; but his eloquence rarely failed to reach their hearts: he chose his fellow-labourers with discernment, for they were all like-minded with himself: obeying with cheerfulness, executing with alacrity, they gradually imbibed the spirit of his design, and fitted themselves to carry forward the scheme he had traced out for them, whatever its merits or defects, with unanimity, zeal, and success.⁶

his disinterest-
edness:

his discipline,
intrepidity,
eloquence, and
discernment in
the selection of
his assistants.

At the accession of the Carlovingian dynasty the old order of independent nobility seems to have vanished altogether. That order had in fact become absorbed in the two predominant classes of the Leudes and the Antrustions.⁷ Again it appears that at the period in question these two last denominations had become blended into a single relation, called the *Vassaticum*, or condition of vassalage, which comprehended almost all the duties and obligations of an Antrustio superadded upon those of a Leudis. But both these conditions had been originally *voluntary* engagements, eagerly sought after, indeed, because of the manifest advantages they held out: still no law as yet authorized the imposition of such duties and obligations without the free consent of the subject. But the position of the majores domûs rendered it a part of their policy to encourage and promote, by every means in their power, the extension of those personal ties, which might enlarge the sphere of their own influence, and enable them to bid defiance to every attempt to revive loyalty, or to extricate the crown from the abyss of degradation into which it had been purposely plunged. Thus, by degrees, independence was discountenanced, decried, and at length extinguished. Every one was either Leudis or Antrustio, till these two conditions remained the only recognized ranks in society. The oath of a "Vassus" was now

Ranks and con-
ditions among
the Franks at
the accession
of the Carlo-
vingian dy-
nasty.

Independent
nobility disap-
pear.

Antrustions
and Leudes
become
blended into
one estate,
called the
Vassaticum.
Voluntary en-
gagements be-
come compul-
sory,

and all recog-
nized political

⁶ The lives of this saint are more instructive than those of nine-tenths of the calendar. It is much to the credit of this excellent man, that very few miracles are recorded of him. His biographers cannot but have felt that his actions did not require that meretricious decoration with which

every monastic scribbler delighted in tricking out the memory of the obscure patron whom he was commissioned to deify for the honour of his convent.

⁷ Conf. chap. xii. sec. 1. pp. 657 and 667.

rank is melted into the single condition of vassalage.

Tassilo, the minor duke of Bavaria, is educated as a vassal of the Frankish monarch;

and made to take the oath of vassalage.

Tassilo and the estates of his duchy are reduced to become the military vassals of Pippin.

He is compelled to lend his services

administered to all who were of sufficient importance in the state to attract the attention of the sovereign or his ministers. A refusal would have been received as proof of disaffection; and what none could with safety decline, soon became a matter of obligation upon all.⁸

Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, the son of Odilo by Chilitradis, the sister of Pippin, had continued, ever since the defeat of Grifo,⁹ under the control and guardianship of his powerful uncle. Though probably permitted to reside within his duchy,¹⁰ his condition resembled, in most respects, that of a Frankish "Vassus." He obeyed the summons to the annual heriban and "Field of March;" he did military service at the bidding of his lord; and as soon as he was of an age to be intrusted with so much power as a vassal might enjoy, he was called upon to take the oath of vassalage in the hands of his superior, in the precise terms of the oath administered upon the admission of an Antrustion. "And there came Tassilo, the duke of the Bavarians," observes the annalist in reference to the Field of March held in the year 757, "with the primates of his people, and, *after the Frankish custom*, commended himself *with his hands laid in the hands of the king*, in token of *vassalage* (in Vassaticum); and vowed with an oath upon the body of St. Dionysius, and upon the bodies of St. Martin and St. Germanus, that he would be faithful to the king himself, as well as his two sons, Charles and Carlman, and promised that he would keep this his faith unto these his liege lords all the days of his life. The same oath was likewise taken by all his nobles who came with him into the presence of the king."¹¹

That Tassilo and his nobles should have voluntarily degraded themselves from a state of independence to that of feudalism, without any of those overpowering inducements which had tempted the Frankish proceres to submit to such a limitation of their ancient rights, is altogether incredible. It must be supposed, therefore, that in thus surrendering themselves into the hands of a superior, they were acting in compliance with a general and compulsory custom, to which every member of the Frankish state held himself bound to submit. But they were not long in becoming sensible of the burthensome consequences of their new

⁸ Conf. *Mannert*. vol. i. p. 331.

⁹ See chap. xiii. sec. 2. p. 769, ad Ann. 749.

¹⁰ *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 331) thinks he was removed to the court of Pippin after his mother's death. But conf. *Ann. Pataviani* ap. *Pertz*. tom. ii. p. 11, ad Ann. 755.—*Ann. Lauriss.* ibid. p. 28.—*Ann. Nazariani*, ad Ann. 754. ibid. p. 29.

¹¹ *Annal. Einhardi*, ad Ann. 757. From the account of this annalist, it seems that Tassilo

and his nobles were carried about from shrine to shrine, that nothing might be wanting to strengthen the obligation. According to the *Annales Lauriss.*, he was likewise made to swear upon the bodies of St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherius. Compare the oath of an Antrustio, in *Marculf. Formul.* xviii. ap. *Cancian.* tom. ii. p. 201. The ancient Antrustio was therefore, as far as the terms of the oath can decide the point, identical with the more recent vassus.

condition. The entire military force of the Bavarians was, by the operation of the recent engagement, placed at the disposal of a distant master; the duke sank into the state of a subordinate officer, and the first duty he was called upon to perform was to assist in riveting a similar yoke upon the neck of a prince, whose rights, like his own, interfered with the growing uniformity of vassalage.

and those of his subjects to promote the projects of a foreign master.

Waifar, duke of Aquitaine, was indeed a tributary dependent upon the Frankish crown;¹² but he was not yet a vassal. The disturbances in Spain occasioned by the revolt of that country from the Abasside caliphs and the establishment of the Western caliphate, under Abderrahmann el Dakhel, the last surviving scion of the Ommyad family, had enabled Pippin to get possession of Narbonne¹³ and the whole of the Visigothic Septimania, and to reduce its nobles to the general level of vassalage. After the reduction of Bavaria and Septimania, therefore, the duchy of Aquitaine formed the only exception to this uniform system of tenure in the wide realm of the Franks. It has been with much probability conjectured that duke Waifar was a descendant of the house of Chlodwig, through Charibert, the brother of Dagobert I.,¹⁴ and that in him the rights of that house may have found a dangerous representative. But however this may have been, the comparative freedom of Aquitaine formed a serious obstacle to the ambition of the reigning family, and afforded a centre and a refuge for recusancy, if not for rebellion, in the bosom of the Frankish monarchy. A cause of quarrel was soon discovered. Certain disaffected Frankish Leudes had obtained an asylum in Aquitaine: Pippin called upon Waifar to deliver up his guests; he added a demand of indemnity to the churches of the duchy for invasions of their immunities, of which Waifar is alleged to have been guilty, and claimed a composition for the lives of certain Septimanian Goths, whom Waifar had put to death some time before.¹⁵

War with Aquitaince.

Pippin obtains possession of Gothia or Septimania, and covets Aquitaine.

He seeks and easily finds cause of quarrel against duke Waifar of Aquitaine.

Waifar rejected these demands with indignation; and in the year 760 the war commenced with the invasion of Aquitaine. The duke defended himself with great skill and perseverance through five successive campaigns. The war assumed a character of ferocity unparalleled even in that age of brutal and vindictive passions. Aquitaine was wasted with fire and sword, and the reprisals of Waifar reduced the adjacent districts

A. D. 760. Waifar defends himself bravely for a period of seven years;

¹² See chap. xiii. sec. 2. p. 767.

¹³ Narbonne was taken in the year 759, after a tedious blockade of six or seven years. The *Ann. Mettens.* date the capture in 755. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 331.—The *Chron. Moiss.* (ibid. p. 294) places it in 759.—*Lembke* (*Gesch. von Span.*

vol. i. p. 343), and most other historical critics, prefer the latter date.

¹⁴ See chap. xii. sec. 3. p. 702, of this volume.

¹⁵ *Fredeg. Cont.* c. 124. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 4.

A.D. 765.

of Burgundy to a similar state of desolation. Hitherto the duke, conscious of the inferiority of his forces, had avoided a general battle; but in the year 765 he ventured to depart from this cautious system, and received a total defeat. His offers of submission were now rejected with disdain; his adherents deserted him; and the greater part of the duchy fell into the possession of his enemy. After two years more of desultory warfare, the unfortunate prince was hunted to the woody country near Bigorre.¹⁶ Here he continued to give employment to his adversary for some time longer, till a traitor was found among his few remaining adherents, and the brave prince fell by the hand of a hired assassin. All resistance then ceased, and Aquitaine was finally united in the bonds of strict feudality with the kingdom of the Franks.¹⁷

but is at length subdued, and dies by the hand of hired assassins. The duchy submits, and becomes united with the Frankish monarchy. Tassilo is disgusted with his service;

he disobeys the summons to the Heriban, and incurs the guilt of Herilitz.

During three entire campaigns of this arduous warfare, Tassilo of Bavaria had dutifully followed the banner of his lord in the field; but as he advanced in years he began to comprehend the ungenerous advantage which had been taken of his youth and helplessness. He suppressed his impatience for a time; but the distant and expensive expeditions to which he was called upon to contribute at length exhausted his forbearance. To the fourth summons of Pippin he pleaded sickness, retired into his own dominions, and imprudently declared that he would never again see the face of his wily uncle. This incautious declaration involved him in the guilt of "Herilitz," or dereliction of the Heriban. The ancient Germans punished cowardice with death:¹⁸ the guilt and the penalty were now transferred to the act of quitting the Heriban without the permission of the superior lord;¹⁹ and Tassilo had incurred the penalty of treason.²⁰

A.D. 768. Pippin is seized with a mortal disease.

The continuance of the Aquitanian war compelled Pippin to defer the punishment of his refractory vassal. When the reduction of the duchy

¹⁶ It is called the forest of Edobola by *Fredeg.* ap. *D. Bouq* loc. cit. p. 8.—now the forest of Ver, near Bigorre.

¹⁷ Pippin is charged with having hired the assassin to rid him of his persevering enemy. But we are surprised at the indifference with which the servile courtier, who wrote the fourth continuation of *Fredegar's* annals, passes over this imputation: "Dum hæc agerentur, ut asserunt, consilio regis factum, Waifarum princeps Aquitanie a suis interfectus est." *Fredeg. Cont.* iv. loc. cit. c. 135. p. 8.

¹⁸ Ignavos et imbelles . . . cæno ac palude . . . mergunt. *Tac. Germ.* c. 12.

¹⁹ According to the *Leg. Longob.* § 81. (ap. *Cancian.* tom. i. p. 159): "Si quis contumax adeo aut superbus extiterit, ut dimisso exercitû

absque jussu et licentiâ regis domum revertitur, quod nos (Longobardi) Teudiscâ linguâ, dicimus *Heriliz*, ut ipse sit reus majestatis, vitæ periculum incurrat, et res ejus fisco nostro socientur." This law was made by Charles the Great for his Lombard subjects. In conformity with this is the Capitulary, lib. iii. c. 70. *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 193. "Quicumque absque licentiâ vel permissione principis de Hoste reversus fuerit, quod factum Franci *Heriscilz* dicunt, volumus ut antiqua constitutio, id est, capitalis sententia erga illum puniendum custodiatur." The "antiqua constitutio," it seems, brought this offence within the definition of cowardice. The offender was the "ignavus et imbellis" of Tacitus.

²⁰ *Ann. Lauriss.* and *Ann. Einhardi*, ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 145.

was completed, he returned to Saintes, and was there seized with a lingering disorder, which, a few months afterwards, terminated his existence. Before his death the king assembled the principal vassals and primates of the kingdom, assisted by a council of bishops and priests, in his sick-chamber; and by their advice settled the partition of the kingdom between his sons Charles and Carlman. To Charles, the elder, he gave the kingdom of Austrasia; to the younger, Carlman, Burgundy, Provence, Septimania,²¹ Alsace, and Alemannia, or Suabia. Aquitaine was equally divided between them.²² But it is singular that in this partition no mention should be made of Neustria or of Bavaria. The difficulty may be avoided by supposing it to have been intended that Charles and Carlman should govern those divisions in common; and the conduct of the partitioners themselves confirms this conjecture. In the absence of some such arrangement, Charles could have had no access to his Aquitanian possessions; and, in fact, both princes resided within the limits of Neustria during the entire first year of their reign.²³ Shortly after the completion of this important act, Pippin breathed his last, and was interred in the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris.²⁴

He settles the partition of the kingdom between his sons Charles and Carlman. Charles obtains Austrasia, &c. Carlman, Burgundy, &c.

Pippin dies. A.D. 768.

With reference to the accession of the sons of Pippin to the crown of the Franks, a few observations arise of importance to the history of the Carolingian dynasty. Losing sight for a moment of the papal sanction, and considering the title of the new kings merely with reference to national laws and customs, it appears that the rule of succession underwent no alteration by the change of families. The elevation of Pippin to the throne of the Merwingian princes was rather an act of acquiescence than of election. From appearances we might conclude that the nobles and prelates assembled at Attigny had required no more than a mere assurance that they might lawfully transfer their allegiance from the titular king to the reigning major domûs; and that when that assurance was procured, the nation submitted as a mere matter of course. The right of succession remained precisely as it was under the prior line: the successor was required to be a son or an immediate descendant of the reigning prince; the *person* was designated by occupancy and acquiescence, or by the suffrage and support of the more

The law of succession to the crown undergoes no change by the change of dynasty.

²¹ Called "Gothia" by the annalists.

²² *Annal. Lauriss. et Einhardi*, ad Ann. 768. loc. cit. pp. 146, 147.—*Contin. Fredeg. D. Bouq.* v. p. 8.

²³ Charles spent his Easter at Rouen. Carlman resided permanently at Soissons. *Einhard. Ann.* ad Ann. 768. loc. mod. cit.—*Mannert.*

vol. i. p. 336.—*Pertz*, in a note to this passage of the annalist, gives a very minute division of Neustria between the two brothers, but he has not quoted his authority.

²⁴ In the twenty-seventh year of his reign, as both major domûs and king, in the seventeenth from his coronation in 752.

powerful vassals and adherents of the candidate. Under the Merwinian dynasty, the rule of succession in a great degree followed the general custom which governed the transmission of private property in land. Partition was therefore resorted to when there were several sons ; and in order to avoid future contests, it was customary for the reigning prince, during his own lifetime, to procure the recognition of the more powerful bodies in the state on behalf of his destined successors, and at the same time to settle the limits of their respective shares. And this was the exact course pursued in the transmission of the crown from Pippin to his sons Charles and Carlman. Both princes received the royal unction at the time their father assumed the crown ; the nobles and the prelates acquiesced ; and the first king of the new dynasty in his lifetime determined the respective shares of his successors, with the advice and assent of those who might be powerful enough to disturb the arrangement. The habitual notions of the nation with respect to the royal dignity, therefore, underwent no alteration in consequence of the late revolution, and Pippin was acknowledged as the stock from which the future kings were to spring, leaving the designation of the persons liable to those customs and contingencies by which it had been hitherto governed.

Charles (afterwards) surnamed the Great, quells an insurrection of the Aquitanians.

Charles, afterwards surnamed " the Great," was the elder of the two sons of Pippin. His division comprised, if not the larger, yet the more exposed portion of the kingdom. To the northward his territories bordered upon the wild tribes of Friesland and Saxony, extending from the mouths of the Rhine to the Thuringian Saale : to the southward, his Aquitanian dependencies were in contact with the independent Wascons or Gascons of the Dordogne, the Garonne, and the Adour, and the still more formidable Saracens of Spain. The character of Carlman appears to have been feeble, capricious, and far less active than that of his elder brother ; and the first important transaction of their joint reign sufficed to justify the discernment of Pippin in imposing the heavier burthen upon the more robust shoulders. The year after the death of the late king, a pretender, named Hunold, supposed by some writers²⁵ to be that duke Hunuald who had renounced the world in the year 744, raised a dangerous insurrection in Aquitaine. Charles summoned his brother to aid him in the suppression of these disturbances. But the latter, listening to the suggestions of mean jealousy, declined contributing to the defence of a province not within his own immediate dominion.

Carlman is jealous of his brother, and refuses to concur in the suppression of the revolt.

²⁵ In the annals of *Einhard* he is called " Hunoldus quidam ;" but *Mannert* (vol. i. p. 337) has succeeded in convincing himself that this person was the identical Hunuald, the father of

Waifar, who had retired from the world, A.D. 744, twenty-five years before this period (A.D. 769). Conf. chap. xiii. sec. 2. p. 767 of this volume.

Though deeply offended by this desertion, Charles promptly assembled his forces. The pretender, Hunold, was pursued into the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, where he was for a time protected by Lupus, the duke or prince of the Wascons. But the menaces of Charles soon compelled the latter to surrender his obnoxious guest: Hunold and his wife were delivered up, the insurrection was speedily and effectually quelled, and measures were taken to secure the frontier of the Dordogne against any attempts of Lupus and his wild subjects to disturb its tranquillity for the future.²⁶

Apprehensions were entertained that the alienation of the brother-sovereigns would lead to civil war.²⁷ Their mother, Bertrada, a woman of a masculine and active character, had always maintained a more than parental ascendancy over the minds of her sons. In the year 769 she repaired to the court of Carlman at Selz, in Alsace; and in the year following happily accomplished a formal, perhaps a genuine, reconciliation between the brothers.²⁸ It is difficult to explain the subsequent conduct of this active and well-meaning princess. Her mind seems to have embraced a project, on the one hand, to secure the tranquillity of Christendom, by effecting a permanent reconciliation between the holy see and its Lombard enemies;²⁹ and, on the other, to obviate the dangers of an open rupture between duke Tassilo and his cousins, by adding another tie to that relationship which already subsisted between them. Since his abrupt departure from France in the year 765, Tassilo had conducted himself in all respects as an independent sovereign. After that period the Aquitanian war, the death of Pippin, and the division of the kingdom, had engrossed the attention of the Frankish princes. But it was obvious that the recent reconciliation must, unless speedily prevented, lead to active measures for bringing the rebel to punishment, and thus produce a civil war at a time when the movements of the Saxon borderers suggested the necessity of strenuous exertions to secure the tranquillity of the Germanic provinces.

In the interim Tassilo had married Luitgard, the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius. However unlikely such a connexion may appear to mitigate the resentment of his superiors, yet it seems that the

Bertrada, the mother of the two kings, interferes to reconcile their differences;

and succeeds.

Bertrada entertains a scheme for establishing peace in Italy and for reconciling Tassilo with her two sons.

Tassilo marries Luitgard, a daughter of Desiderius.

²⁶ *Einhardi et Lauriss. Annal.* ad Ann. 769. Charles employed the remainder of the season in building a strong fortress at Fronsac on the Dordogne, against the incursions of the Wascons. "After that," says the annalist, "he retired to his villa and palace of Duren, to celebrate the feast of Christmas, and then removed to Liege, where he kept the holy week in the

church of St. Lambert."

²⁷ *Einhard.* Vit. Carol. Mag. c. 3. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 445.

²⁸ Conf. the congratulatory letter of pope Stephen IV. No. iii. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 139.

²⁹ "Bertradâ cum Karlomanno minore filio locutâ (viz. at Seltz), *pacis causâ* in Italian proficiscitur." *Ein. Annal.* loc. cit.

Bertrada procures the restitution of several cities to the pope.

She concludes a treaty of marriage between her son Charles and the daughter of Desiderius; she makes a second match between her daughter Gisela and Adalgis, the son of Desiderius.

Charles divorces a prior wife, and marries Irmengarda.

The marriage of Gisela with Adalgis is prevented by the death of Carlman.

A.D. 771.

scheme of Bertrada for promoting family union was grounded upon this incident. After accomplishing the work of peace in France, she passed into Italy through Bavaria, with the ostensible purpose of visiting the holy places at Rome.³⁰ Her first object, however, seems to have been to effect an accommodation between pope Stephen IV. and the Lombard king. In this she was only partially successful; she procured from Desiderius the restitution of some cities and districts which he had taken from the pope, but was unable to heal that inveterate animosity which had been raised, partly by the jealous and irritable spirit of the papacy, and partly by the faithless imbecility of the Lombard king himself. The second part of her plan—if we may so describe it—was not ill-calculated to prevent a breach between the Franks and the Lombards, by establishing a friendly relation between her son Charles and their king Desiderius. With this view she visited the court of the latter, and there negotiated a marriage between Charles and Irmengarda,³¹ the daughter of Desiderius; a second match, between her own daughter Gisela and Adalgis, the son of Desiderius, was agreed upon at the same time. The first of these treaties was immediately carried into effect, and the bride elect was delivered to Bertrada to be conducted to her destined husband. On her return to France she again passed through Bavaria, possibly with a view to dispose the mind of Tassilo in favour of her ulterior intentions, and to acquaint the two princesses with her plans for promoting peace between their respective husbands. As soon as Irmengarda arrived in France Charles assembled a great council, and procured the consent of the estates to his divorce from a prior wife; and, in the autumn of the year 770, solemnized his espousals with the Lombard princess.³²

But the marriage of Gisela, the sister of Charles, with Adalgis, the heir of the Lombard throne, was frustrated by an incident which could have entered into no calculation, and which conducted directly to the rupture which the queen-mother had been toiling to prevent. In the month of December, 771, Carlman died suddenly. His decease put an end to the

³⁰ *Eckhart* (Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 610) thinks that Tassilo accompanied the queen to Rome, to visit his father-in-law Desiderius, who was then in the vicinity of the city.

³¹ This princess is frequently called Desiderata, but *Eckhart* objects—Desiderata signifies a bride, one that “is desired” as a bride ought to be, “quam Carolus desideraverat suam esse conjugem.” *Aventinus* (Ann. Boicæ, p. 218) calls her *Irmogarda*; Firmianus Strada, *Hermingarda*; Albertus Trium Fontium *Sibillia*;

Paul Æmilii *Theodora*. I prefer the Teutonic to the Latin where there is a choice.

³² *Einhardi Annal.* ad Ann. 770. *Pertz*, tom. i. p. 149.—*Ann. Lauriss.* ad eund. Ann. *ibid.* p. 148.—*Einhardi Fuld. Annal.* *ibid.* p. 348.—*Chron. Moissiac.* ad Ann. 770—772. *ibid.* p. 295.—Conf. *Eckhart*, loc. mod. cit. Also *Baron.* *Annal. Eccles.* ad Ann. 770. tom. xiii. p. 61, cum Not. *Pagi* iii. Almost all the annalists mention the journey of Bertrada, or Bertha (so she is called by some), into France with the daughter of Desiderius.

solicitude of Bertrada for the maintenance of that peace between the brothers which nothing but the ascendancy she had acquired over the minds of both could have so long preserved.³³ Meanwhile the suspicion and jealousy entertained by Carlman against his brother had infected the mind of his widow Gerberga. Believing her own life and those of her children in danger, she fled, under the protection of a few friends of her late husband, to the court of Desiderius.³⁴ Charles affected to regard the flight of his sister-in-law and her two sons with indifference. He went into Neustria without delay: at the royal villa of Carbonacum, not far from Laon, he was met by his father's ancient friend and minister Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, at the head of a numerous train of prelates, princes, and barons, lately the vassals of Carlman,³⁵ and was by them joyfully proclaimed king of the now united kingdom. He protested to them that the apprehensions and flight of Gerberga were wholly unnecessary, and that he meant no injury to his brother's children; and, in fact, no claim they might advance could at this moment have seriously endangered his pretensions to the sole sovereignty. The sons of Carlman do not appear to have been looked up to by any party in the state as legitimate claimants of the throne; and their tender years disabled them from setting up a title which could only have been made good by the sword. Charles knew that the persons to whom he was indebted for an undivided throne spoke the wishes of the people; and for the present he might, without presumption, despise the claims of his infant nephews, though backed by the power of a foreign state. But Desiderius was a tributary prince, bound in allegiance, though not in vassalage, to the realm of the Franks; and Charles was at liberty to regard the act of harbouring fugitive subjects, at least as a breach of duty, if not in a still more offensive light. Meanwhile his consort, Irmengarda, had become distasteful to him, and regardless, for the first time in his life, of the remonstrances of his mother, he repudiated her, and sent her back to her father.³⁶ By this step the pacific scheme of Bertrada was overthrown, and a prospect was

Gerberga, the widow of Carlman, betakes herself to the protection of Desiderius.

Charles is proclaimed king of the united kingdom of the Franks.

He divorces Irmengarda, the daughter of Desiderius.

³³ *Einhard* (Vit. Car. Mag. p. 453) gives an animated description of the affection and respect entertained by Charles for his mother.

³⁴ *Einhard*. Vit. Car. Mag. c. 3. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 445.—*Ann. Moissiac* ad Ann. 771. *ibid.* tom. i. p. 295.—*Ann. Einh. et Lauriss.* ad eund. Ann. loc. cit. p. 149.—*Enh.* Fuld. Ann. loc. cit. p. 371.

³⁵ The annalist *Einhard*, ad Ann. 771. mentions the names of the most distinguished of these nobles and prelates: Wilchar, bishop of Sens, the primates Warin and Adalhard, "with

many other princes, prelates, and comites of his brother's kingdom."

³⁶ The alleged cause was barrenness. Thus *Notker Balbulus* (in Vit. Car. Mag. lib. ii. c. 25) says that she was repudiated "Judicio sanctissimorum sacerdotum quia esset clinica, et in propagandam prolem inhabilis." *Einhard* declares "he did not know the reason why Charles put her away." That she was sent back to her father is not expressly stated. There is no mention of her after her divorce in any of the annalists.

opened to the church of Rome for the humiliation or the ruin of an enemy whom she now more than ever regarded with horror and detestation.

A short account of the leading events of Italian history since the death of Paul I. will disclose the principal causes of this increased animosity, and throw some further light upon the progress and tendency of the papal policy in its dealings with the secular powers of Christendom.

The papal throne becomes the object of ambition to the laity. Toto, duke of Nepi, causes his brother Constantine (a layman) to be proclaimed pope.

By this time the papacy had virtually transformed itself into a temporal principality, with temporal rights and jurisdictions;³⁷ and the papal throne had, of course, become an object of lay ambition. After the death of Paul I., Toto, duke of Nepi, a popular Roman nobleman, with the assistance of a body of soldiers, and a tumultuary rabble of citizens, caused his brother Constantine to be proclaimed pope. But Constantine was as yet a layman; George, bishop of Præneste, was therefore made the compulsory instrument in qualifying him for his new dignity. He was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, and afterwards consecrated to the holy see by the bishops of Præneste, Albano, and Porto.

Two orthodox canonists, Christopher and Sergius, with the help of Desiderius, depose the intrusive pope Constantine.

Christopher, the dean or president of the Roman presbytery,³⁸ and his son Sergius, the almoner³⁹ of the holy see, indignant at this desecration of the papacy, fled to Desiderius. By his directions Theodicius, duke of Spoleto, furnished them with a body of troops, with which they hastened to Rome, and possessed themselves of the Pancratian gate, which happened to be in the possession of a party ill-disposed towards Constantine. The duke of Nepi was killed in an attempt to repel the assailants, and the multitude, weary of their feeble favourite, now lent themselves with equal zeal to the wrath of the orthodox canonists. Constantine was ignominiously deposed, and an obscure deacon, named

³⁷ After the donation of Pippin we constantly meet with the expressions "Nostræ civitates"—"Nostræ fines"—"Nostræ justitiæ," words which imply, if not actual sovereignty, yet a very high power of police, and the entire civil judicature. See *Du Cange* ad voc. "Justitia." It is said merely that the pope was *virtually* a sovereign prince. In matters of form there is reason to think that he occasionally thought fit to acknowledge, at least, the high criminal jurisdiction of the empire; and he still dated his public acts by the years of the current reign. Thus pope Hadrian sent the murderers of his ministers, Christopher and Sergius, "*Constantinopolim in exilium*." *Anastas.* in *Vit. Hadrian Pap. Mural.* tom. iii. p. 181. Thus, also, Paul Afiarta, a Roman demagogue, was deli-

vered by the archbishop of Ravenna, by whom he had been arrested, to the "consulares" of the city—obviously imperial officers,—with a recommendation that they should be *sent to the emperor*; and a suggestion that he (the emperor) should detain them in prison somewhere in Greece. *Anastas.* loc. mod. cit. p. 182. But in both cases the churchmen appear to have exercised the right of criminal examination and sentence; they merely delegated the execution to the emperor.

³⁸ Afterwards better known by the name of the sacred college, or college of cardinals, or parochial clergy of Rome. Christopher's actual title was that of "Primicerius."

³⁹ "Sacellarius," from *Saccus*, a purse to receive oblations. *Du Cange* ad voc. "Saccus."

Philip, was introduced by the Lombards and the party which favoured them into the Lateran, and hastily installed in the pontifical chair. Christopher and Sergius protested as loudly against this irregularity as they had previously done against the election of Constantine. Their friends supported them with courage and success; Philip slunk back to his cell; the orthodox were now at leisure to go through all the forms of a valid election and consecration, and Stephen, cardinal-priest of St. Cæcilia, was unanimously installed in the pontifical chair.⁴⁰

The Lombard party elevate Philip to the papacy, but are unable to support him.

The orthodox choose Stephen IV.

The indignation of the people now fell with equal fury upon the party of Constantine, and upon that of his enemies, the Lombards. They dragged the aged intruder from his retreat and put out his eyes; the humble Philip was barbarously murdered in the church of Sancta Maria ad Martyres, and every chance for the Lombard interest in Rome was for the present extinguished. Desiderius regarded himself as overreached by Christopher and Sergius; but, in truth, it was to his own supineness that he was indebted for the loss of the opportunity of becoming master of Rome, which the rage of the orthodox canonists at the irregular elevation of Constantine had afforded him. The new pope, Stephen IV., had been the pupil of Zachary and the friend of Paul I.; and he inherited all their hatred of the Lombards. The first use which the strict canonists made of their present ascendancy was to vindicate the honour of the church. Constantine was brought before a synod of their party, assembled in the church of the Lateran, and severely examined touching the daring impiety of his late usurpation. The accused admitted his guilt, but timidly ventured to suggest that he had done nothing absolutely unprecedented; Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna, he said, had been equally suddenly ordained to that see; and a layman, Stephen of Naples, had been with as little preparation elevated to the prelacy of that city. "While he was running on in this way," adds the papal biographer Anastasius, "the zeal of the bishops for the sacred traditions of the church blazed forth; they all, with one accord, arose from their seats, and with many kicks and buffets cast him out of the church."⁴¹ All his acts were burnt—all his ordinations declared void, and those who had received the communion by his hands cast themselves on the ground, bewailing the great sin they had committed, and crying "Kyrie Eleëson!" To prevent future usurpations, it was decreed that from henceforth no one—nor any layman at any time—should be promoted to the pontifical throne before he had passed canonically through the

Their party murder Philip, and put out the eyes of Constantine.

Stephen IV. and his party examine Constantine touching his late sacrilegious intrusion.

They reject his defence, and descend to personal violence.

⁴⁰ *Anastas. ap. Murat. tom. iii. pp. 174, 175.*

⁴¹ *Anastas. in Vit. Steph. IV. loc. cit. p. 177.*

regular degrees of the priesthood, and risen to the rank of cardinal priest.⁴²

Desiderius attempts to extract advantage from the party broils of the Romans.

He goes to Rome upon pretence of visiting the holy places.

He decoys the pope into his power,

and procures the ruin of the favourites, Christopher and Sergius.

A.D. 770. In the midst of his distresses, Stephen IV. receives intima-

In the meantime the city of Ravenna had become the scene of a similar violation of the canonical laws. At the instigation of Desiderius, Michael, a Greek layman, had usurped the archiepiscopal throne, and held it for upwards of a twelvemonth, till he was ejected by the papal party, and the legitimate prelate, Leo, restored. The papal agents, Christopher and Sergius, together with the emissaries of Charles, remonstrated vehemently against these vexations; and urged the restitution of various districts still held by the Lombards in breach of the late treaties. An attempt to decoy these importunate monitors into his power failed, and Desiderius, under colour of a pilgrimage to the holy places, but in reality with a view to extract advantage from the party divisions among the Roman population, appeared with a strong escort of troops before the gates of the city. But Christopher and Sergius had, in the meantime, raised the population of Tuscany and Campania for their defence, and the Lombards found the gates closed and the walls manned against him. A Roman priest, named Paul Afiarta, was however induced by bribes to lend himself to the views of Desiderius. The pope was decoyed to the church of St. Peter without the walls, under pretence of a conference with the king, while Paul raised the populace of the city against the two favourites. The imprisoned pontiff, anxious to save the lives of his friends, conveyed private advice to them, either to retire into a convent or to take sanctuary with him in the basilica of St. Peter. Christopher and Sergius chose the latter alternative; the pope was then permitted to return to his palace; but the obnoxious favourites were rudely torn from the sanctuary by a Roman rabble, under the directions of Paul, and carried back in triumph to the city to glut the vengeance of the anti-papal party. Both the prisoners were immediately blinded; Sergius, indeed, survived, but Christopher soon afterwards died of the injuries he had sustained.⁴³

Some time prior to the arrival of Desiderius in the vicinity of Rome, Stephen had received the gratifying intelligence of the reconciliation between Charles and Carlman; an occurrence which seemed to open a prospect of a speedy settlement⁴⁴ of all the claims of the holy see. The

⁴² The term "cardinal" was not yet exclusively applied to the parochial clergy of Rome. The principal churches of every episcopal city among the Latin Christians had their *cardinal priests* and cardinal deacons, the latter of whom appear to have presided over the non-privileged

places of worship—*i. e.*, those in which *all* the offices of the church might not be performed. See *Du Cange* ad voc. "Cardinalis."

⁴³ *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 179.

⁴⁴ Vid. *Epist. Steph. Pap. IV.* ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 539.

visit of Bertrada to Rome in that year had, in fact, procured a partial restitution of the disputed territories, and the most confident anticipations might be entertained that the united kings would not delay enforcing the existing treaties to the letter. But as yet Stephen was unacquainted with the ulterior plans of Bertrada. His consternation, therefore, was the greater, when report, confirmed in due time by his own agents at the court of Charles, informed him of the impending marriage between that prince and the daughter of his enemy. Such a union appeared pregnant with ruin to the interests of religion, and of the holy see. The church and her rights, her property and her patronage, formed, in his conception, one sacred and inseparable unity—one entire representative of the Deity upon earth; to the maintenance of which the official advocates of the church were as strongly pledged as to that of the divine unity itself. Stephen, therefore, wrote to Charles with all the energy of grief and indignation. He treated the naked idea of an alliance between the persecutor of the church and its sworn advocate and protector as an outrage too gross—a breach of all the laws of God and man too flagrant—a contempt of all engagements towards the holy see too outrageous—a pollution too monstrous to be contemplated. “Steep and slippery,” he proceeds, “is the path which leads to destruction. Of all temptations, woman is surely the most dangerous; for by woman came death into the world. A marriage with a daughter of the Lombard would be no marriage, but a mere intercourse of abomination—a pure suggestion of the devil. Whence, then, this sudden madness, O most excellent princes! Shame that it should be but whispered, that the nation of the Franks, the glorious race of princes that sits upon the throne of that illustrious people, is about to pollute itself with the perfidious, the filthy Lombards; an unclean rabble, which doth not deserve to be numbered among the nations of the earth! Believe it not! Kings so great can never have been brought to defile themselves by so hellish an abomination! For what part hath the light with the darkness? Or what portion hath the believer with the infidel? Remember, we beseech you, O most excellent sons, that you are a holy people—a royal priesthood, sanctified and anointed to be the defenders of your mother, the church. Remember how that you promised to our holy predecessor pope Stephen, and unto St. Peter, *that you would be the friends of our friends and the enemies of our enemies*. Can it be, then, that you should have so grievously sinned against your own souls as to contract alliance with our foes;—with that perjured prince who hath ever proved

tion of Bertrada's project for the double marriage.

His indignation at the report.

His letter to Charles and Carlman.

himself the persecutor of the church of God,—who hath invaded our provinces, and openly avowed himself our capital enemy?”

“Moreover,” he continues, “you have sworn to remain faithful and true to the holy church, and to continue in *all due obedience*, and in undefiled charity towards the pontiff of the holy see. Now, then, by the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, to whom are given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power to bind and loose upon earth; by the true God, the judge of the living and the dead, and by His divine power and majesty, and by the tremendous day of judgment, and by all the sacred mysteries, and by the body of the blessed Peter, I do adjure you, that neither of you presume to take the daughter of the said Desiderius to wife, nor to give your most noble sister to his son; nor that you, or either of you, dare to repudiate your lawful wives, but, on the contrary, that you manfully contend with the Lombard until you shall have constrained him to render unto the church that which he owes, and make satisfaction for his manifold invasions and mischiefs inflicted on her people.”

“This, our epistle and solemn adjuration,” so the letter concludes, “have we laid upon the altar of the blessed Peter, and have thereupon offered up the most holy sacrifice; and have sent it wet with our tears direct from the holy place. If, therefore, you presume to disobey this our solemn exhortation, be it known that he that so doeth incurreth the sentence of anathema, and we do pronounce him henceforth an alien from the kingdom of God; we give him over to Satan and his torments, to have his portion with the impious of the earth, to be consumed in everlasting fire! But unto him who shall observe our ordinance to keep it, unto him be eternal benedictions from the Lord our God; to him be the reward of everlasting joys with the saints and the elect of God.”⁴⁵

Death of Stephen IV.

Feb. 9,
A.D. 772.
Hadrian is
raised to the
pontifical
throne.

It is uncertain whether the vehement expostulations of Stephen IV. had any share in the repudiation of Irmengarda. That event—however brought about—proved of essential service to the papacy. The death of Stephen IV. in the year 772 raised to the throne Hadrian, the son of Theodore, a Roman gentleman of distinction. The sanguinary outrages committed by the rabble under the guidance of the turbulent priest, Paul Afiarta, had, it seems, alarmed all parties; and that alarm had directed the eyes of most men to the popular priest, who was now chosen to fulfil the arduous duties of restoring internal tranquillity, and combating the

⁴⁵ Baron. *Ann. Eccles.* ad Ann. 770. tom. xiii. p. 61. The whole epistle is in *D. Bouq.* tom. v. Ep. Steph. IV. No. 5. p. 541.

foreign enemies of the holy see. The favour he had acquired by his reputation for piety and liberality⁴⁶ tended to allay the fever of popular excitement, and to balance the influence of Paul. Desiderius himself signified his desire for the friendship of the new pope. Hadrian candidly avowed his distrust of these professions. After distinctly enumerating to the Lombard envoys the numberless offences of their master, he asked with what confidence he could rely upon the assurances of one who had shown so little regard for the most sacred obligations. The envoys replied, that Desiderius was now ready to render ample justice to the holy see, and anxious to live in sincere union with the head of the church. The pope thought fit to credit these assurances, and appointed commissioners to take possession of the towns and territories withheld or recaptured by the Lombards.

His popularity enables him to put down faction.

Desiderius requests his friendship, and agrees to surrender the territories withheld from the holy see.

But in the short interval between the departure and the return of his embassy, the faithless and vacillating mind of Desiderius had again undergone a change. The papal commissioners had proceeded no farther than Perugia, when intelligence reached them that Desiderius had suddenly taken possession of the cities of Ferrara, Commachio, and Faenza, that he had closely invested Ravenna, occupied all the strong posts within the Ravennatine territory, and carried away the inhabitants, with their cattle and all the means of subsistence within the reach of the citizens.⁴⁷ It is difficult to divine the precise motive of this strange conduct, unless it be imputed to the arrival of the fugitive widow of Carlman and her two sons at the Lombard court,⁴⁸ and the sudden elation produced in the mind of this weak and dishonest prince, by the advantage which that incident seemed to throw into his hands. Hadrian remonstrated against this new outrage; but he could obtain no other reply from the king, than that unless the pontiff came to treat with him in person no

But he suddenly changes his mind, and seizes several places belonging to the pope.

Hadrian remonstrates in vain against this new outrage.

⁴⁶ "From his early life," says Anastasius, "he was a constant attendant at the church of St. Mark, which lay near his dwelling. He there continued day and night giving thanks unto God. He wore a shirt of hair, and macerated the body by frequent fastings; and spent his time in alms-giving, and in giving assistance, according to his means, to the poor and indigent; so that the fame of his charity and continence was spread far and wide." *Vit. S. Hadrian. Pap.* loc. cit. p. 179.

⁴⁷ *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 180.

⁴⁸ The dates of these transactions render this surmise extremely probable. Carlman died on the 4th of December, 771. Hadrian was elected

pope on the 9th of February, 772; therefore the death of Carlman occurred little more than two months before the election of Hadrian. But Anastasius tells us that the occupation of Ferrara, &c., took place before Hadrian had sat two months on the papal throne, therefore four months, or thereabouts, after the death of Carlman. It is not necessary to suppose that the flight of Gerberga took place immediately after she became a widow, or that she went directly into Lombardy. Thus, her arrival there need not have taken place till after the accession of Hadrian, and after the departure of the mission. The subsequent conduct of Desiderius strengthens the surmise.

The plan of Desiderius to inveigle Hadrian to Pavia is frustrated by the arrest of his agent Paul.

terms would be granted. Hadrian declined the insolent and unreasonable requisition. The presence of Gerberga and the infant sons of Carlman at the court of Desiderius gave rise to the suspicion that he entertained a project for inveigling the pope to Pavia, and there forcing him to confer the royal unction upon the two princes; whereby a rupture might be effected between Charles and Hadrian, and thus the holy see might be placed at his mercy. Paul Afiarta, it is said, was the agent employed to carry this notable scheme into execution. The design was betrayed to the pope; Paul was fortunately arrested at Ariminum, on his way through that city upon his errand of treason, and was banished to Greece by the desire of Hadrian.

He ravages the papal territory.

Irritated by the failure of his endeavours to lure or to intimidate the pope into compliance with his wishes, Desiderius ravaged the lands of the Pentapolis:⁴⁹ the Lombard parties even extended their inroads into the Roman territory, wasting the country, and occupying in strength the castle of Otricoli. As long as any prospect remained of obtaining redress by remonstrance, or even by supplication, Hadrian scrupled to introduce a foreign power into Italy. He delayed his application to Charles for assistance till all hope of peaceful redress had vanished; and the preparations of Desiderius left no doubt that he intended to put an end to the rising influence of the papacy at a blow. But the Lombard king had suffered the favourable juncture to pass by unimproved. His coadjutor, Paul, was now a prisoner, the spirit of party in Rome was assuaged, and Charles of France was at liberty to lend what assistance the pope might require.⁵⁰ Though the road through Italy was closed, yet the ambassadors of Hadrian found their way by sea to Marseilles, and thence to the court of Charles at Thionville, to claim that redress which he was now clearly and equitably entitled to demand.

He prepares to besiege Rome.

Hadrian claims the protection of Charles of France.

Desiderius marches to Rome.

Hadrian prepares for his defence.

Meanwhile Desiderius led his army towards Rome, accompanied by the two sons of Carlman and their Frankish adherents. He announced to the pope his speedy arrival at the holy city, with his illustrious guests, and called upon him to be prepared to impart the royal unction to the two princes. This insidious, yet shallow device, met with a prompt and peremptory refusal. The pope prepared for a vigorous defence; he armed and embodied all the inhabitants of Tuscany and Campania capable of bearing arms; some levies were obtained from the Pentapolis; the walls of Rome were repaired and strengthened, and a garrison collected

⁴⁹ A distinct portion of Pippin's donation, comprising the cities of Senegallia, Montefeltro, Urbino, Gubbio, and Blera.

⁵⁰ *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 184.

within them numerous enough to keep the enemy at bay till the arrival of the succours which the pope had no doubt of obtaining from Charles.⁵¹

But, as a last expedient to avert the danger, Hadrian resolved to resort to spiritual weapons : he sent an embassy of three bishops to the Lombard camp once more to admonish Desiderius, and to denounce sentence of excommunication and anathema upon him and his Frankish guests, if after that warning they should presume to set a foot upon the Roman territory. Whether we suppose the Lombard to have yielded to religious fears, or to a consciousness of his inability to overcome the formidable impediments which the active pontiff had thrown in his way, this last argument was successful, and he withdrew his forces from the Roman frontier.⁵²

He threatens Desiderius with excommunication.

Desiderius withdraws from the Roman frontier.

It is not improbable that Desiderius was by this time informed of the favourable reception of the envoys of Hadrian at the court of Charles, and of the imminent danger to which he was thereby exposed. Hitherto he may have flattered himself that the war which was then raging upon the Saxon frontier of the Frankish kingdom would obviate all danger of interference in the affairs of Italy. But the arrival of royal commissioners from France, with instructions to inquire upon the spot into the truth of the charges raised against Desiderius by the papal envoys, and, if substantiated, to insist upon full satisfaction, dispelled his dream of security.⁵³ The report of the commissioners put an end to all doubt of the duplicity and falsehood of the Lombard. Charles, though at this moment really anxious for a peaceful accommodation, could not, upon any construction of his engagements towards the holy see, withhold his hand : Desiderius continued equally deaf to remonstrance or menace ; and in the spring of the year 773, Charles assembled his forces at Geneva for the invasion of Italy.

The papal envoys meet with a favourable reception at the court of Charles.

The latter dispatches commissioners to inquire into the alleged infraction of the treaties. Their report puts an end to all doubt of the bad faith of Desiderius :

and Charles prepares to enforce them by arms.

As soon as his preparations were completed, he once more offered equitable terms of accommodation to the Lombard king. His envoys were instructed to propose that Desiderius should make absolute restitution of all the territories comprised in the donation of Pippin, and surrender three hostages of rank for the full performance of this engage-

He proposes equitable terms to Desiderius.

⁵¹ The great churches of St. Peter and St. Paul without the walls were stripped of all their ornaments, relics, and furniture ; the gates were strongly barricaded that no access to the interior could be gained but by breaking them open. This was done with a view to add the sin of sacrilege to the other offences of Desiderius and the Lombards, if they should presume to pollute the churches by their presence.

⁵² *Anastas*, loc. cit.

⁵³ *Eckhart*, *Franc. Orient.* tom. i. p. 624. Charles seems to have hesitated to act upon the naked information of the papal agents. Desiderius, we are told, had repeatedly assured him that he had carried the treaty concluded with his father Pippin into complete execution, and he therefore seems to have determined to obtain more precise information.

ment; and that, if these terms were complied with, the king should then pay to Desiderius the sum of fourteen thousand golden solidi; a part upon the spot, and the remainder at a given term. But in public, as in private conduct, moderation is too often regarded as a proof of weakness or irresolution. Desiderius chose to incur the risk of a contest in the field with his mighty adversary; and he assembled his army, strengthened by levies from every part of his dominions, at Chiusa, a strong post at the foot of the Alps. Meanwhile the Frankish host moved from Geneva in two divisions: Charles himself led the first body across the pass of the Mont Cenis, while the second, under the command of his paternal uncle, duke Bernhard, crossed the Mons Jovis, now better known by the name of the Great St. Bernard.⁵⁴ The rapid advance of Charles in front, and the news of duke Bernhard's passage in their rear, spread a panic among the Lombards; the army commenced a disorderly retreat, during which Desiderius was deserted by his best troops; the Spoletans and Beneventines returned home, and speedily concluded an accommodation with the pope; and Hadrian, with the promptitude of a discerning statesman, hastened to take them under the wing of the holy see. Desiderius retired to Pavia with the remainder of his army; and his son Adalgis, with the widow and children of Carlman, shut himself up in Verona, then deemed the strongest city in Italy.⁵⁵

They are re-
jected.
He crosses the
Alps, and
disperses the
Lombard army.

Desiderius re-
tires to Pavia.

The king of the Franks invested the Lombard capital without delay; and, leaving a strong body of troops to watch the Pavians, hastened onwards with a select detachment to Verona. The object of this movement is explained by the result. Upon the arrival of Charles, duke Autchar, the protector of Gerberga, and her two sons, surrendered himself and his charge,—as it seems,—to the mercy of the king. Verona might long have bidden defiance to the arms of the Franks; the widowed queen might have still found an asylum within its walls; the Lombards themselves might have regarded her as a pledge of some value in their future negotiations with the king; nevertheless the rebel Autchar was allowed to quit his asylum;—probably not without having made such terms as might secure his own person from punishment, and to his helpless companions a treatment suitable to their rank and former prospects.⁵⁶

Desiderius de-
fends Pavia

Meanwhile Desiderius defended himself in Pavia with courage and

⁵⁴ *Eckhart* (tom. i. p. 624) contends that the mountain and the pass derive their name from this duke Bernhard, and not from the saint of that name, with whom he has been ignorantly confounded.

⁵⁵ *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 184. — *Annal. Lauriss. et Einh.* ad Ann. 773. loc. cit. p. 151.—*Conf.*

Eckhart, tom. i. pp. 623 to 625.

⁵⁶ *Eckhart* (Fr. Orient. tom. i. p. 631) thinks it probable that the sons of Carlman were shut up in a monastery. He surmises that Carlman left a daughter, and that *that* daughter is the St. Gertrudis, who became the foundress of the great abbey of Neustadt on the Mayne.

perseverance. After a siege of six months little progress had been made towards the reduction of the place. The usual term of military service in the Frankish heriban had expired, and if the army had availed itself of its admitted right of returning home, the labours of the campaign would have been wholly lost. But the facility with which Charles prevailed upon his lieges to forego their legal right, and bear the fatigues and privations of a winter-campaign, attest the ascendancy which his vigorous and martial character had already obtained over his proud and warlike countrymen. As a pledge of his own unalterable resolution, and a testimony of confidence in the attachment of his troops, he sent for his wife Hildegardis and his children into Italy; and the camp before Pavia assumed the aspect of a brilliant court. He was attended by a select body-guard,⁵⁷ troops of servants and officers of state, with a goodly fellowship of bishops, abbots, chaplains, and ecclesiastics of various ranks. So much state might be intended for an imposing display of the wealth and power of the monarch, but it was useless for the purposes of active warfare. It is therefore not improbable that he deemed it conducive to a purpose which was doubtless by this time firmly settled in his mind; a purpose flattering to his own ambition and to that of his subjects, and to the accomplishment of which scarcely any difficulties could be anticipated, but such as might be raised by the pope.

with courage
and constancy.

Charles pre-
vails upon the
Frankish heri-
ban to con-
tinue the siege
of Pavia
through the
winter.

He converts
his camp into
a court.

The mass of the Lombard nobility had deserted their king in the field; and, it may be supposed, were only awaiting the result of the siege to make the best terms for themselves with the conqueror. But of that result there could now be little doubt. The distressed king was as much cut off from all communication with his subjects as if he had been already a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. Charles had in the meantime applied himself to gain the good-will of the people. The general conduct of the church had hitherto evinced little respect for the integrity of the Lombard state; and that conduct might, perhaps, encourage Charles to presume the acquiescence of the pope in any scheme which he might entertain for the appropriation of its disposable territory;—and that scheme was, to place the crown of Lombardy upon his own head, after securing to the church such share of the spoil as she might choose to claim.

He resolves to
place the
crown of Lom-
bardy upon his
own head.

But this delicate negociation could not be easily conducted at a distance. It was not improbable that the pope might be averse to

⁵⁷ The “Scara,” or “Scaritus,” Germ. French “Escadron,” and our squadron. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 8.

the introduction of so formidable a foreign power into the heart of Italy. And in confirmation of this it may be observed, that amid all the bitterness of invective in which the Stephens and Paul I. had indulged against the Lombards, not a word indicating a wish for their ruin, or for the transfer of the kingdom to strangers, had ever escaped them. In their communications with the Frankish princes, as the advocates and protectors of the holy see, they had never hinted at indemnity or reward in that shape; nor can it be believed that those pontiffs ever intended that any such recompense should be made. It was, in fact, no part of the design of the popes to allow themselves to be entangled in any project founded upon temporal reciprocity. In that respect the existing treaties were mere naked compacts, leaving the indemnity, if any should be demanded, to separate—if possible, private—arrangement, with all the additional advantages to the church which might be extracted from that mode of settling the question.

Charles goes to Rome.

The Romans receive him with great demonstrations of joy.

His public interviews with the pope.

Charles kept the festival of Christmas in the camp before Pavia. At the approach of Easter he determined to visit Rome, and to celebrate the feast of the resurrection at the shrine of St. Peter.⁵⁸ Accompanied by a numerous attendance of prelates and abbots, dukes and barons, he passed through Tuscany towards the holy city. The Romans testified unbounded joy at the approach of their great protector. Thirty thousand citizens, bearing the bandora, or sacred standard of the city, and the whole body of the clergy, with their crosses and banners, went out to meet him, and escorted him to the church of St. Peter, where he spent the Easter-eve. Early in the morning pope Hadrian, accompanied by the clergy, took his station beneath the vestibule of the basilica to receive the king. Charles, escorted by the militia and people of Rome, advanced to the flight of steps leading to the great porticus, and devoutly kissed each step of the ascent; the pontiff received and saluted him with the kiss of peace, and, taking the king by the left hand, conducted him into the church, “the clergy singing praises to God and the king, and crying with loud voices, ‘Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!’” The pontiff and the king, accompanied by the bishops, abbots, the Roman and Frankish nobles present, then advanced to the shrine of St. Peter. There they prostrated themselves in devout adoration; after which the holy body of the apostle was unveiled, and Charles ratified the treaties of Pontyon and St. Denis, by his solemn oath upon the relics of the prince of the apostles. In the

⁵⁸ *Einh. et Lauriss. Ann.* ad Ann. 774. pp. 153, 154.

course of the three following days the king visited and worshipped at all the holy places⁵⁹ in succession. On the fourth the pontiff paid a visit to Charles in his quarters, and rehearsed to him the treaty to which his father Pippin, his late brother Carlman, and himself, were original parties. The document was then produced and approved, and directions were given to the secretary, Etherius, to draw out a *new deed of donation*, and to deliver it to the pope with the usual formalities. When this was accomplished, a counterpart was prepared in the apostolic chancery, and delivered with like form into the hands of the king.⁶⁰

He delivers a new deed of donation to the holy see.

From the contents of the "new deed of donation," it can hardly admit of a doubt that it was the result of private negociations between Charles and Hadrian, with the particulars of which we are unacquainted. The instrument conveyed to the holy see the entire exarchate of Ravenna,⁶¹ including the island of Corsica; and a territory which commenced at the port of Luna,⁶² on the Hetrurian coast, and extended—probably with intervals—across Italy to Venetia and Histria inclusive, comprehending the cities and districts of Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and Monselice.⁶³ Most of these territories were included in the gift of Pippin;⁶⁴ but the new donation moreover granted the great duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum, which had not at any time belonged to the patrimony of St. Peter, nor ever been subject to the Greek emperor since the Lombard invasion. The claims of the pope to these extensive provinces had arisen out of a recent compact with the disloyal subjects of Desiderius, and therefore could not have been comprehended in the warranty of the Frankish princes. These territories, however, were now added to the list, and were guaranteed in perpetual sovereignty to the holy see, together with all that tract of country which the exarchate of Ravenna, in its utmost latitude, might have comprehended at any period of its existence.

By this deed he makes over to the patrimony of St. Peter the entire exarchate, the Pentapolis, the island of Corsica, the cities of Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and Monselice; together with the duchies of Beneventum and Spoleto.

The document thus conceived was executed by Charles, and attested by the signatures of all the prelates and dignitaries of his itinerant court.

Formal delivery of the deed of donation.

⁵⁹ Viz., at the church of the Lateran, the church of Constantine, the church of S. Maria ad Præsepe (Maggiore), and the church of St. Paul extra Muros. *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 186.

⁶⁰ The document is thus described by Anastasius, "Propria voluntate, &c. (Carolus) *aliam donationis promissionem ad instar* anterioris, &c., ascribi jussit." The words "ad instar" merely denote resemblance, not identity of contents. The two instruments varied remarkably in several particulars.

⁶¹ A very vague description. No territory

had undergone more frequent changes.

⁶² Spezzia.

⁶³ I am unable to identify one—the termini, the "Mons Bardo;" as also the places, Surianum and Vercetum, mentioned by Anastasius.

⁶⁴ No mention is made of these cities in the list of the cities and towns contained in the deed of Pippin, as given by Anastasius in his life of Stephen III. (ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 171). It is equally uncertain at what time they were severed from the exarchate of Ravenna.

The formal delivery was accompanied by further solemnities. The deed was first deposited upon the altar of St. Peter; it was next removed to the shrine itself, and placed between the book of the gospels and the sacred body: the king and his attendants then made oath to St. Peter, and to Hadrian his vicar, that they would faithfully observe all things therein contained, upon pain of eternal punishment. The instrument was afterwards formally delivered into the hands of the pope, and two counterparts were deposited in the shrine of the apostle by the hand of the king himself.⁶⁵ When these minute precautions were completed, Charles, at the request of the pope, consented to appear in public, clad in the robes of the patrician, as prescribed by the ceremonial of the Byzantine court,⁶⁶ in token of the temporal protectorate he had solemnly taken upon himself. Shortly after these solemnities he took leave of the pontiff, and rejoined his army before Pavia.

The pope addresses Charles as king of the Lombards.

The king had not been many days in his camp, when a letter from Hadrian was delivered to him, addressed in the remarkable words, "To our most excellent son Charles, king of the Franks *and Lombards*."⁶⁷ The terms of the letter are, indeed, almost purely complimentary, but the address was a plain recognition of Charles as "king of the Lombards," given in the form least binding upon the church, and yet most agreeable to the pride of the monarch and his subjects; who, with all their reverence for the spiritual father of Christendom, were not yet prepared to accept from the hands of a priest the crown they owed to their own swords. Up to this period the popes had set up no claim to dispose of principalities and kingdoms: they had been merely *consulted* upon the disposal of crowns; they had merely *sanctioned* the deposition of princes, and it had been admitted that their fiat was no unimportant ingredient in the title of the new dynasties: Stephen III. had encouraged the Spoletans and Beneventines to choose their own rulers, and the persons so chosen had applied for, and received, the papal confirmation: in fine, the language and the acts of that pontiff, and his successors, from Paul I. to Hadrian I., plainly evinces that the papacy was fast sliding into that train of opinion and conduct which plainly resulted from the prevalent confusion of ideas as to the true limits of the spiritual and temporal power.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Anastas.* loc. cit. p. 186.—Conf. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 625.

⁶⁶ See a minute description of these robes, illustrated by an engraved copy of a curious ancient painting, ap. *Eckhart*, loc. cit. p. 628.

⁶⁷ *D. Bouq.* tom. v. Ep. Had. Pap. No. 1. p. 544.

⁶⁸ The *Codex Carolinus*, a collection of original letters of the popes, from Stephen I., A.D. 753, to Hadrian I., A.D. 794, addressed to Pippin, Carlman, and Charles, to which frequent reference has been made, is in many respects one of the most curious and instructive historical documents extant.

The garrison of Pavia was by this time reduced to the extremity of distress and famine. All the cities of the kingdom, excepting Verona⁶⁹ and the capital, had submitted: all communication was cut off—all hope of relief extinct; and Desiderius, with the remnant of the garrison and citizens who had survived the ravages of the sword and the pestilence, at length threw themselves upon the mercy of their enemy. The deposed king and his family were immured in Frankish convents, where they were permitted to drag out the remainder of their lives, under a custody more vigilant than that of any single jailer, or of any state prison, with the advantage of a certain degree of personal liberty. The capture of Pavia completed the conquest of Lombardy. Adalgis evacuated Verona and retired to Constantinople, where he lived and died in honourable dependence upon the court of the Cæsars of Byzantium. Charles proclaimed himself king of Italy; and all the appendages of the Lombard dominion, with the exception of the districts ceded to the holy see, submitted to his sceptre. The exarchate, with everything comprised in the deed of donation, was made over to the pope with scrupulous fidelity.⁷⁰ Charles had added a new kingdom to his empire, and the pope had raised himself to the condition of a temporal sovereign in all but the name: the relations of Italy with its Germanic neighbours were marked out for many ages to come: the supreme temporal and spiritual authorities of the European world were brought into direct contact; and the foundations of that novel system of society were laid, which, if the life and health of the writer permit, will form the subject of the next following book of this history.

Desiderius
surrenders
himself and
his capital to
Charles.

June 13,
A.D. 774.
He and his
family are
imprisoned in
Frankish
convents.

Adalgis eva-
cuates Verona,
and retires to
Constanti-
nople.

Charles pro-
claims himself
king of Italy.

⁶⁹ *Lauriss. Ann.* ad Ann. 774. loc. cit.

⁷⁰ *Ann. Einh. et Lauriss.* loc. cit.—*Anastas.*
p. 187.—*Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 629.

ERRATA ET EMENDANDA.

Page 18. After 'Cimbri,' dele (.) in side note, substitute (,)

54. Side note, for 'B.C. 54,' read 'B.C. 53.'

77. Line 14 from top, for 'having,' read 'using.'

87. Line 5 from top, for 'assemblies of the people,' read 'general assemblies.'

1b. Note 11 at foot, for 'or princeps,' read 'principis.'

for 'favour of more generally,' &c., read 'favour of the more generally.'

98. After title, 'Section I.,' insert 'B.C. 12--5.'

104. After title, 'Section II.,' insert 'B.C. 5 to A.D. 10.'

141. Side note, for 'declined,' read 'declines.'

142. Line 6 from top, for 'complete,' read 'to complete.'

146. After title, 'Section III.,' for 'A.D. 50,' read 'A.D. 68.'

193. Line 1, for 'as late as the reign of Chlodwig, at the conclusion of the fifth century,' read 'as late as the age of Gregory of Tours, towards the close of the sixth century.'

204. Line 14 from top, for 'the fact that migration,' read 'the fact of that migration.'

223. Line 4 from the bottom, for 'Ostragotha,' read 'Ostrogotha.'

225. Line 1 at top, for 'parent state,' read 'dominant state.'

243. Line 15 from top, for 'fiefs,' read 'benefices.'

1b. Line 16, for 'in every case,' read 'probably in most cases.'

253. In the margin above the first side note, insert as a side note, 'Lower Germany repopled by intruders or licensed colonists from the interior.'

276. Side note, for 'Jovian,' read 'Jovinus.'

277. Line 12 from top, for 'Jovian,' read 'Jovinus.'

289. Side note, for 'Valentinian III.,' read 'Valentinian II.'

332. Foot note 49, for '*Folesius*,' read '*Falesius*.'

338. Foot note 68, last line but one, for 'by complaints,' read 'by the complaints.'

354. Foot note, for '28,' read '23.'

1b. Foot note 30, col. 2, for '*Cassiodorus*,' read '*Cassiodorius*.'

359. Line 18 from top, for 'to deal arbitrarily,' read 'to deal as sovereigns.'

385. Line 24 from top, place the reference '49,' after the word 'Orosius.'

400. Line 14 from top, for 'Fredigarius,' read 'Fredegarius.'

402. Line 11 from top, for 'those principles,' read 'the principles.'

424. In the genealogical table of the Amali, foot note, for 'Justinus,' read 'Justinian.'

428. Foot note 64, for '*Mittens*,' read '*Mettens*.'

517. Superscription, for 'THEUDERICH,' read 'THEODERICH.'

540. In the running contents, line 3, for '*Theodahat*,' read 'Theodat.'

625. In title, 'Section V.,' for 'A.D. 578,' read 'A.D. 587.'

633. Line 14 from top, for 'in possession of,' read 'established in.'

636. Line 6 from bottom, for 'the Provence,' read 'Provence.'

637. Line 4 from top, for 'amount,' read 'greatness.'

642. Line 7 from the bottom, for 'was now prepared,' read 'was prepared.'

652. Side note, for 'Andelan,' read 'Andelau.'

661. Line 8 from bottom, after 'Aldiones,' put full stop, and dele 'and.'

1b. Line 8 from the top, for 'inhabitant,' read 'inhabitants.'

662. Line 8 from the bottom, for 'and even the person,' read 'and even to enslave the person.'

700. Side note, for 'A.D. 522,' read 'A.D. 622.'

716. Line 2 from the top, for 'Childebert IV.' read 'Childebert III.'

718. Line 9 from the bottom, for do. do.

719. Line 12 from the top do. do.

788. Line 3 from the bottom, for 'the year 786,' read 'the year 686.'

819. Marginal note, for 'A.D. 715,' read 'A.D. 712.'

E FRANKS,

8.

URIES.

erent parts of France:—*Sigibert*, and his son *Chloderich*, kings of Burgundy.—*Richard*, and his brother *Ragnachar*, kings of Cambronne of Maine.—*Chararich*, and an anonymous son. } N.B. All these princes were put to death by Chlodwig between the years 509 and 511.

CHLOTHAR I., king in Soissons, and partitioner of Neustria with Childebert I., from 511 to 561. } Sole king of the Franks in 558.

CHLOTHAR I., king of Soissons, and partitioner of Austrasia with Charibert; from 561 to 584.

SIGIBERT I., king in Austrasia from 561 to 574.

CHLOTHAR II., king in Soissons, &c., from 684 to 628.—Sole king in 613.

CHILDEBERT II., king in Austrasia from 574 to 592; in Orleans and Burgundy from 592 to 596.

associated with the kingdom of the proposed ancestor of the

THEUDERICH II., king in Orleans and Burgundy from 596 to 613.

THEUDEBERT II., king in Austrasia from 596 to 612. Put to death by his brother Theuderich II.

SIGIBERT II., king in Burgundy and Austrasia;—reigns only a few months. He is put to death in 613.

CHLOTHAR III., king in Burgundy from 656 to 670. *d.* without issue.

N.B. In the reign of Dagobert I., the Franks were divided into two kingdoms, each with its own king. From Dagobert I. the kings were merely nominal, and the power of the kingdom was transferred to the majores Domūs. See Table of the Franks, and of the Charles the Great.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE FRANKS, DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE MERWINGIAN DYNASTY.

I. PRINCES OR CHIEFS OF THE FRANKS IN THE SERVICE OF ROME.

Third Century, P.C.—**HARTMOND**—**HILDEGAST**—**CARIOVIST**.
First Half of the Fourth Century, P.C.—**MAGNENTIUS**, Emp.—**SYLVANUS**—**MALLORICH**—**MELLOBAUDES**.
Second Half of the Fourth Century, P.C.—**MEROBAUDES**—**RICHOMER**—**BAUTO**—**ARBOGASTES**.

II. INDEPENDENT PRINCES AND CHIEFS IN THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH CENTURIES.

ATECR—**GENOBAUDES**—**ASARICUS**—**RAOAIUS**.

PRIANUS,
circ. A.D. 382.
|
MARCOMER.
|
PHARAMUND,
circ. A.D. 420.

ANTENOR.
|
SCNNO.

III. MERWINGIAN KINGS.

Conjectural Ancestor
PHARAMUND.

Petty kings, probably contemporaries:—**RICHOMIR**—**THEODOMIR**—**GENOBALD**.

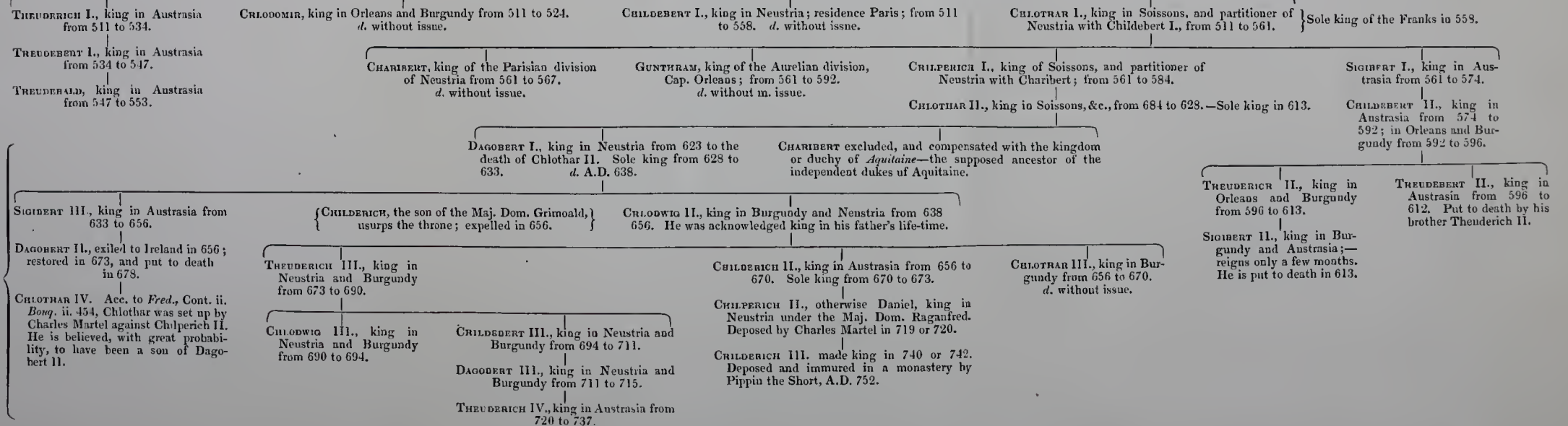
Historical Series.

CHLODIO. A.D. 427 to 448.

Merwig, or MEROVEUS, from 448 to 456.

CHILDERICH I., from 456 to 481.

CHLODWIG, CLOVIS, or LOUIS I., from the year 481 to 511. } *Contemporary petty kings in different parts of France:—Sigibert, and his son Chlodrich, kings of the Riparian Franks of Cologne.—Richard, and his brother Ragnachar, kings of Cambray.—Rignomer, in the province of Maine.—Chararich, and an anonymous son.* } N.B. All these princes were put to death by Chlodwig between the years 509 and 511.

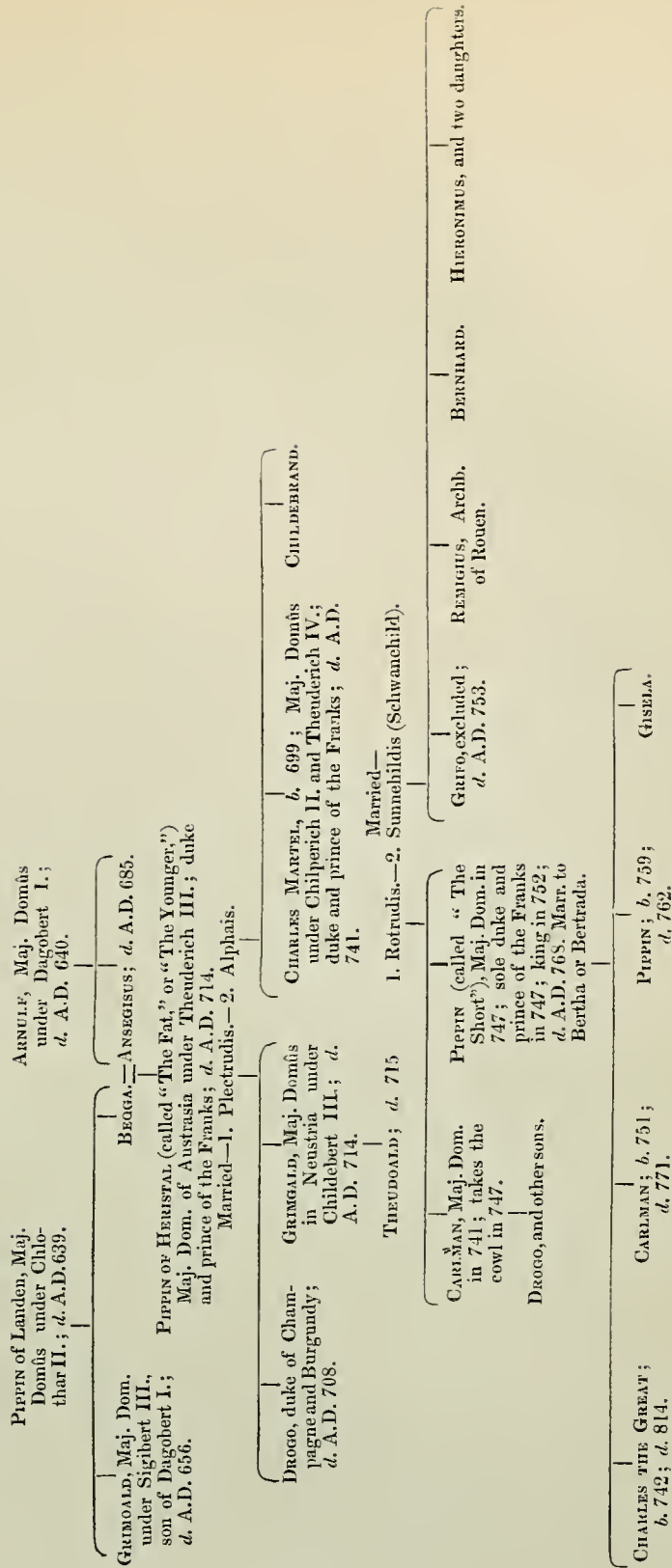


N.B. In the whole series from Dagobert I. there are chasms, and some uncertainty as to the precise periods of each reign.

From Dagobert I. the kings may be regarded as merely nominal, the entire power of the state having been transferred to the Majores Domus.

See Table of *Majores Domus*, and of the ancestry of Charles the Great.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE ANCESTORS OF CHARLES THE GREAT.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE LOMBARDS.

THE LONGOBARDI IN PANNONIA.

According to the Preamble to the
Edict of Rothari.

1. AGELMUND.
2. LAMISIO.
3. LETHU.
4. GILDECH.
5. GUDECH or HUGO.
6. CAFFO or DAFFO.
7. TATO, son of Caffo or Daffo.

With some difference in the orthography of the names,
the two lists agree thus far.

8. UNICHIS, son of TATO.
9. UNABO, son of Unichis.
10. WALAMIR.
11. ALBOIN.

The discrepancy between these four names is the more
remarkable, inasmuch as Paulus Diaconus refers to
the preamble of the edict of Rothari for the truth
of his list. See *Paul. Diac.* lib. i. c. xxi. p. 418.

According to *Paulus*
Diaconus.

1. AOELMUNDUS, son of AYO.
2. LAMISSIO.
3. LETHU.
4. HILDEHOC, or GILDECH, son of Lethu.
5. GEDEHOC or GUDEHOC.
6. CLAFFO, son of Gudehoc.
7. TATO, son of Claffo.

8. WACHO or WACCO, nephew of TATO.
9. WATHARI, son of Wacho.
10. AUDOIN.
11. ALBOIN, son of Audoin.

THE LONGOBARDI IN ITALY.

12. I. ALBOIN, king in Italy from 568 to 573.
13. II. CLEPH, from 573 (August) to 575 (January); reigns 18 months.
Interregnum from 575 to 584. The Lombards revert to the
ducal government.
14. III. AUTHARI, king from 584 to 591.
15. IV. AGILULF, from 591 to 615.
16. V. ADALWALD, son of Agilulf and Theudelinda, king from 615 to 625
or 626.
17. VI. ARIOALD, duke of Turin; chosen king in 626.
18. VII. ROTHARI, elected king in 645.
19. VIII. RODOALD, son of Rothari, succeeds him in 652.
20. IX. ARIPERT, elected 652; dies 661.
21. X. BERTARID and GODEBERT, sons of Aripert; deposed by
22. XI. GRIMOALD, duke of Beneventum in 662; Grimoald king till his death
in 670.
23. XII. BERTARID, restored; dies in 688.
24. XIII. KUNIBERT, son of Bertarid; dies in 700.
25. XIV. LUITPERT, son of Kunibert; deposed and put to death in 701 by
26. XV. RAGIMBERT; who dies in the same year.
27. XVI. ARIPERT II, son of Ragimbert; defeated and killed in 712 by
28. XVII. ANSPRAND, who dies in a few months, and is succeeded in 712 by
his son
29. XVIII. LUITPRAND; he dies in 744. His nephew
30. XIX. HILDEBRAND is associated with Luitprand in the year 736; succeeds
him in 744; he is deposed in the same year.
31. XX. RACHIS, duke of Friuli, is elected king in 744; he abdicates in
749 or 750, and retires into a monastery.
32. XXI. AISTULF, brother of Rachis, is elected king in the same year; dies
in 756.
33. XXII. DESIDERIUS, duke of Istria; elected in 756. He is deposed by
Charles the Great in 773. The crown of Italy passes to
the Carolingian dynasty.

No. IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE DUKES OF ALEMANNIA,

FROM THE REIGN OF

CHLODWIG I. TO THAT OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

- These Dukes appear to have {
governed the duchy about
the same time. See pp.
749 and 758 of this vol. {
1. 2. BUTELIN and LEUTHAR; whether as joint dukes or as partitioners is uncertain, but most probably the latter. Circ. A.D. 554 (p. 749).
 3. LEUDEFRID, deposed by Childebert II. some time between the years 574 and 596. He was succeeded by
 4. UNCELINUS, of whom nothing more is known.
 5. CHRODOBERT, ROTBERT, or ROBERT, in the reign of Dagobert I. Circ. 641.
 6. LEUTHAR II., in the reign of Sigibert III. Circ. 709.
 7. GOTTFRIED, } about the same period. Willichar was probably a son of Gotfried.
 8. WILlichAR, }
 9. 10. THEODEBALD and NEBUS, sons of Gotfried, and joint dukes or partitioners; probably the latter.
 11. LANTFRIED, about the year 715, and from thence to the year 730. After his death the duchy appears to have merged in the Frankish monarchy. The dukes were thenceforward appointed by the crown.
-

318

962

No. V.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE DUKES OF BAVARIA,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES

TO THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

-
1. GARIBALD I., about the year 589; father of the Lombard queen Theudelinda.
 2. TASSILO I., circa 591; died 598, according to *Adlzzeiter*; or 609, according to *Mascou*.
 3. GARIBALD II., son of Tassilo I. The year of Garibald's death is not known.
 4. THEODO I. } The reigns of these dukes fall between the years 649 and 718. *Mascou*, following *Pagi Crit*, ad
 5. THEODO II. } Baron. ad Ann. 723, p. 9, thinks that Theodo II. died about 723.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 6. GRIMOALD; deposed by
Charles Martel, circ.
730. | 7. THEUDEBALD; dies soon
after his father. | 8. HUGIBERT, or HUCBERT. sole duke
of the Bavarians after the depo-
sition of Grimoald. |
|--|---|---|
9. ODILLO. His relationship to either of the sons of Theodo II. is unknown; so also the date of his accession to the dukedom: dies in 748, or thereabouts.
 10. TASSILO II., son of Odilo, under the guardianship of Pippin and Carlman; deposed by Charles the Great in the year 788.

N.B. The duchy then becomes a vassal-dependency of the Frankish monarchy.

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